THE SEIR MUTAQHERIN

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THE FIRST EDITION

OF THIS

CELEBRATED WORK

PUBLISHED SO FAR BACK AS 1789

WAS

DEDICATED TO

The Rt. Hon. WARREN HASTINGS,

Governor-General of Bengal.

NOW, AFTER ONE-HUNDRED-AND-TWELVE YEARS,

THIS REPRINT IS, BY SPECIAL PERMISSION

DEDICATED TO

Honor Sir JOHN WOODBURN, K.C.S.I., M.A., I.C.S.

Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, etc., etc.,

as a humble token of gratitude and respect,

BY

His Honor's Most Obedient Servant,

T. D. KERR,

Proprietor

R. CAMBRAY & Co.,

PUBLISHERS

A TRANSLATION OF THE SEIR MUTAQHERIN; OR VIEW OF MODERN TIMES.

BEING AN

HISTORY OF INDIA,

From the Year 1118 to the Year 1194, *(this Year answers to the Christian Year* 1781-82) of the Hedjrah;

CONTAINING, IN GENERAL,

THE REIGNS of the SEVEN LAST EMPERORS of HINDOSTAN,

AND IN PARTICULAR,

AN ACCOUNT OF THE ENGLISH WARS IN BENGAL,

WITH A CIRCUMSTANTIAL DETAIL OF THE RISE AND FALL OF THE FAMILIES OF

SERADJ-ED-DOWLAH, *and* SHUDJAH-ED-DOWLAH,

THE LAST SOVEREIGNS OF BENGAL AND OUD,

To which the Author has added

CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF THE ENGLISH GOVERNMENT AND POLICY IN THOSE COUNTRIES,

DOWN TO THE YEAR 1783.

The whole written in Persian by

SEID-GHOLAM-HOSSEIN-KHAN,

in Indian Nobleman of high rank who wrote both as an Actor and Spectator.

VOL: I

SHEIKH MUBARAK ALI
ORIENTAL PUBLISHERS & BOOKSELLERS
INSIDE LOHARI GATE, LAHORE. PAKISTAN

THE SËIR-MUTAQHERIN.

Opinions of the leading Indian Historians on the work:—

JAMES MILL & H. H. WILSON.—"The Author of the *Sëir-Mutaqherin*, whom, as better informed, I follow in all affairs relating at the period to the Court of Delhi, &c., &c.,"—*The History of British India.*

H. G. KEENE, C. I. E.—"This celebrated history is a work of surprising industry and contains many just reflections on the position of the English and the feelings of the people towards them, which are almost as true now as they were when written."—*The Fall of the Moghul Empire.*

MAJOR CHARLES STEWART.—"*The Sëir-Mutaqherin*, by a relation of the Nawab Aly Verdy Khan, was translated by a renegado Frenchman, named Mustapha, and bears such strong evidence of a literal translation that I did not think it requisite to search for the original."—*The History of Bengal.*

GENERAL JOHN BRIGGS (MADRAS ARMY)—"It is written in the style of private memoirs in the most useful and engaging shape which history can assume nor, excepting in the peculiarities which belong to the Muhammadan character and creed, do we perceive throughout its pages any inferiority to the historical memoirs of Europe. The Duc de Sully, Lord Clarendon or Bishop Burnet need not have been ashamed to be the authors of such a production.—*Preface to Vol. I of the Sëir-Mutaqherin.*

SIR H. M. ELLIOT, K. C. B.—"The author treats these important subjects with a freedom and with a force, clearness and simplicity of style very unusual in an Asiatic writer, and which justly entitles him to pre-eminence among Muhammadan historians. * * * It has long been a rare book only [illegible] here and there in public libraries. It is greatly to be desired that a complete translation of this history should be accessible to the students of Indian history. * * * The work is well-known to English readers from the many quotations and extracts which Mill has made from it in his *History of India*, and Gholam Hossain is 'the Musulman historian of those times' whom Macaulay has quoted and spoken of with approval in his Essay on Clive.'—*The History of India as told by its own Historians.*

RAI BANKIM CHANDRA CHATTERJEE, BAHADUR, C. I. E.—"The materials of this work, which are not to be found in any ordinary history, are borrowed from an English Translation of the *Sëir-Mutaqherin*. The latter work is very scarce, and is deserving of being reprinted.'—*Preface to Chandra-Shekhur.*

PROPOSALS

For PUBLISHING by SUBSCRIPTION,

IN THREE VOLUMES QUARTO, EACH CONTAINING ABOUT

THREE HUNDRED & FIFTY PAGES,

THIS HISTORY, although dedicated to Governor Hastings, was not addressed to him in London, (it was intended to regale him with the surprise of it) but to a correspondent, eminent in the mercantile line, who was informed that it had been hurried thither in the rough state in which it was, merely to afford some timely assistance to that great man, by elucidating upon so competent and so unconcerned an evidence as our historian, several articles that went far towards clearing the Governor's character. These were "the high opinion conceived by the natives of his "talents for Government, and the attachment they bore to his "person; the falsehood of the Rohillah nations having been ex-"tirpated, or even intended for extirpation; the just grounds on "which Shudjah-ed-döulah went to war with them; the erroneous "opinion conceived by some persons of the treasure in the hands "of the Princess at Feizbad, which they fancied to be private "property, whereas it was public property, deposited as such by "that Prince himself at a particular conjuncture, which our author "points out with its date and motive; the opinion of the natives "on Nandecomar's death; and their detestation of the persecu-"tion undergone by the Governor from General Clavering and "his party."—All those points, with some more, were to be set in a strong light by this publication.—But in the rough state in which it had been hurried to England, it unavoidably wanted much correction in the distribution and divisions of the subject, in the punctuation of the sense, and in the style; all which defects required the inspection of a reviewer before it could be sent to thepress.—Unfortunately, the person to whose judgment and care the whole had been submitted, (and this was no less than an eminent historian in a nation that has now taken the lead of all Europe, after having been for several centuries shockingly defective in that branch of literature) unfortunately, I say, that gentleman proved to be deaf, and upon his death-bed; so that my correspondent, unable to spare any time himself for the inspection of this work, was obliged to lay it by, until a person properly qualified might be found out, and, of course, until fresh instruc

tions should come from India. But such an incident being likely to take up a whole year more, and the original intent of the publication being totally marred and already defeated, there remained no other resource than that of supplicating the British public in Bengal, instead of addressing the British public in London.—This alteration was followed by another. Instead of applying the profits of this publication to the benefit of the little sum I had placed in the English funds, for the education of my children sent to England, I thought it full as proper to transfer them to the benefit of the British insolvent debtors in Bengal.

Not that I am unaware of the censure passed upon the exclusiveness of that disposition; but there were strong motives for it.—In a sojourn of more than thirty years in India, and in particular in Bengal, I have obliged, assisted, relieved, an infinity of Indians and other Asiaticks, made the fortune of some, and have never met with any other return than perfect indfference or the blackest ingratitude.—The case is very different with the British. Taken up by them after a ship-wreck, I have been assisted and relieved with so much generosity, that at last a small competency was put in my way; and the only return I ever made for such important benefits, amounts to one or two advices conveyed to Government, and some small trifling relief afforded to five or six individuals wrecked or distressed; a merit too diminutive certainly to be set to account in the line of return.—In restricting, therefore, to British insolvent debtors only, the benefits of this publication, I am conscious of acting with great propriety; nor is this any new thought. The worthy Captain Thornhill, whose probity and benevolence are universally known, will I hope, aver that having so early as the year 1774, dedicated a yearly sum of a thousand Rupees to a charitable society at the head of which he was, I broke my connections with it, on their objecting to my restricting the donation to British insolvent debtors only, against the spirit of the institution.

Unluckily for me, (and my regrets fall entirely upon the use I intend now to make of the work) this publication has unavoidably lost by delays and *contretemps*, the only merit it could pretend to, which was NOVELTY.—It is now superseded and totally eclipsed by a gentleman well known in the literary world, and in the line of translation in particular, who by publishing his General History of India, (a work greatly superior to this in arrangement

and perspicuity of subject, as well as elegance of style) has very nearly rendered this slender performance superfluous and nugatory. However, as I cannot divest myself totally of all regard for twenty-four folio quires of paper, that have cost me so much money, and so much bodily labour; and as I fancy that the generality of that gentleman's plan cannot have admitted an infinity of facts and details peculiar to this performance; I cannot help flattering myself that this humble offering of a well meaning individual will still find grace with the public.

Although this address be possibly too long already, fain I am to add two short articles more.—A year ago, I intended to print the first Volume at my own expense, and to submit that trial to an indulgent public; but the copy sent to England by triplicate, having cost me more than two thousand rupees; and my little competency (now greatly impaired by misfortunes and bankruptcies, as well as by a variety of infidelities, that have at last forced me to look out for some livelihood in Calcutta) being unable to furnish the great expense required by this publication, I have thought it expedient to supplicate the public on that head, rather than to give any trouble to a gentleman skilled in Persian, who had in 1786 generously offered his patronage, for the purpose of getting it printed here by subscription.

All, or by much the greatest part of the persons spoken of in this History, were to have a plate in their proper places; and plates were also to be occasionally inserted, of fortresses palaces, buildings, arms, ceremonies, &c., &c.; but all that is become impossible, or nearly so; the five hundred miniatures sent for that purpose to England being still there.—Nevertheless, as a few miniatures have been procured since, and others may be found amongst the curious of Calcutta, this publication may still have some plates, or rather as many as the public shall encourage.

This performance having been originally intended for European readers, was of course interspersed with a variety of notes and remarks, absolutely necessary to them, and although there is no doubt of their becoming nearly superfluous in India, yet it has been surmised that they would not prove totally unacceptable to some Indian readers, even in Bengal! and they have been therefore suffered to stand as they were

This History of India,

BY MIR-GHOLAM-HOSSEIN-KHAN,

IS HUMBLY INSCRIBED

TO THE HONORABLE

WARREN HASTINGS, Esq.,

TWO YEARS AFTER HIS DEPARTURE FROM BENGAL,

By the Translator,

NOTA-MANUS.

PREFACE.

THE *SËIR-MUTAQHERIN*, a Review of Modern Times (or, more correctly, The Manners of the Moderns) is the chronicle of the decay of the Moghul Empire and Mahomedan domination of India during the reigns of the seven last Emperors of Hindustan. It was written in Persian in 1780 A.D. (1194 A.H.) by Syed Gholam Hossein Khan, a Moslem Nobleman, who used, with his father, to reside at the Court of the Nawabs of Bengal, Behar and Orissa.

As will be seen from the opinions quoted on another page, the work has been spoken of in the highest terms by Lord Macaulay, James Mill, H. H. Wilson, Sir H. M. Elliot, Major Charles Stewart, H. G. Keene, Rai Bankim Chandra Chatterjee and other leading Indian historians and authors. It is written in the most charming style; and, embracing, as it does, the century immediately preceding the final occupation of India by the British, it should be of great interest to all Englishmen.

On its first appearance it attracted the notice of no less a person than WARREN HASTINGS himself who was anxious to have it translated into English. But in the absence of Persian scholars among his own countrymen, or their want of leisure to perform such a task, the work was undertaken by M. Raymond, a French Creole who had assumed the Mahomedan name of Hajee Mustapha. In the year 1789 he published the result of his labours in three large volumes, under the pseudonym of *Nota Manus,* dedicating the work to Hastings. The edition was despatched to England, but the vessel in which it was consigned was unfortunately lost, and with it was lost to the world the whole edition of the work, with the exception of the few copies that had been circulated in Calcutta. In view of these circumstances, a subsequent edition was undertaken some years later by the Oriental Translation Committee, and entrusted to Colonel John Briggs of the Madras Army. In 1832 John Murray of London issued the first volume, which, however, was never followed by a second. The work is also said to have been translated by Dr. F. C. Balfour, but of the latter's translation, strange to say, nothing whatever is known.

The loss, therefore, of one English edition of the *Seir-Mutaqherin;* the incomplete state of another, and the entire absence of a third, have rendered this important book exceedingly expensive and scarce. The price of the complete work, should a copy now and then come to light, would be about Rs. 500, more or less. Hence it is not a day too soon that we now issue this cheap and popular reprint of the former translation.

The work was originally printed on Patna paper of quarto size. Royal octavo has now been selected as being the more convenient size, and the paper used has been supplied by Messrs. John Dickinson & Co. of London.

As regards the present edition it may also be explained that, owing to the period of one-hundred-and-twelve years having elapsed since the former edition was published, several alterations have been rendered necessary; and, in order to suit modern requirements, these changes have been made. For instance, the foot-notes are now preceded by consecutive numerals corresponding with those in the text, which have been employed to replace the asterisks, daggers, *etc.*, used in the earlier edition. The spelling of certain words has been modernized; the use of capital letters has, where unnecessary, been discontinued; the obsolete form of the small "s" has been done away with, and, in a few instances, the punctuation has been altered to suit the sense.

In conclusion, the Publishers desire to express their grateful acknowledgments to H. E. the Viceroy and Governor-General, H. E. the Governor of Bombay, H. H. the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, H. H. the Maharaja Sir Jotendro Mohan Tagore, H. H. the Maharaja Bahadur of Tippera, H. H. the Maharaja Bahadur of Mymensing, the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Ameer Ali, the Hon'ble Dr. Asutosh Mookerji, Dr. G. A. Grierson, and many other kind patrons who subscribed towards the work before it was issued from the Press.

Calcutta,
The 1st March, 1902.

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

THAT the man who has not the honor to be born an Englishman, and is far from being a Persian; who never has seen England, and never had any other master in either language but himself, should attempt to translate from the Persian into English, and moreover to appear in print, is such a strange proceeding, and b[illegible]rs so much upon impudence and temerity, that the least I owe to an indulgent public, and to my own character, is to submit to their pleasure some account of so unusual a transaction, that they may see themselves by what a chain of strange circumstances I have been insensibly drawn into so adventurous an undertaking. And here I am conscious that I am going to fall, (through contagion probably) into a course of irksome egotisms; but as my story is likely to give many an insight into the customs and characters of Hindóstán; and I have no other way of accounting for the temerity of my translation, I humbly conceive that, on that sole account, it may find grace with many of my readers, if ever I shall have any.

About eighteen years ago, when I was master of an Eastern Library, and of a Cabinet of Eastern Curiosities,* I had conceived a design of spending my leisure hours in a variety of translations, and likewise in a reasoned catalogue of my Library, Oriental Miniatures, and Antiquities. But all that, with the remainder of my fortune, was sacked and plundered at Djeddâh and Mecca

* These had been Collecting for years together, at a time when, Governor Vansilart and Mr. Hastings excepted, I was the only European that understood a little Persian, and of course, when Persian and Indian books, miniatures, and curiosities bore their own price in common with all other objects of commerce and no more; and when likewise I was the only man that ever thought of such a collection: at such a time, the collection had cost me full four thousand Rupees; and, if a Shah-Name-Mussevver, which then cost me only fifty Rupees, would now fetch a thousand or more with the other articles in proportion, I have every reason to believe, that the curious in Oriental Literature, a species of knowledge that abounds now in Calcutta, and in which several Englishmen might prove my masters and teachers, would have instantly swept my Collection for two or three

in 1770; and I returned to India, with an intention indeed to begin the world anew under the patronage of my friends (the English), but with a firm resolution never to employ any money in books: I had even taken a dislike to them, I mean to Oriental books; when an event happened that reconciled me to them again. Such a narrative, I acknowledge, would figure pretty well at the end of the one thousand and one nights, but it is nevertheless true, and to my sorrow, but too true.

I had seen so much bad weather in my youthful days, and so often suffered both hunger and thirst in India, that whilst I was scraping together the little fortune which I since lost at Mecca, I thought it prudent to abstain from many a comfort of life, in order to lay-by the sooner a provision for a day of distress. But when I returned to India, and saw myself introduced by the national munificence, and private partiality of my English friends into a little competency, I thought it prudent, to snatch as fast as I could at those gratifications of which I had deprived myself hitherto, and at those pleasures which were now leaving me one after another. In time, I came to think it more prudent and more delicate to employ my industry and time in assembling a Seraglio of my own: this gratification, so luscious and fascinating in theory, but so irksome and cloying, as well as dangerous in practice, and which together with an Indian cabinet of curiosities, had always been a wish of my heart, was soon acquired; and whilst many of the English, who fancy I never travel without some mighty scheme in my head, thought I was actually upon the wing for some political project; I diverted myself with the ludicrous purpose for which I was really taking so many trips to Lucknow. But men on the decline of life, who after abandoning the scheme of making a collection of books, jump at once into the project of making a collection of Female Beauties, must lay their account with cutting now and then a capital figure in certain adventures, which never fail to spring up in a house where youth and beauty are jumbled together with old age and wrinkles. I discovered that a beloved girl of mine was in intrigue with one of my dependants; and the consequence of that amour soon proved of a nature which self-love could not put up with, but which a sense of humanity and a high regard for the girl, would not permit me either to chastise or to suppress.

At last I resolved on turning the girl out of my house with a sum of money in her hands: but upon recollection, I remembered that a dear bought experience had taught me, that money and liberty together, were the very worst presents that could be made to young women who have always lived immured within lofty walls; and fain was I to provide for her in another manner. A Mushatta, that is a Procuress, was sent for, I mean one of those discreet, shrewd, inquisitive, old women, so common in Hindostan, where the business of finding a wife or a husband, is necessarily transacted by brockerage: after rummaging the whole city of Lucknow for three months together, and rejecting a number of parties, a young man of about thirty, stout, and of a good mien, was found out at last. It was a Mogul-Baccha, or man of Mogul origin, and a trooper; and of course, according to the notions universally received all over Hindostan, a gentleman to all intents and purposes Contrary to the rules of the country, an interview was managed between the young folks; and by dint of reasoning and entreaties, I prevailed upon the girl to accept him. She was repeatedly heard to say that she felt no inclination for his company, but I objected that I could not with any regard to myself keep her at home, nor with any regard to her own welfare, entrust her person to herself. "You want then" said the girl, with an air which struck me, "You want then to turn me out of the house, and to chain me to that man"?—"Be it so," added the girl,—after a pause—"But you shall one day repent of it." Witnesses were now procured, a contract was passed, and she was married. The girl received with her own clothes and trinkets, some small presents, and a purse of three hundred rupees, and she was carried away by her husband. But what is singular she was bathed in tears, and all the women of the house were weeping likewise; and although such a circumstance is always part of the etiquette on such occasions, there was now an air of sincerity which greatly affected me.

A month had not elapsed, when she found means to send me complaints, and to wish herself dead: this was her expression; and there were many others. In two months more, the girl in a dark rainy night presented herself at my door; and I was astonished to find her in my house again. I informed

her that I had divested myself by a public writing of every right over her person; that she was another man's wife; and that my interfering in their quarrels, would neither do her good, nor redound to my honour. She fell a weeping, and complained that her husband, an antiphysician professed (as are most Moguls), passed his time in a company of non-conformists, and had besides gamed away her little dowry; so that she sometimes suffered for want of necessaries, the government being in arrears to him by full nine months. The unfortunate girl's case was truly affecting; and her tears,—and her protestations, that she would jump into a well (and she attempted it) rather than return to him, would have melted a statue of stone, and puzzled a man of sense. At last, after three days' deliberation, I hit upon a party, which I prevailed upon her to admit; for her inexperience was such, that she thought she could live securely in my house: I hired a garry or a covered coach in a distant part of the town, and sometime before day-break I had her conveyed thither in a hamper, after having, as I thought, attended to her necessities, by putting in her hands a draught of two hundred rupees upon Benares; and provided for her safety by recommending her to an old man who had orders to see her landed in that city. I likewise contrived to get her escorted as far as one day's journey from Lucknow. We parted with tears on both sides; and she was seen safe at twelve cosses distance. Seven days after, as I was getting out of my house at day-break to take an airing, I perceived a bag close to my door; and on my ordering one of my people to see what it could be, I went to look at it myself, and the first object that caught my sight, was an arm with a mole and an elegant hand, on a small finger of which I soon recollected a ring made of hair and gold wire. There was no standing such a spectacle. I returned into the house, and my troubled imagination made me see in the hall, right before me, the girl in tears, and saying: "be it so—but you shall repent."

Few weeks had elapsed after this event, when I received intelligence that Governor Hastings was going to depart for Europe: this circumstance, to which he seemed to have been preparing our hearts,* completed the unhinging of my mind,

* He had already sent his consort two years before.

as if by some unexpected stroke. That Gentleman had been one of my oldest acquaintances among the English: I had conceived an affection for his person so early as twenty-five years ago; and he had proved in the sequel, the principal author of my well-being: his quitting India at a time when I was yearly losing some of my friends by their departure for Europe, or by death; and when my mind, affected by these discouraging losses, and impressed with the thoughts of that ill-fated girl, wanted some potent relief, became a calamity that overwhelmed all my faculties. Some people observed that I was talking to his picture, a picture of striking likeness, by the inimitable Zophanii. I was sensible myself that some strange alteration had taken place within me, and I was thinking how to make a diversion to so much accumulated sorrow, when my good fortune interposed.

On my going into one of the Navvab's seats, an old woman, among other articles of sale, offered me some broken leaves of a decayed book, in which the author talked with encomiums of the English Parliament in Europe, and with some asperity of the English Government in Bengal. A Persian discourse upon English Politics! strange indeed! I took the broken leaves, and perused some of them in the Garden; and the style, as well as the matter, having awakened my curiosity, I seized on this opportunity to afford some relief to my wearied mind. I resolved to translate it, in order to shew the author's opinions to a couple of friends; but on translating, I found that I had in hand only some broken leaves of a second volume, and that the first and third were wanting; and these I found at Moorshoodabad, on my soon returning to Bengal. My views by this time had been greatly enlarged by the perusal of my author; and after having lightly thought of translating some parts of his book, merely as an object of curiosity, but especially as a resource against grief and deep felt sorrow, I resolved to translate the whole of it, as a matter of honour and benefit, being then intent on sending two of my children to England, and anxious to add something to an independent fund which I wished to establish for their education. Shall I end the phrase? I translate it now as a matter of information, which it is incumbent upon me to impart to my adopted Countrymen (the

English); and as a warning which I owe to their prosperity. Having lived or strolled full five and-twenty years among them; being so far accustomed to their language, that I cannot, for want of practice, write any other so fluently; having been this long series of years an admirer of their language and history; and being indebted to their national munificence, as well as to their private partiality, for the little competency upon which I now subsist; the transition is but natural, (and this is but a very small merit, if any at all) from such a set of sentiments to such another, as would render me a well-wisher to their government and a friend to their prosperity: my own welfare has flowed from theirs, and even now does flow from it.

The general turn of the English individuals in India, seems to be a thorough contempt for the Indians (as a national body). It is taken to be no better than a dead stock, that may be worked upon without much consideration, and at pleasure: But beware! that national body is only motionless, but neither insensible, nor dead....There runs throughout our author's narrative, a subterraneous vein of national resentment, which emits vapours now and then, and which his occasional encomiums of the English, can neither conceal nor even palliate; and yet he is himself but a voice that has spoken among a million of others that could speak, but are silent: Nor have signs of this national sullenness been wanting these sixteen years. Living myself in the centre of Moorshoodabad; wearing an Hindostany dress, and making a practice in the evening to walk the streets with only a servant, either to listen to, or to mix with, any company I meet with either there or in the market place; I necessarily get a variety of information, which is often out of the power, and always out of the way, of any other European: for an example of this, I shall appeal to the testimony of Mr. William Wroughton, now Chief at Dacca, a gentleman, to whose person and abilities, no man in Bengal will object. Full fifteen days before government had received any official account of that calamitous event, I wrote him an affecting note about the ferment actually caused in the city of Moorshoodabad, by the defeat at Vargam near Poonah; and expressed a wish that government might receive an early notice of it.

"I hope it is admitted on all hands, that small accidental stories, and unpremeditated expressions on an important event, will better point out the national turn of mind, however dormant, than any professed reasoning. The unfortunate affair at Benares with Chëyt-Sing, was repeatedly reported at Moorshoodabad with such woeful circumstances, as seemed to partage the whole Nation :* numbers were deeply affected (and to be affected for *an* European governor, or indeed for any European at all, is a very novel matter in India) and they used to say: "Pity! a great pity! the father of the Hindostanies is gone,—we shall never see such another man." But others, and this was the majority, left the person out of the question; and minded only the crisis. "What! are we not men as well as "Chëyt-Sing's People? and what could prevent me from giving "a slap to one or two of his chairmen? *(the Governor's)* they "would have dropped his palanquin, as by a signal, and any "man could have killed him with ease. I saw him at Barwa :† "he had not an armed man by him; and his chairmen were "but a dozen of people; and this would have at once produced "a revolution—You talk to me of the Brigade at Behrampore; "it is a name only,—there are not two thousand men in it;

* A thousand rupees had been promised by the Nabob Mubarec-eddoûlah, to any one that would bring a certain intelligence that he had *seen* the governor, (for the universal and constant report was that he had disappeared). Ten Hircarras or messengers set out upon that errand; and one of them coming back in twenty-three days, said that he had seen his head and right hand hanging at the gate of Bidjäigur. The Prince shed tears; and I could hear nothing throughout many streets, but the words *Afsoos, Afsoos,* and the very words I have mentioned. If ever an European has been regretted by the Natives, it is this man. Possibly my Testimony may appear suspicious, but I protest that I speak here without any bias: I do not believe that the assertion can admit of a doubt: a general regret has pervaded all ranks, since that man's departure: and I am much mistaken, if the English themselves, among whom there was once a violent party against him, are not now pretty unanimous in praising and regretting him. As for the lesser societies, such as the French and Dutch, &c., I do not hear of a single dissenting voice.

† Barwa is a village twenty miles south of Moorshoodabad, and Behrampore is another village at one-half of that distance, where there is an Army of Europeans and Natives, cantoned in the finest and healthiest barracks that any nation can boast of. They form a regular elegant town. The army consists of general in a regiment or two of Europeans, seven or eight regiments or battalions of Sepahees, and a train of Artillery, with fifteen or twenty field-pieces.

"and a full half of them will desert on hearing of his death—
"well, Sir, and the other half? well, the other half—are they
"not Hindostanies? and at all events we are such multitudes
"here—with each a brick-bat in our hands, we could knock them
"down to a man." These and the like expressions I heard at
that very time in one of the best companies in Moorshoodabad.

Two days after, as a Regiment of Sepoys on its way to Chunar-ghur, was marching through the City at day-break, I went out, and was standing to see it pass by, the Regiment halted; and a few men from the centre ran into a dark lane, and laid hold of a hen and some roots: the people screamed. "Do not make so much noise," said one of the men in his Bodjpooria Idiom;* "we go to-day with the Frenghees, but "we are all servants (tenants) to Chĕyt-Sing, and may come back "*to-morrow with him; and then the question will be not about* "your roots, but about your wives and daughters." The street, although the main thorough-fare, could admit but six men in front, and there had been two halts more, in which time I had opportunities of hearing such suspicious words and expressions, that I resolved to write a letter to Colonel Ironside on that subject. But two days having been accidentally spent in determining upon the expediency or propriety of the letter, I thought it better to take counsel from time itself, and I went to pay my respects to that Commander who kept me to dinner. He had a great deal of task with me: "I find no great harm," said the Colonel, "That now and then, a Governor, with a "couple of Colonels or two should make way for others; but "what gives me concern is, to hear that we are not liked in "the city, and that some disaffection has crept amongst our "own Sepahees." Finding the man upon the right way, I thought it better to drop my own information as it might produce a counter order to the regiment, with some other serious inconveniencies.

What has been just said may serve for a specimen of the turn of genius of the people of Moorshoodabad at that time. Here is a specimen of the temper of the inhabitants of Benares at that critical moment: "Kill that man," said a young Mogul to Mirza-Saadet-Ally, as they were both marching to Chunar-ghur.—"Kill

* The Bodjpooria Idiom is that spoken by Chĕyt-Sing's people.

"that man : he is only with another Frenghee in the field yonder, "flying for his life ; say but one word, and four of us shall go "and dispatch them both, and bring you his head ; and after "that, march down from hence to the very gates of Calcutta, "There is not one man in arms from hence to Moorshoodabad, "or if there be any, on seeing the head, they will all desert to "you ; all the Zemindars will join you with a whistle ; this day "two months I will salute you Lord of Bengal—one word,—say "but one word.—Has any amongst you," said the Mirza, looking to the right and left—" Has any one of you a lancet "about him ? No," answered a voice : "A pen-knife ? a pen-"knife ?" replied another. "We ? No, to be sure." "A sharp "pishcabz or poniard ?" "Yes,—what for, pray ?" "Only to let "some blood from that man instantly : Do not you see that he "is in a high fever ? Man, you are very ill certainly ; get your-"self blooded, or go to the Ganges yonder, and take several "plunges, until you are thoroughly cooled and cured : The sun "indeed is sultry."

After so strange an anecdote, (and I have heard of twenty more such stories) the reader has a right to ask me my voucher, as I was not present myself. Here it is : The man himself had been an acquaintance of mine about ten years ago at Moorshoodabad, where I used to make him dine with me sometimes, giving him plenty of liquor, whereas I never drink any myself. As he was a handsome young fellow, and in high favour with some Ladies, he, when once in his cups, used not only to mention their names at length, (the very thing for which I sought his company) but he had such a knack at mimicking their particular tones of voices, and some other particulars in a day of engagement, as would have raised a horse-laugh in a dead man. As I was just landed at Benares, and examining the sculptures in a famous Gentoo chapel, in Sevalem, (the very critical spot where the tragedy had been acted but a year before, and where Saadet-Aly himself lived) the man perceived me and came down ; and I found that he was in the Prince's service at a hundred rupees per month, on condition of furnishing four horsemen more at fifty rupees each. He invited me to see his lodgings, a genteel seat, full of sculptures ; and, to oblige him, I carried two bottles of liqueurs. As soon as the man was a

little heated; he became talkative, and informed me himself of his conversation with Mirza-Saadet-Ally, and of some very curious particulars of the then temper of the citizens of Benares, as well as of the neighbouring Zemindars.

On quitting my drunken Mogul, I went to a large stone Caravan-Sera, where I took up my quarters, waiting for my baggage, when in comes my old toothless broker—"*Talvar Khoob Chelaw,*" said the man for all salute, and with as emphatical a gesture and tone of voice, as if the massacre had happened but the day before. "*The Sabre has worked well,*" said again the worthless blockhead, without minding the reprimand I gave him, for his making such a mighty matter of a couple of hundred men cut down by multitudes, whilst they were either preparing their meat or taking their afternoon nap, without any one of them having so much as a ball to his musquet. "And suppose they should have had" broke out the wretch in fury, "Ten Thousands would have been pouring upon them, "instead of Ten Hundreds; and the whole city would have "risen upon the Frenghees and their adherents."

I could fill a volume of such and the like stories, either from my own knowledge or from hearsay. But this is not all: the man (I mean the Mogul,) had been so imprudent in his cups, as to banter Saadet upon his faintness of heart, and the latter having attempted to see the other's wife, they parted upon bad terms together; so that the man lost his horses as well as his appointment. He came to Lucknow, took service with Assef-ed-doülah, the prince of the country, fell into a course of drinking and gaming, and in one unlucky day, gamed away both his wife and horse, and that too, to a man he was jealous of; insomuch that, rather than submit to the latter for a sum of four hundred rupees, he applied to me; and I took his bond, his horse and his wife, which remained with me a couple of months. The latter had been a famous singer and an elegant dancer at Benares; and so esteemed by her troop, that but for Saadet-Ally's interest and support he would have never been able to have carried her away. She was a woman of an agreeable person and much sense; and she not only confirmed to me the above story, but mentioned some other matters, which shew that the disaffection to the English had risen at once to a height all over

the country, and amongst the principal men that frequented Saadet-Ally's court. Two months after, the man came to me wounded, and brought me three hundred and twenty rupees, and I returned him his bond, horse, and wife.

The inference to be drawn from these sentiments of the people at large, is now known in Europe; and some persons of Bengal, to the number of eight or ten, may have at that time suspected the disaffection of the natives; but I had opportunities of knowing it several years before; when about the year 1778, I made application to Mr. B. for his interest, as I intended to obtain the office of Provincial Fodjdar of Moorshoodabad. In enumerating some of the qualifications necessary for a man in that station, I chanced to mention an open table; and I added, that as the emoluments of such an office could not afford the expense, I would endeavour to find it in my own private purse, as a political engine of great use. I was going on with my harangue, whilst we were walking towards the tea-table, through a dark hall, when at the word political engine, I observed the gentleman turn his head to the right, and endeavour, but in vain, to stifle a burst of laughter; the Ladies in the room prevented my descanting any more upon that new political engine. Surely a man of so much genius and knowledge, was not to be informed, that in a populous capital, the ambassador, who, being abstemious himself, can give entertainments oftenest, is always the best informed. By the same rule, an open table for a dozen of persons, and an exhibition of fine dancers once a week, ought to be two important parts of the politics of a Fodjdar of such a city in time of war: these will attract successively all the company good or bad in the city. men naturally unbend their minds and fall off their guard in such assemblies of pleasure; and if he be an intelligent man himself, and by all means an abstemious one, and also heartily mixes in conversation, he will learn more in one week's time with an open table, than fifty harcaras or spies could tell him in six months. Mr. B. seated at the top of a towering lofty tree, could descry from afar the elephants and rhinoceroses that came to tear off some branches of the tree, and the tigers and bears that wanted to climb up to it. In the humble station in which I moved, close to the trunk, I was too low to discover any thing of these

argument; and a recollection partly pleasing, and partly painful, never fails to inform me internally, that after an intercourse of five-and-twenty years, those strangers are become my only countrymen; that yourself, honorable Sir, are my oldest acquaintance amongst those countrymen, and, moreover, my partial and mumificent patron; and that, if instead of shining in the world as the Chatham of the East, it had been your fate to have moved only in an humble station, you would have been my bosom-friend.

It has been a standing rule hitherto with me, honorable Sir, never to take a personal leave of my friends. But many are the alterations occasioned in me by your departure; and it is not without a sense of jealousy, I see Colonel Martine (3) hurrying down to bid you his last farewell. Twice have I attempted to return to Europe, and twice have I been obliged to come back after having lost every thing; so that ten years ago, I had sat myself down with a resolution to listen to the voice of Providence, and to end my days in India. But India is become a dreary waste for me now; and I am now preparing to quit it for the third time, were it but to get rid of that emptyness which everywhere surrounds me.

I have known your person, honorable Sir, these five-and-twenty years. The life of dispute and contention to which you have been doomed this longwhile, cannot have altered the original sensibility of your heart. Receive then, honorable Sir, an offering worthy of it. This letter, this artless, disorderly letter has been in many a spot bedewed by the tear of affection, and more than once interrupted by the sob of regret, and the scream of deep-felt woe.

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(3) Colonel Martine is one of those French, who driven to despair by the misery and famine that desolated Pondicherry in 1760, threw themselves amongst the English. He has ever been with them since that day; and although constantly employed in desperate affairs, (so says the Historian *Orme*, one of the best informed, as well as one of the most eloquent men that ever wrote history) he has never been wounded. Colonel Martine is a man desirous of all kinds of knowledge; and although he is at the head of a large fortune, which he owes only to his industry he works whole days together at all the arts that concern Watch-making and Gun-smith-work, with as much bodily labour, as if he had his bread to earn by it. As an architect (and he is everything), he has built himself at Lucknow a strong elegant house, that has neither Beams nor Cupola, and is so contrived that a single man might defend it against multitudes

man that tells his friend, "get upon my Horse, and fly; I will "stand alone at the door of your tent and fight myself out "against these armed men that are coming for you: I will be "cut down at last undoubtedly; but you shall gain half an hour's "distance; and this will save you, farewell".. the man does as he says, and is cut down; but his friend distances his pursuers and escapes unhurt. What shall we say of a woman, a delicate Princess of the imperial blood, who possibly had never heard the report of a musquet? her quarters, somewhat asunder from the main-army, are attacked by a superior force: the troops placed for her guard are going to be overpowered: in that critical, trying moment, this delicate Princess turns out an heroine at once; she flings away her mask and veil, gets upon a war-elephant, pushes on to the enemies, kills and wounds people to the right and left with her arrows, and repeatedly cries aloud: "If you behave like women, I declare to you that women shall behave like men."

Look yonder at that inactive, incapable, effeminate *Coran-Writer;* he is at this moment mightily taken up with admiring flights of pigeons; and he has been admiring them these twenty years past some thousands of times. Would you suspect him to-day to be the self-identical man, who contrived and executed that heroical retreat of his, through the middle of ten thousand men that had broken into his house, and were actually firing at him from the top of the walls? he contrives and executes that retreat through a whole army, himself the sixteenth: he executes it, like a rough determined Grenadier, killing and wounding five or six men to the right and left: fifty times turning about upon his pursuers, and fifty times pushing forward only to gain some respite, in order to turn about again fifty times more: his numbers at last are reduced to six men; spent with the exertions of the retreat and the fatigue of the way, he is going to be overpowered: "Prince, cries a young man of twenty-two, your "life is destined to procure a subsistence to thousands and ten "thousands; but mine is only that of an individual: Run for-"wards and gain a couple of hundred yards: I undertake mean-"while to bring our pursuers to a stand." .This young man does as he says, and is overpowered and cut down; but mean-while the Prince distances his pursuers, and escapes himself the

fifth. This Prince is no other than Shah-Alum himself, the reigning Emperor of Hindostan.

But all this, however, seems to be greatly inferior to Aly-Verdy-Khan's retreat from Midnapore to Catwa, for the space of seven days, through a miry country, under incessant showers of rain, with no bed for any man in the army but the bare ground, no covering but the Canopy of heaven, and no food but field-grass and tree-leaves. History records but two retreats to my remembrance: that of the ten thousand, which implies contradictions and improbabilities without number, and bears evident marks of being a romance, like the life of Cyrus; and the other, that of Marechal de Bellisle from Prague. Both the one and the other were conducted over a mountainous tract of Land; and both armies were never overtaken, but partially. Bellisle in particular had stolen a march on the enemy, and was never attacked, but by his light Cavalry. But Aly-Verdi-Khan's retreat was over a flat ground, and over boundless plains, under a perpetual series of engagements, and under all the disadvantages which we have just mentioned, and which may be seen at length in our author.

The Indians then have been a more dangerous nation than they seem to be now: They may be in a slumber; but they may awake, and they deserve a more watchful eye than the English Government seems to think; our author says, a more winning deportment, and a more caressing hand, than seems to be the genius and turn of mind of their conquerors.

After having taken so much liberty with the public, as to differ from it on the opinion that ought to be entertained of the Indians; and presumed so far upon the patience of my readers, as to have talked so much of myself, it may be expected I should say something of my author; his matter is certainly novel, there being no other history extant on that subject in any language; and as such, it cannot fail to please, at a time when all Britain is intent upon the transactions in the East: he will, however, be found to speak for himself abundantly: he speaks of himself, of his family, of his connections, of his own private concerns, in so many places of his history, that he has, without designing it, delineated the features of his own mind; he appears almost everywhere, a sensible, well informed, grave,

sincere man; his style is free enough from those blemishes which would give offence in Europe, and which characterise all Eastern productions: I mean metaphors and allegories without end, and antitheses without number, with a greater attention to the jingling of a cadenced prose, than to the clearness of the sense, or the accuracy of the diction. He performs exactly enough the promise made in his preface, of his intending to recount in a plain unornamented style; and he appears, in general to be an honest man, and a zealous patriot; but should any rigorous reader take offence at some defects which are to be seen in his history, and which ought to be attributed rather to the writer's education, country, and age, his severity would be infallibly disarmed on perusing the following passage, which I shall transcribe whole.

After having recounted the unjust death of two illustrious brothers, inhumanly hacked to pieces by Seradj-ed-döwlah's orders, and in his presence, he goes on in these words: "The "innocent blood spilled on that occasion, proved to be as fertile "as that of Siävosh of old: It produced a series of events "that proved fatal to that power and dominion, which Aly-Verdi-"Khan had been rearing with so much toil: It lighted up a "blind fire, which commenced emitting smoke soon after these "two murders had been perpetrated; and, which breaking out "in flames at last, destroyed, in its progress, all that numerous "family; and extending its ravages far and wide, consumed "every thing in those once happy regions of Bengal, and "prostrated and overwhelmed totally those rich provinces, "which it has reduced to heap of ashes and yet smoaking coals: "It verified that tremendous sentence, once revealed to the "Prince of Messengers: *So shalt thou have done, and so* "*shalt thou receive.*"

"After that unhappy transaction, Aly-Verdi-Khan returned "to his capital, and his son-in-law, Sayd-ahmed-qhan, took the "road of Poorniah; but the latter was uneasy in his mind, and "thoughtful, at what he had seen and heard lately; and as this "had put an end to all the confidence which he had hitherto "reposed in his uncle and his nephew, he resolved, henceforward, "to spare nothing that might secure himself in his post; and it is "from that very time, that an avenging providence commenced

" providing materials for its future exertions. But, as it is the " faithful historian's duty to bring to light whatever he knows " with certitude, I shall take the liberty to assemble such events " as are come to my knowledge, and to speak of them precisely " as they have happened, without being biased by either envy " or love, and without flattering either side or party. I repose " so much confidence in the candor and equity of my generous " readers, as to flatter myself, that without suffering their minds " to be darkened by the dust of discontent, they shall abate in " behalf of the poor man (me), something of the punctilious " delicacy of their taste; and that they shall overlook all the " blemishes of this history, in favour of its sincerity and exacti- " tude: I flatter myself, I say, that they shall cover the writer " with the cloak of forbearance, should they judge the writing " itself unworthy of their praise."

After an harangue so affecting, it is difficult to judge the author with any severity: If then, I have been obliged to speak of some blemishes of his history, it is because I felt that they might disgust European readers, little accustomed to put a difference between the defects of the composition itself, and those which are incident to the writer's education, language and country; and likewise because I have been obliged to account for some slight alterations and additions into which I have been occasionally drawn, in order to adopt my narrative to the prejudices and particular taste of my readers; and it is in that view, that I shall touch upon certain observations, which seem particularly to be of the translator's province, how faulty and inadequate soever his translation may prove.

All the Eastern Authors, at least those I have seen, know nothing of transitions, that is, of that art, which by the means of one or two phrases that look either way, connects two separate subjects, and serves as a bridge of communication to cross over from one to the other. They seem to be strangers to that art; so that the reader at every new subject, is stopped short, to be ferried over by a boat. Our author, like every one of them, passes from one subject to another, with an *oo,* that is, the particle *and*: From the Afghan War, to the affairs of Bengal. But here I have some small resource against so sudden, and so abrupt a change of hands: I can

say, and I have said: *Matters were not so prosperous in Bengal:—Let us now resume the affairs of Bengal:—The course of our history requires that we should revert to the affairs of the capital:—It is to be wished we could speak with as much precision of the affairs of the Decan;*—and these little additions will answer some purpose, and shall be forgiven me, I hope, by the public; but how to manage with a man, who often interrupts the narrative of public affairs, to talk of himself, *of his brother, Naky-aly-khan, of his Djaghir or Landed Estate, of his glorious Mother, whose shadow may long remain stretched over her son, the poor man,—&c. &c.* Who, after having mentioned with wonder, how Governor Hastings conceived and executed the project of sending two English armies across the whole continent of India, and was very nearly doing with Poonah, what some others had done with Moorshoodabad and Lucknow, gives a spring at once, jumps over my head, and then turns about, to tell me abruptly, *and the poor man went to Calcutta, had some interviews with the Navvab Djeladet-djung, the valiant, Governor Hushtin, and spoke to him of his Djaghir.* I have no resource against such an unexpected leap; I am obliged to have resource to some awkward addition of my own, and to bring the new subject about by some such words as these: *It was in those days of trouble and anxiety that I was obliged to repair to Calcutta: and to address the Governor upon my Djaghir. He said, he said, and he said,* are the only words the Eastern Writers make use of, to repeat a dialogue, even a most animated one; nor were the Greeks and Latins much behind them in that particular, the Poets especially, although to make us some amends probably, they never fail to inform us that their hero spoke with his mouth.* No European reader now will bear such a repitition of the words; *he said,* and I am obliged to enliven the dialogue by intermixing it with the following expressions, so common in an European conversation: *He answered—his antagonist rejoined. No, said he, with a surprise: you ought, replied the other with a smile.*

Mahmed-yar, an officer of determined courage, was sent with two thousand men to intercept a convoy of treasure: He

* Ore fatus: Ore effata.

marches over a tract of seventy-two cosses, in six and thirty hours, overtakes the convoy with only seventy men, and had defeated the escort, and seized the money, by the time his troops are joining him by scores. Our author adds, with one and the same breath, ***and the Navvab was displeased with him, and he quitted the service.*** Here the narrative seems to be interrupted by some chasm; and I am obliged to fill it up by adding: "Such an important service, instead of making his "fortune, ruined him in the Prince's mind: He took umbrage "at so daring a character: A coolness ensued; and the man "disgusted, quitted the service."

Such and the like indispensible liberties, although taken with ever so sparing a hand, shall possibly surprise those gentlemen employed at the public offices of Calcutta, in translating Persian Letters. I acknowledge with them, that Letters connected with twenty matters actually passing in review, may bear, nay often require, such a dry, scrupulous translation, where even the turn of the phrase is obligatory; but in a narration of any length, in an history of the times, I am convinced that it could not answer; and I hope that they shall upon due consideration, indulge me with their connivance, if not favour me with their approbation.

I had at first translated about a hundred pages of my author, (the last part of his first volume) in that scrupulous manner; and the translation went pretty easily down with me on my perusing it by a couple of pages at a time, just as I translated it—but when I came to read the whole, I acknowledge I found myself tired, sick, of my performance, jaded to death, and unable to drag my attention to the twentieth page; and if this has been the case with myself, how could I pretend to engage the attention of my readers? I have been obliged therefore to set up a method of my own: I read a few pages of the original in the evening, thought the whole of them in English a couple of hours after; and the next morning chewed the cud over, by reading and translating phrase after phrase; sometimes connecting by one or two words what seemed disjointed, and then parting what I thought confused; and not seldom pruning what appeared too European in my translation, or else paring what seemed to step aside from the text. I

acknowledge, indeed, that I might have read a whole page, and after having thought it in English, might have couched it down in one and the same breath; but this would have proved to be my own style, of which the public cares little, and not the style of Sëyd-Gh8lam-hussëin-khan. Upon the whole then, I can assure the public that this translation, awkward, and inadequate as it shall probably come out to be, is in general a faithful and a literal one.

And here it becomes proper to inform the reader, of some other deviations from the letter of my author, to which, I have thought myself obliged. The author, for instance, speaks first of Mahmed-amin, then of Saader-khan, a few pages after of Burhan-el-mulk, lastly of Burhan-el-mulk-saadet-khan; and yet it is one and the same man. At the seige of Bedjapoor by Aoreng-zib, his eldest son, Soltan-müazzem, is called within the short period of six pages, Shah-aalum, then Soltan-mahommed-müazzem, then Mahommed-müazzem, then Bahadyr-shah, then Soltan-mahommed-bahadyr-shah, although this prince was not complimented with the title of Bahadyr-shah, but several years after, when he ascended the throne. Such a succession of names on the same man occasions in the reader's idea, still more confusion than those titles of Earl and Duke of such and such country, cause in the English history, where you see the same title, or if you will, the same name, borne successively by noblemen that had not a foot of land in those countries, and were of different, and sometimes of inimical families. But yet, in the English history, the same man carries the same title or name, throughout a whole reign, or even farther, whereas, here the self-same man passing and repassing before you, round and round, with a number of new personages, and at each time with a new mask, and in different dress; you come at last to mistake and confound the indentity of his person.* To remedy that confusion, which has so much puzzled me

* This seeming defect arises from that custom in Hindostan of managing the conversation in such a manner with a great man, as that all his titles should successively, and yet undesignedly, find a place in it: this attention is of the bon ton, and is never dissented with amongst the natives. The English always supported by a number of brass speakers, and sure of being heard with attention, if not with applause, do not mind such niceties; and they content themselves with translating an English thought on so many Hindostany words.

at times, I have made it a point to stick invariably to the first name under which I see a man, and to carry him under that name throughout his whole history. But even this rule, general as I have made it, has suffered some deviations, which I have thought to be unavoidable: for instance, there is no mentioning a Mirza-djeladdeen-häider, still less a Mirza-mehmedor or a Mirza-shah-cooly-khan: for the English know nothing, but of Sudjah-ed-döulah, and nothing but of Seradj-ed- döulah. Nevertheless such is my hard case, that although I have mentioned this, as an exception to my rule, I have been obliged to except upon the exception itself: I have been obliged amongst the several successive names of one and the same person, to attend to that which the English were most accustomed to; for instance, in my original, Nassyr-ed-döulah, Viceroy of Decan, is the name generally used: it is that known in the Decan and in Hindostan; but the English are accustomed to Nassyr-djung; Mehabet-djung is the name generally used in Bengal.—But the English never heard but of Aly-verdy-khan.—By the same rule Alemghir is constantly Aoreng-zib with me, Burham-el-mulk is constantly Saadet-khan; nor do I ever part with Sultan-müazzem, but when himself, on ascending his throne, parts with that name to adopt that of Bahadyr-shah.

Long, very long as is this address, I am obliged to add two remarks more: were an enlightened foreigner to read a translation of some of those excellent books published in such numbers by the English, or of the debates in Parliament, or of the protests of the House of Lords, he would be apt to believe, that the language spoken by such a nation of thinkers-born, must needs be the most regular language that ever was spoken by the mouth of man; and yet on learning it himself, he would find that this language of theirs, beautiful, nervous, energetic, abundant, versatile and commodious, as it is, is nevertheless inconsequent: the grammar of such a nation is inconsequent; and their alphabet is still more inconsequent; and although the alphabet of all the nations which have adopted the Roman letters, is more or less liable to the same imputation, yet I cannot help believing that the English alphabet is nearly intractable. I have been therefore obliged to write all the Oriental names of this history in the Italian alphabet,

or if you will the Scotish alphabet, as the sound of its letters is less variable, and it requires the fewer letters for one word.

My second observation is on those numerous poetical quotations, with which our author abounds, as well as all the Oriental writers. When I compare those inimitable translations of the Æneid, and of the Iliad, made by the English, with those prose tanslations published by the French; and I consider what a figure the latter never fail to cut when set against the former, I become convinced at once, that nothing but poetry ought to translate poetry; and that our author's Persian verses ought to have been translated by English verses at least, if not by English poetry.—But here I found myself out of my depth at once: and although, sometimes an English verse or two, would drop from my pen, when I least thought of it; I found by a woeful experience, that the muses would not come near me, when I was most inclined to court their company.—Over ruled by the sense, and brow-beaten by the quantity, as well as endlessly bullied by the rhyme, I became sick of my task: I became tired of cudgelling refractory word into its place, and of dragging a rhyme by the hair; and I have therefore translated in prose all the verses of my author: the more so, as I was afraid of affording a handle against the genuineness of the translation, by applying for assistance to a better versificator than myself, nor was this apprehension groundless; for an ingenious friend having chanced to observe, that I could hardly say in two lines what the author had said in one; surmised moreover, that I must have been assisted or corrected by some English hand.—Such a remark having given much offence to my sincerity, or if you will, to my vanity; and being myself on the other hand, so very proud of my acquisitions in the English language, I beg leave to declare, that the awkward and uncouth gown, in which I take the liberty to come forward, and to make my respectful bow to the public, is entirely of my own cutting and stiching. Nor am I afraid, that those, to whom I have the honor to be known these many years, both in London and in Bengal, shall ever refuse their full assent to the veracity of my assertion.

NOTA-MANUS.

Calcutta, 2nd November, 1785.

MIR-GHOLAM-HOSSEIN-KHAN'S PREFACE.

In the Name of the Most Bountiful, Most Forgiving God.

* THANKS without measure, and praises founded on eternity, ought to be sprinkled over the magnificent and exalted Court of the Just One without equal, since the multifarious system of worlds, with a tongue both ideal and audible, warbles melodiously a confession of his unity in endless duration and from primeval origin; and the many-coloured variety of ages, in all the vicissitudes of places and limits, and the interchange of night and day, indicates and pronounces on the broad diploma of his greatness, the stupendous diversity of events and revolutions. Salutations also from eternal time without beginning to eternal time without end, are justly due to that splendid present from heaven, *viz.*, the Chief of Prophets, and to the family and companions † of that noble being, the final cause of existence, and the means of connecting the sustenance in this world, and a provision for the other: To him and to them be grace and peace to the day of judgment and consternation!

It is agreed and confessed amongst those that look on the register of time, and the vicissitudes of days and nights, that

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* This elegant and poetical translation, from the word *Thanks* to the word *Consternation*, is of the learned and ingenious *Sir William Jones*, who, by correcting three words in the orignal Manuscript put it in the translator's power to understand the text; and were we to conceal such an anecdote, the theft would be pointed out by the extreme difference betwixt that florid expressive language, and the dryness of the rest.

† The Reader accustomed to know Mahomet but only through the writings of Christian Divines, all equally ignorant of Eastern Literature, and equally rancorous, would be surprised to hear who were those companions, of whom the author speaks. These consisted in thirty-nine men of Mecca, who, having believed in his mission, followed him in his retreat from that city, and were therefore called Mohadjerin, or the Seceders; and in sixty others, men and women, all Christians from Medina, then called Yatreb, who, having believed in him, on his fame and reputation, were called Anfars, or the Sucrourers: two appellations which came to distinguish, in the sequel, all the companions of the Prophet, that is, all who at any time had fought under him, or followed his party: These, at his death, amounted to one hundred and thirty-four thousand men.

books of history, and a review of the different stations and various successions of men are of manifold conveniency, and produce an infinity of advantages, as if the inspection of the historical page afforded an insight into the phenomena of the Almighty Artist's full powers, and a glimpse into the most glorious part of the Creator's performance. It affords information likewise about the several races of mankind, and an insight into the institutions and good qualities of their principal leaders, as well as in the actions of their followers, and in the imitative motions of those that have copied those actors of so exalted a stage. On the other hand, men, by such an inspection of the meanness of insolence, and of the turpitude of oppression, are often put upon their guard, and often reclaimed from their shameful conduct: All truths so well known to the intelligent and virtuous, and so universally admitted amongst those endowed with experience and penetration, that it would be needless to insist upon them, It is, therefore, in that view, that this most defective of mankind, and this humblest individual in the creation, namely, Gh8lam-hossein, son to Hedäiet-aly-khan, grandson to Sëid-aalim-ollah, and great-grandson to Sëyd-faïz-ollah, the Tebätebaite, of the race of Hassen,* (on all whom may God's mercy rest for ever. through the merits of his Prophet, and of his Saint,† has thought proper, in the victorious month of Sufur, of the year 1194 of the retreat of the Prophet, (on whom,

* All over the East, it is customary to design one's self always by the third person, and by some of those words that signify the fakir, the poor, the petitioner, the feeble, &c., &c. But none but people of the highest rank dare call themselves the *last* of *men* in their letters. The Author's name was Mir-Gh8lam-hossein-khan, and he suppresses, through modesty, the first and last words, these being his titles; and they signify, the first *(Mir)* Commander, a word, which, as well as that of *Seid*, which signifies of Lord, is become the title of all those that are of the race of Mahomet: These two words are Arabic. The other title is that of *Khan*, which is Turkish, or Tartar; and it signifies only a Lord in India, although originally it signified what it signifies still in Turkistan or Tartary, that is, King or Lord of a Tribe.

† This Saint of God is Ally, Cousin of Mahomet, who had by Fatema, the latter's daughter, two sons, *viz.*, Hassen, who was poisoned at Medina, by his own wife; and Husein who was killed in the battle of Kerbela near Baghdad It is from these two brothers that descend those numerous Seids that swarm in the Mahomedan world, but especially in India, being divided in two races, the Hasseinites and the Husseinites.

as well as on his offspring, be salutation and grace for ever!) to undertake this work, his intention being to furnish to some intelligent man the means of giving the public at some distant time hereafter, an idea of the preceding reigns; and to prevent his being stopped short, as by a chasm, on discovering that links are wanting from the chain of past events: for it is certain, that to this day no one has thought of filling up the chasm, by writing the history of India since Aoreng-zib's demise. It is then, to put such a clue in his power, that I have imposed on myself this task: trusting therefore to my personal knowledge, and to what I have been gathering from persons of eminent rank and credit, I have strung the whole together in a plain unornamented style, where my errors shall be the more excusable, as I cite perpetually my authorities; and by God's blessing, I have entitled it *Sëir Mutaqherin* (View of Modern Times), as containing the whole series of events, from the year 1118, to the year 1195, since the venerable flight of the last and chief of messengers, down to the present days.

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THE public has been already informed, at the latter end of the preface, that the Italian or rather the Scottish Alphabet has been made use in this work to write the oriental names; but as some objections have been made to so general a definitionh it has been thought proper to give here the particulars of it.

All the vowels are to be pronounced in the Italian or Scottish way; but as there are numberless places where the sound of the English *oo* is preceded by an *o*, and three such *os* might look strange and would infallibly mislead the Reader, the figure 8, that is, the Greeck 8, has been used to signify the sound intended by the double *o*. It is thus the word Seradj-ed-do'8lah is written, or thus Seradj-ed-do'ulah, the Acute Accent or the double dots, . . marking the letter on which the Emphasis is to fall, and the voice to be raised. However, the work having been printed by several Printers, this has been disregarded by some, who have adhered to the usual spelling; so that the double *o* is often seen where there ought to be a Greek 8.

Qh and also *kh* answer exactly to the Scottish *ch* in *Cariarach, Glenorchi;* that is, that compound letter is to be pronounced like a strong *h* or aspiration fetched from the throat.

Gh is to be sounded everywhere as the Scottish *Gh* in Daughter, and even more gutturally; although in the word *Djaghir* and some others, in use amongst the English, it has been thought proper to follow the ordinary spelling, and of course to suffer its retaining the sound of the English *gh* in *Moningham*.

The English *j* in *jaylor* has been put after a *D*, because that same *I* in number of places bears in this work the same sound as the small *i* in initials. It is for that reason that we write Djaafer-qhan.

The words Ráo and Ráy are often written with two dots upon the first vowel to denote the elevation of the voice, and also to distinguish those and some other similar words, in two syllables. In general the Acute Accent, or the two dots upon a letter, denote its being to be pronounced distinctly from the preceding vowel. The word Vezir has been in some places Vizier, &c. : nor have my endeavours been able to wean the Printer from that practice and some others.

But Printers have been guilty of an infinity of alterations both through chance and through wilfulness, let it be a standing rule then that all the vowels of a name are to be sounded each distinctly and in the Scottish manner.

A TRANSLATION OF THE

SËIR MUTAQHERIN;

CONTENTS OF THIS FIRST VOLUME,
IN FIVE SECTIONS.

Civil wars that follow Aureng-zib's demise—Bahadyr-Shah, Emperor—Djehandar-Shah, Emperor—Origin of the Syks, an order of mendicants who turn Soldiers, and found a monarchy—Feroh-Syur, Emperor—The two Sëyd-Brothers, absolute disposers of the Empire—Mahmed-Shah, Emperor—Origin of the Marhatta Empire and Royal family—Invasion of Hindostan by Nadyr-Shah, alias Tahm-Asp-C8li-qhan—Ahmed-Shah, Emperor—Blinded by his Vezir—Irruption and origin of the Durranies, alias Addalies—Civil Wars—Alemghir, second, Emperor, blinded—Aliverdy-qhan, Viceroy of Bengal, becomes independent—Founds a new dynasty in Bengal ; which ends in Seradj-ed-Dowla.

CONTENTS OF THE FIRST SECTION.

The Emperor Aoreng-sib, after a long reign, departs this life, aged ninety-two years, having divided his dominions between his children—Civil-Wars—Azem-Shah ascends the throne—Soltan Mâazzem, his eldest son, ascends the throne—Battle of Agra between the two brothers, where the second brother dies fighting valiantly—The elder brother acknowledged Emperor under the title of Bahadyr-Shah, proves very scrupulous in his word, but very feeble in his administration—Dies suddenly—Civil Wars between his children—Civil War again—Muèzzeddin, the elder brother, unexpectedly victorious, ascends the throne under the title of Djehandar-Shah—Wants to promote to a Viceroyalty the brother of a dance-girl, his mistress—Is opposed by his Vezir in a very curious sarcastical speech—A rival to the Empire arises in Bengal—It is Feroh-Syar whose party is espoused by two Sèyd brothers, Viceroys of two Provinces—The Emperor sends his son to fight his Rival, by whom the young Prince is defeated—The Emperor himself defeated, flies for his life, is arrested by his Vezir, and strangled by his competitor—Feroh-Syur, Emperor—Feroh-Syur's sanguinary executions; his mean character—Jealouzies between the Emperor and the two Brothers—Singular speech of one of them in full audience—The younger appointed Viceroy of all the Decans—Religious troubles in Ahmed-abad, G8djrat, and in the Capital—Account and origin of the Sycks, an order of mendicants founded by Nanec-Shah, their Patriarch—They turn warriors and commit horrible ravages—Dà8d-qhan-Péni, a famous Afghan General, opposes the new Viceroy in Decan, and is slain in the middle of his victory—His Radjp8t consort refuses to live, opens her own belly with his poniard, dexterously extracts a child which she tenderly recommends to the by-standers, and dies unconcernedly—Death and admirable character of the old Vezir Assed-qhan, Vezir to Aoreng-sib—Feroh-Syur, who had strangled that Minister's son, now humbles himself before him, and sends him by a person of importance a very singular message, to which the dying man returns a very curious answer, which proves Prophetic.

THE SËIR MUTAQHERIN
OR
VIEW OF MODERN TIMES:
BEING AN
HISTORY OF INDIA
FROM THE YEAR 1118, TO THE YEAR 1194, OF THE HEDJRAH.

THE Emperor Aoreng-zib-Aalemgir,(1) after having spent so great a part of his life in conquering and bringing under control the region of Decan, without being able to satisfy himself on that head, abandoned at last his expedition, and turned towards Shah-djehan-abad,(2) which was the capital of the Empire of the house of Babr,(3) and the glory of the cities of Hindostan: but he had no time to execute his design. He was overtaken by fate at the city of Ahmed-nagor, where, in the ninety-fourth year of his life, and the fifty-second of his reign, his venerable person was at once assaulted by a variety of diseases, that reduced him so low, that he despaired of his life.—He had then in his camp, two of the Princes, his

The Emperor Aoreng-zib departs this life. Division of his extensive dominions

(1) The author has Mahmed-Aoreng-zib for Aoreng-zib-aalemgir; for all Mahometans are supposed to have the word Mahmed for their prenomen, and the word is always understood so, if not expressed; excepted however, when a man bears the name of Mustepha, which being the Prophet's title (it signifies select), he cannot bear the usual prenomen also. *Aoreng-zib* is pure Persian, and signifies the *Ornament of the Throne*. Aalemgir, is partly Persian and partly Arabic, and signifies the Conqueror; it was the Emperor's title.

(2) Shah-djehan, father to Aoreng zib, having added a new city to the very ancient city of Dehli, called the whole Shah-djehan-abad, or Shah-djehan's colony, and made it the principal capital of the empire: for Lahor, and still more so, Acbar abad (*alias* Agra), are capitals of the empire likewise.

(3) Although Timur (*alias* Tamerlan or Tamer-lang, that is, Timur the lame,) is the root of the imperial house of Hindostan; however, as his posterity resided only in Turkestan or Euzbeg-Tartary, and none of them ever thought of making their home of Hindostan, but Soltan Babr, his great-grand-son, hence the imperial house is called the house of Babr, as well as the Timurian family.

sons, Cambaqhsh,(4) the youngest, and most beloved, and Aazem-shah, who bore the character of a man of valor and abilities, and was fond of military glory. He sent immediately for the young Prince, gave him the viceroyalty of the kingdom of Bidjapoor, and bid him set out directly, with all the pomp and all the retinue of a king, recommending to him at the same time to pursue his journey by long stages, and to push forwards without stopping. The order bore that he should set out on a Tuesday, the seventeenth of Zilcaad, four hours before day-break.(5) The intent of such precise instructions was to put early the young Prince out of the reach and pursuit of his elder brother, Aazem-shah. Seven days after having taken that precaution, he ordered that same Aazem-shah, his second son, to set out for his government of Malva, four hours after sun-rise, with injunctions to make short stages of about five cosses a day,(6) and to stop two days at each stage, so as to march only every third day.—In giving such an order, the Emperor made him understand, that it was to put it in his power, to prevent the disorders that might happen in that country, in case of a vacancy of the throne, and meanwhile, to be at hand, to avail himself of his father's demise, for taking possession of his inheritance. But the Emperor's real view was, to keep so enterprising a Prince, at some distance from him, and to prevent his availing himself so far of his enfeebled state of body, as to seize and confine his person, that is, to prevent his using him just as himself had used his own father, Shah-djehan.(7) But hardly had the Prince proceeded a few stages, when the Emperor fell into a state of extreme feebleness, and having lent an

(4) Should one take away the Greek termination *es*, and recollect that the Greeks always rendered the sound *Sh* by a simple *s* or by an *x*, he would easily find Cambyses in Cambaqhsh.

(5) This minute precision about days, hours, and half hours of the day or night, is owing to the author's belief in Astrology, and also to the general belief which that kind of knowledge has obtained all over Persia and Hindostan. In general, such scrupulous reckoning of time are cut short in this translation.

(6) There are several kinds of cosses in India: the shortest is of about two thousand two hundred geometrical paces.

(7) He had confined him in the fortress of G8aliar, where he died of vexation and a broken heart after a confinement of eight years.

ear to his maker's invitation, he answered it by the words :(8) "I am ready, O lord," and departed for eternity. It was on a Friday, the twentieth of the month, one Pahr, and three garries after day-break, which answers to five astronomical hours after sun-rise.

This intelligence reached Aazem-shah in a few hours: he hastened back to the Imperial tent which he entered on a Sunday, the twenty-ninth of the same month, about one quarter of an hour before it was dark; and the next day, two hours before sun-rise, he lifted up the imperial Coffin, and carried it a few paces on his shoulders ;(9) after which he sent it to Aoreng-abad. On the morning of the eighth of the next month, he ordered the imperial music to strike up ;(10) and on the following Wednesday, which was also the day of Sacrifice,(11) he ascended the throne of his ancestors, and bent his thoughts on gaining the hearts of the Nobility, and on endearing his reign to his people. The next day, he took possession of the Imperial Treasures, invited to his Court the Nobility of the Province, and the absent Grandees of the Empire, and gave a

Aazem-sha ascends th throne.

(8) These words are Arabic, Lebeïc, *allahoma, lebeic,--ready, my lord, ready: or command, my lord, command.*—These words must be repeated several times aloud by every Mahometan before he loses his senses, and after he has made aloud his profession of faith ; or they are repeated for him by the by-standers. They are also the words which the Pilgrims pronounce by thousands at a time at the foot of Mount Arefat, near Mecca, where they have been already naked these two or three days, enveloped with a winding sheet, like men dead.

(9) The Coffin of the deceased is always lifted up by his nearest relations, and by his friends, who relieve each other by the way, where they are also relieved by those that pass by, who all make it a point to be assisting in so meritorious a work. In advancing towards the burying-ground, they cry incessantly their profession of faith which is this: *There is no God but God, and Mohammed is His messenger. Look at the note 12th, section 15th.*

(10) This music, which consists of a variety of Drums, haut-boys, and trumpets, has been a mark of sovereignty ; and although it is to-day usurped by all the Navvabs or Viceroys, it is still deemed a mark of sovereignty, and always of command. It plays four times by day, and once by night, and serves also to announce some good news to the public.

(11) This day which is deemed lucky, always falls on the tenth of the month Zilhidj. This sacrifice is repeated every year by every house-keeper, not in commemoration of the Sacrifice of Isaac, which the Arabians look down as a spurious pretension of the Jews, but in Commemoration of Ibrahim's having attempted to sacrifice his eldest son, Ismaïl, who is the Patriarch of the Arabic nation.

public audience,(12) his intention being to oblige every one, according to his rank or station. With that view, he confirmed Assed-khan in the high office of Vezir, and Zolficar-khan, the son of that minister, in that of Generalissimo of the forces. In a word, no one felt any difference from the change of Prince; and every one was left in the place which he held, or was advanced to that for which he was fit.

Meanwhile, the news of the Emperor's illness having spread all over the Empire, every one made haste to secure himself in his post, by every means in his power. In this confusion of the times, Sultan Muäzzem, eldest son to the deceased, was then at Cab8l, a city and fortress upon the frontiers of Iran,(13) where he resided as Viceroy. He is the Prince who did in fact succeed his father, under the title of Bahadyr-shah. He had with him his two younger sons, Quhodjistah-ahtar, and Resi-al-cadr; whilst his elder son, Muäzzedin, resided in M8ltan, of which he was the Governor; and his second son, Azim-ush-shan, the ablest of the four, and the object of his grand-father's favour, resided in Bengal, of which he was the Viceroy. It appears, that the deceased Emperor intended to leave the Empire of Hindostan to his eldest son, Sultan Muäzzem; the dominions of the Decan(14) to his second son, Aazem-shah, and the kingdom of Bidjapoor to his beloved Cambaqhsh, in full hopes, that those three Princes would remain satisfied with their lot, and would promote, each on his side, the welfare of the people of God; but who is the man who has not felt the torments of ambition?—and how could so experienced a Prince flatter himself, that his sons would be free from it?

Cambaqhsh, who governed Bidjapoor in full sovereignty,

(12) These Public Audiences are called *Bar-am*. The Emperor appears there at a window, raised about three feet from the ground, whereon stand his Ministers and Generals in two rows, through which the meanest petitioner can go up to the Emperor. The Emperors of Hindostan used to give two such Audiences to their subjects in the week, and each was of two full hours; and this practice was imitated by all his Viceroys and Governors, down to Mir-cassim-khan.

(13) There is no other word for Persia, all over the East, but that of Iran. Pars or Persia is only one of its provinces.

(14) All the countries to the South of the Nerbeda down to Cape Comorin are called Decan, or South; nor are they deemed to be in Hindostan no more than Bang or Bengala, which signifies South-East; nor is G8djrat itself in Hindostan.

seemed satisfied with his lot, the more so, as Aazem-shah, to please his mother, had added another Province to his dominions, and given him leave to coin money, and to have the Qhotba pronounced in his own name :(15) But matters were not so easy towards Hindostan: For Sultan Muäzzem, on hearing of his father's illness, had set out from Cab8l, as did his second son, Azim-ush-shan, from Bengal; and both those Princes, taking what Troops and Artillery were at hand, had marched, each on his side, towards Ecber-abad, a great city, on the high road that leads to Decan. Sultan Muäzzem was on his march, when he received the news of his father's demise. Immediately he assumed the Imperial name, and ascended the throne. It was on the first Wednesday of the month of Muharem, in the year 1119, precisely at midnight, it being the critical hour pointed out by the astrologers in the sign of Leo; and after that inauguration, he wrote to his brother, Aazem-shah, "That if, satisfied with his lot of the Decan, which was a very "extensive dominion, and that which their father had set apart "for his portion, he did not meddle with the Empire of Hindostan, "such a conduct would not fail to produce numberless benefits, "and endless blessings." This insinuation made no impression upon Aazem-shah, who trusted to his own personal merit and prowess, and made no account of his brother, to whom he answered by the well-known adage, "That is was impossible for two kings to live together upon the same throne;" and he commenced to make preparations for supporting his pretension; but which ended in nothing but what was of his own seeking.

Sultan Muäzzem, eldest son of Aorengzib, ascends the throne as his right.

(15) The Qhotba, or Speech, although always pronounced in the open fields, on the day of the Sacrifice, is pronounced in Mosques every Friday, and on some other particular occasions. At the end of noon-day prayers, the officiant with a sword in the scabbard, if the place had been taken by assault, and with a staff only in his hand if otherwise, turns his face towards the people, and after having read or pronounced some phrases and salutations in behalf of Mahomet, and his four first successors, as well as for his companions, he recommends to the congregation to say the *Fateha*, for, such and such a one, the reigning Prince, to whom may God grant a long life, &c., &c. This *Fateha*, which is the first Chapter of the Koran, and answers to the dominical prayer of the Christians, is then repeated in a low voice by the people, whilst the official has turned again towards the altar; and the ceremony is ended by every one stroking his face and beard, and saying aloud, *Allah Ecber* : *i.e.*, God is Great. This Qhotba amounts to an oath of allegiance.

Sultan Muäzzem was already at Lahor, where, in a few days, he was joined by Muëzzeddin, his son, who, on his father's orders, had set out from M8ltan with what Troops and Artillery he could bring together on so short a warning. There he was admitted to the honour of kissing his father's feet, after which he pronounced a speech in his praise, prayed for prosperity and length of days to his reign, and then followed him to Ecber-abad. Fortune seemed to favour this inauguration: For Azim-ush-shan, who had set out from Bengal with a numerous and well-appointed army, and was then on his march to Ecber-abad, hearing of a convoy of a coror of rupees,(16) (being the tribute of Bengal) which the Divan or Intendant of that country was sending to the capital, he seized the whole of it, but kept it untouched, for his father's disposal. He also laid hold of Moqhtar-qhan, the Governor of the Province of Ecber-abad, a nobleman of importance, who had given his daughter in marriage to the Prince Bidar-baqht, and was a hearty well-wisher to the cause of Aazem-shah;(17) he confined that nobleman, and having seized at the same time the vast treasure, and that infinity of royal furniture, which had been deposited these many ages in the Imperial palace of that city, he bent his thoughts on increasing the strength of his party, on conciliating the minds of the inferior governors and commanders, and on gaining the hearts of the nobility and people. In this he succeeded so well, that his army as well as his party, were gaining daily

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(16) A Coror is ten times a lac, or ten times a hundred thousand. Were we to form an idea of the progress the ancient Indians had made in other sciences, by the perfection to which they had carried their Arithmetic, we should conceive the highest opinion of their keenness and penetration: For the decimal way of counting, which the Europeans learned from the Arabs in the eleventh century, these last acknowledge to hold from the Indians; nor have they any other name for designing that way of cyphering but that of *Raccam-hindi*: *i. e.*, Indian writing, or cyphering. On the other hand, the words, *Arrib*, *Nil*, *Paddam*, *&c.*, convey a much more precise idea to the mind, than the words *Billion* and *Trillion*, &c.

(17) *Aazem-shah* signifies the King of glory. *Muäzzem* signifies the glorious. *Azimush-shan*, of immense pomp; *Muëzzeddin*, the honour or the honoured of the law. *Qhodjistah-akhtar*, of lucky stars, or of a lucky fortune. *Rofi-al-Cadr*, of a sublime dignity; *Vala-Dja*, eminently stationed. *Aly-tebar*, of a noble disposition. *Bidar baqht*, of a fortune always awake. *Cam-baqhsh*, the bestower or granter of what is wished for; the object of one's wish.

accessions. But he could not prevail on the Governor of the citadel of Ecber-abad, who resolutely answered, "That at a "time when the Imperial throne was disputed with slaughter and "enmity, between three princes of the Imperial blood, he could "not, with any propriety, deliver the fortress to any of them "unless that one should have established his government: in "which case, he knew too well what became him, both as subject "and a servant, to mistake his duty." With this answer he kept his fortress shut up and prepared to support a siege. The Prince thinking it inconvenient to lose any time in an affair of so much length, went on with other affairs of importance, until his father Sultan Muäzzem being arrived, he effected a junction with him; after which he made him a profound bow, prayed length of days and prosperity to his reign, and presented the precious effects and money he had had the good luck to bring together. No succour could be more welcome: for the troops which had already become clamorous for want of pay, were suffering such great hardships, that they had become dispirited; and such a timely assistance being taken for a good omen, Sultan Muäzzem, from that moment, conceived the fondest hopes on the success of his undertaking: he returned thanks to God, distributed his treasure according to the necessities of his people, and changed their past distresses into present comfort. At this very time Aazem-shah, who had only tarried a few days in the Imperial camp, to take possession of the numerous well-appointed army which he had found ready under his hand, was setting out for Ecber-abad, resolved to dispute the crown with his elder brother, whom he looked upon to be his main rival. The natural ardour of his temper being inflamed by such thoughts, he marched with so much rapidity, that he left behind most of his troops and almost the whole of his artillery. After continual marches, he arrived at the foot of the fortress of G8aliar, where he established his head-quarters. It was on a Monday, the eleventh of the first Rebi, in the year 1119. Seven days after he advanced towards his enemy, whom he found encamped on he plains of Djadj8, close to Ecber-abad. It happened that some troops of his having advanced nearer to the enemy, had set on fire some part of Sultan Muäzzem's head-quarters, and dispersed some

cavalry. Aazym-ush-shan was himself encamped there, and the combat having grown warmer, he found himself overpowered, and he stopped short to see what Sultan Muäzzem's fortune would operate in his behalf. This Prince, who was then on a hunting party, no sooner heard of the enemy's being so near, than he flew to his son's assistance, bringing with him his eldest son, Muëzzeddin, and his best generals with their troops; the combat was growing warm, when an event happened, which by turning the fortune of the day, was taken for a token of approbation from providence on his enterprise. At once there arose such a violent wind, as seemed to give the combatants an idea of the dreadful Ser-Ser that buried the whole tribe of Aad under the sands of Arabia;(18) it blew on the back of Sultan-Muäzzem, and full in the face of Aazem-shah's army. This last Prince having given the command of his left wing to his eldest son, Bidar-baqht, and that of his left, to his second son, Vala-dja, was marching to the enemy, having his youngest son, Aly-tebar, then a child, upon his elephant. But he had left Assed-khan, his Vezir, at the camp of G8aliar with a body of troops. As he was pushing forwards with ardour, Zulficar-khan, his generalissimo, who had also been generalissimo under Aoreng-zib, represented to him: "That as the day was "so much spent, and such a violent tempest blew right in his "face; and on the other hand, great part of his troops and "artillery were still at a distance behind, it would not be advisa-"ble to risk a battle for a throne on such disadvantageous "terms: that he thought it expedient to remain satisfied with "the advantage gained over the enemy, by having burned one "of his quarters, and defeated part of his cavalry; and that "to-morrow, when the remainder of the troops with the artillery "should have come up, it would be time then, to take in hand "the bridle of prosperity, and to put the foot in the stirrup of "success and fortune, in order to fall with one joint effort on "an enemy already intimidated." This speech made a strange effect. The Prince who had a high opinion of his own military character, and that of his troops, and made little account of

Battle of Agra between the two brothers.

(18) This tribe, with that of Semod or Thamod, was buried in the sands of Arabia, by a violent tempest of sand which the Arabians called *Ser-Ser.* Mahomet speaks of this event in the Coran.

his brother and his party, having answered by some expressions that betrayed his anger and resentment, the generalissimo, who was known for a man of much valor and much discernment, replied that since his majesty would not listen to an advice dictated by zeal and prudence, and he chose to run head-long into his own ruin, he hoped he would not find fault with him, if he took his leave of a cause that looked so ominous: The Prince, full of indignation, having rejoined by a few broken words, of bitterness and anguish, turned his face from that officer, just as fortune had now turned hers from himself; and Zulficar-khan, without further explanation, spurred his horse, and went to join his father who had been left in the camp of G8aliar.

Aazem-shah, without minding his retreat, fell on the enemy with the utmost fury; and the valorous on both sides being as eager as himself to shew their prowess, a mighty slaughter was taking place on both sides. But the wind blowing with more violence than ever, raised such clouds of dust and sand, that the field of battle was entirely darkened, the troops were blinded; and it became impossible to distinguish the friend from the foe. It has been assured by several persons of character who had fought in that battle, that the sand was so hot and so big, and it choked so effectually the mouths and eyes of the combatants, that no one could stand such a tempest, but by turning his head about; no arrow fallen from a bow could be distinguished at more than a only a few paces distance; and beyond a few paces it could be taken up no more. Notwithstanding all these disadvantages against themselves, the troops of Aazem-shah were gaining ground; the enemy's army was in danger; and the fury both of officers and men was so great, that to this day this battle of Ecber-abad is renowned all over Hindostan for obstinacy and slaughter.

There was then in Aazem-shah's army an Afghan officer, of great strength of body, and much prowess, called Munevver-khan: he was followed by five thousand men of his nation; and as he used to say that a day of battle was a wedding day for the brave, he had dressed himself in cloth of gold, and had given a similar turban to every one of his men, every one of whom was ready to shed his blood with that of the enemy.

This officer having found a favourable moment, drew near Aazem-shah, and requested leave to get on horseback, in order to rush on the enemy, and shew to all the world how zealous he was for his master's cause, and how prodigal of his blood in so noble a service. The Prince answered his request, by desiring him to remain upon the elephant he had been allotted from the imperial stables;(19) and the officer mortified at the refusal, pushed at the head of his troops as far as the centre, where commanded Azim-ush-shan himself. He was opposed by Hussëin-aàly-khan, and some other officers of character, who were sons to the illustrious Séyd-abdollah-khan of Adjmir, better known under the appellation of Mïa-khan. But the enemy pushed on with so much violence, that most of those officers were slain together with their men; and Hussëin-aàly-khan himself, having received several hideous wounds, fell senseless on the ground. The enemy had lost full as many men; but Munevver-khan having exhorted the few that remained to him, pushed as far as Azim-ush-shan's elehpant, and having then in his hands one of those spears called Belem by the Indians, he ran it with so much violence against the boards of the Prince's haüdah, that it came out at the board on the opposite side; and the Prince had infallibly been killed, had he not shunned the blow, by inclining his body quite to the left That brave man after performing such feats of prowess, fell at last among the few intrepid men that had refused to survive their heroical commander.

This bloody action cost the lives of an infinity of illustrious persons. The Prince Bidar-bakht, who commanded the left wing, fell dead, as did Valadja, his brother, a young prince who had never seen an action, and then drank up to the dregs the bitter potion presented him that day by the grim cup-bearer,

(19) This refusal did not arise from either peevishness or impolicy; for in India every commander of consequence, and every general-in-chief, being seated on a throne mounted on an elephant, and preceded immediately by some large standards fixed on elephants, nothing was more common for a whole army than to turn its back the moment they perceived the general's seat empty. But the Europeans having these forty years past gained many a battle by only pointing a four-pounder at the main elephant, the Indian Generals have abandoned that custom, and they now appear on horseback: Nay, they have learned to discipline their troops, and to have an artillery well served.

death. It became necessary to announce these two losses to Aazem-shah, their father; and this unfortunate Prince, who tenderly loved his children, and had a particular affection for the eldest, fetched a deep sigh, and said: *that victory and life were henceforward of no use to him.* With these words he ordered his driver to carry him into the middle of the enemy's ranks, where his haödah was so thick stuck with arrows, that one would have imagined there had rained arrows that day. He was followed by a chosen body, personally attached to him, not one of whom would leave their master. The Prince, careless of his own safety, but anxious about the royal child, Aaly-tebar, had covered him with his bucler, after having made him squat in the haödah; and he himself now remained uncovered: still he was pushing on, filling his bow incessantly: But vain were all those efforts: the day was already far spent; fortune had declared herself; and his best officers were slain, such as Terbyet-khan, Aman-ollah-khan, and Metleb-khan, with the two brothers, Munevver-khan and Khan-aalem, together with the Gentoo Princes, Radja Ram sing and Radja Dilpet, with an infinity of their troops: in one word, his two hopeful sons were no more. Aazem-shah himself wounded by several musquet-balls, had fallen senseless in his haödah, when a wretched officer of the name of Rostem-dil-khan, having got upon that hero's elephant, was not ashamed to cut off his head. He then took the Royal child Aaly-tebar by the hand, and carried the one and the other to Sultan Muäzzem, his master. This sight made a deep impression on the Emperor: the sight of his brother's bloody head was more than his sensibility could bear: he fetched many a deep sob, and wept bitterly. As to the royal orphan, he pressed him to his bosom, did everything to pacify him; and in the sequel, he conceived so much affection for him, that he never put any difference between him and his own children. The latter took umbrage at so much tenderness, and once they represented, and complained. But they were silenced with this answer from the Emperor's mouth; "If your inquietude "be about his being inimical to my fortune and crown, I inform "you, that you are much likelier to be so yourselves than he; "and that this child, in case of need, shall prove more anxious "for my preservation than any of you."

Valor and death of Aazem-shah, the second brother.

Fortune having put an end to Aazem-shah's reign and party, his ministers and generals joined Assed-khan, the Vezir, and Zulficar-khan, the generalissimo; and went in a body to pay their homage to Sultan Muäzzem, now styled Bahadyr-shah, or the Valiant King. The Vezir and the generalissimo had got their own hands bound with a handkerchief; and it was in that condition they presented themselves, and made a profound bow: this sight affected the Emperor's sensibility; he was seen to move from his place, and with his own hands, to set the Vezir's hands at liberty: turning at the same time to his son, Muëzzeddin, he bid him go, and loosen the generalissimo's hands. Not content with so much condescension, he made it a point to speak with the utmost kindness to both the father and son, especially to the former; and sending for one of his imperial suits of clothes, he ordered him to put it on directly, an honor, very seldom conferred on a subject, and which raised the old minister as high as the celestial mansions. When he saw him dressed, he did him the honor of an embrace, made him sit down in his presence, gave him the command and pay of 7 000 horses, with the grade attached to one of nine, added to all this a present of two corrors of Dams,(20) and directed, that his Paleky should be admitted within the Imperial enclosure, as far as the gate of the Gh8ss8l-qhana or Bathing-place,(21) (an honor granted only to Imperial Princes); and that his music might play within the Imperial precincts: As a last token of his favour, he gave him the title of Djelil-al-cadr, with the office of Vekil-M8tlac or Lieutenant-General, and absolute all over the Empire. Munaam-khan received at the same time the title of Djumlet-el-mulk,(22) with the office of Supreme Vezir, and the Government of the Province of Ecber-abad, which became an

(20) One would hardly believe, that a Prince, whose revenues amount to about forty million sterling, in a country where grain is five or six times cheaper than in England, should have his income reckoned only by Dams, which is a real coin of copper, from forty to forty-eight to a rupee. In the Chamber of Accounts forty Dams always go for a rupee, or a half-crown.

(21) The Bathing-place is a palace betwixt the Harem-sera or sanctuary, that is the women's apartment, and the Divan-khana or Public apartments; but distinct from both; and it may be called the Private apartments.

(22) Of Glorious Power. *Djumlet-el-mulk* signifies the Greatest of the State.

annex to that office. His station in the Cachury or Office-hall, was fixed at the right hand of Assed-khan, with power to set his own seal upon all Public Papers below that of the Prime Minister's.

After all these arrangements, the new Emperor turned his attention towards the conduct of some Gentoo Princes, and chiefly towards that of Djehi-sing, Radja of Amber, who had sided with Aazem-shah; and as his own brother, Bedji-sing, had sided with the Emperor, to whom he proved very useful, he was placed in his brother's stead, and the latter received orders to attend at Court. Adjet-sing, son of Djesvent-sing-rhator, Zemindar of Djoodeipoor, had likewise sided with Aazem-shah, and, moreover, had proved refractory and rebellious. Such a conduct deserved immediate attention; and the Emperor having marched into those countries, took those two fortresses out of the hands of the hereditary Princes, and put them under the management of the Imperial Officers, after having ordered the dispossessed Zemindars to attend the Imperial Stirrup, and to live henceforward at Court. At the same time, Assed-khan was ordered to repair to the capital of the Empire, which, with its Province, was henceforward to be under his special care. And in this manner every part of the Empire was coming into order; and every heart being gained by the Emperor's goodness, served to strengthen the throne. Unluckily, there arose a civil war between the two remaining sons of Aoreng-zib.

Prince Cambaqhsh no sooner heard of his brother's death, than he prepared to oppose the victorious party, being of too haughty a disposition to brook submission, or even tranquillity. In vain did the new Emperor send him soothing messages, and advised him, in a mild manner, to be quiet and to live in peace. This mild pacific disposition served only to encourage Cambaqhsh; and he sent answers that breathed nothing but anger and defiance. Even these the Emperor would have over looked; but finding himself urged and reproached by his own sons, he resolved to oppose Cambaqhsh. With that view, he set out at half an hour before midnight, being on Monday, the seventeenth of Shaaban, in the year 1119, and marched towards Bidjapoor, by the way of Fateh-poor and Adjmir. The third of Zilcad of the ensuing year, being a Wednesday, the two armies

fought in the environs of Haiderabad, of which city Cambaqhsh had made himself master. After repeated attacks, and much slaughter, Bahadyr-shah's army drove the enemy out of the field of battle, and remained victorious. This happened at midnight, and by this time, most of those that were personally attached to Cambaqhsh being slain, the rest betook themselves to flight, leaving a complete victory to the enemy. The Prince himself, after exhibiting several feats of royal prowess, and receiving several mortal wounds, had fallen senseless on the ground, with hardly any other sign of life, than a faint respiration. It was in that condition that the victorious found him. He was immediately raised, placed upon an elephant with his children, and sent to the Emperor. On notice of this, the Emperor sent his eldest son, Muëzzeddin, with orders to shew him every mark of honor and respect; and on the wounded Prince being arrived, he directed he should be lodged in a retired tent, within the Imperial enclosure; and he went on foot to pay him a visit. On discovering his body, he fetched a deep sob, and said, "*I have never wished to see you in that condition.*" The Prince raising with pain his dying eyes, answered, "*nor did I ever wish to see you in that condition, neither,*" and expired. The Emperor exceedingly affected by such a sight, retired to his own apartment, taking with him the young orphans, his nephews. He ordered them to be educated in the same manner, as he had done Aaly-tebar; and he made it a point always to lend a deaf ear to the repeated remonstrances and bitter reproaches of his own children.

Remarkable delicacy of the Emperor about his own word.

This battle having rendered Bahadyr-shah master of all the Decan, as well as put an end to all competition with respect to Hindostan; and his authority being now firmly established, he conceived that this was the time to introduce some changes which he had in his mind. One day he represented, in a mild tone of voice, both to Assed-khan and to his son, Zulficar-khan, the generalissimo, "that Munaam-khan was an ancient servant "of his, and a zealous friend, extremely attached to his person. "Whilst I was yet only the Imperial Prince, added he, I promised "that I would make him my Vezir, whenever the crown should "devolve to me; and now he reminds me of my own promise; "but as I intend not to disoblige you on one hand; and on the

"other, to break my word would look like a proceeding unworthy "of the Majesty of an Emperor; I wish you would advise me in "such a delicate emergency, and point out some expedient "that may give satisfaction to both sides, without wounding my "delicacy and sense of honor."

Assed-khan on observing the Emperor's inclination, an- "swered: "that a fidelity to their word was always incumbent "upon Emperors; but that he hoped likewise that the honor "of two faithful servants that had zealously served the imperial "family for such a number of years, would be guarded from an "affront." This answer having eased the Emperor's mind, he directed that Assed-khan should be immediately appointed to the high office of Vekil-M8tlac, or Agent-General and absolute of the Emperor's; and he ordered that he should be invested with a rich Qhylaat or dress of honor.(23) Manaam-khan, at the same time, who had often acted as Agent-General to the Imperial Princes, and as Divan or Superintendent of his Revenue-office, was invested with the Qhylaat of Vezir; and the Imperial Casket and Seal were put in his hands. The rank of these two illustrious men was also settled by the Emperor himself, who directed that after Assed-khan should take his seat on the carpet of Agent-General, and under the canopy of the Vezir-ship, Munaam-khan should walk up to him in a respectful manner, and should present to him the papers that might require his signature.

This regulation having satisfied both these illustrious personages, they joined their efforts in dispatching the affairs of state, and in promoting the welfare of the Empire, which conduct after all was their immediate duty, and ought to be the intent and scope of employment and service.

Zulficar-khan, the Generalissimo, was decorated with the title

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(23) A Qhylaat is composed of a *Destar* or *Chira*, i. e. a turbant, a *Patca*, or girdle, and a piece of stuff, sometimes ready made up, for a gown or a *Djama*. And hence a Qhylaat, dressing the whole body from head to foot, is very properly called a *Ser-pa*, or a head and foot. To persons of importance, they add a double piece for a gown, and lastly a *Djubba*, or a short gown with short sleeves, and then such a Qhylaat is a called a *Ser-pa* of five or six pieces. One piece of light brocade is also added for long drawers, but this word is never mentioned. All these pieces are of mulmul, embroidered in gold, silver, and silk, upon the most elegant patterns.

and office of Emir-ul-omrah,(24) and appointed to the government general of the Decan, comprehending all the provinces conquered already, or to be conquered hereafter—a charge of importance which he richly deserved: for no other man at that time would have been able to bring under control, countries so newly conquered and so refractory. The new Viceroy after having settled to his mind, the military and finances of his government, returned to Court, after having left for his Lieutenant, a famous Afghan Nobleman of those parts, called Dä8d-khan-peni,(25) a man extremely powerful in those countries, where his riches, his bodily strength, and his personal prowess, had rendered him so famous and of so much importance, that there were no noblemen in Decan, that could be compared to him. He not only was made the hinge of all public affairs, with power to bind or loosen as he should think proper, but he had also the finance department put in the palm of his hand, with full liberty to undertake any military expedition which he should think advisable.

Zulficar-khan, after having eased his mind of so great a burthen, went to Court, where he applied himself sedulously in spreading order and arrangement through every part of the Empire; and as the provinces of Bengala, Orissa, Aazimabad, and Ilahabad, had hitherto been governed by Azim-ush-shan, the Emperor's second son, it was thought proper to continue those countries under the same administration. This put it in the Prince's power, to reward nobly two illustrious lords, that had rendered him many important services, and had distinguished themselves so valiantly in the great battle of Ecber-abad. These were Abdollah-khan, and Sëid-aaly-khan, both sons of the famous Sëid-abdollah-khan, so much revered in Adjmir under the name of Mïa-khan. On the elder, Abdollah-khan, he conferred the Government of Ilah-

(24) This office, which is designed by the words *Prince of Princes*, has sometimes been by one degree inferior to that of Vezir, and sometimes superior to it, so as to be coveted by Vezirs themselves.

(25) The word *Peni*, as well as those of Lò8di, Tirin, Qhlidji, Bangash, &c., design particular races or tribes of Afghan mountaineers, inhabitants of Cab8l and Candahar, from whence they have more than once spread under the name of Patans, all over India, where they did cut so eminent a figure, that they were masters of the throne of Hindostan; and it is against the family of Lò8di, in particular, that Timur's successors, especially H8mai8n, fought such bloody battles.

abad; and he gave that of Aazimabad to the younger, Sëid-aaly-khan. Djaafer-khan was entrusted with the provinces of Bengala and Orissa, in which he acted already as Divan. After all these arrangements, the prince took his residence in his father's court, where he bore a great sway in every thing. For the Emperor, who was exceedingly good natured, and mild even to a defect, having remembered a vow which he had once made to the Creator of Spirits and men, that if ever he should ascend the throne, he would never deny any man's request, now wanted to act up to that oath of his; and therefore, dignities, titles, and employments were lavished away with so undistinguishing a profusion, that they lost much of their value, and ceased to be marks of honor and distinction, although no less a man than Munaam-khan had been appointed to examine the several requests, and to adjust the respective claims. Nevertheless, as men of low rank, whether Hindoos or Musulmen, obtained every day grades of six or seven thousand horse; and the titles of Djung, and Mulk,(26) as well as those of Rai and Ràdja, were given to all comers; dignities came at last to lose their weight and titles to forfeit all credit.

Meanwhile, the army which pushed forward towards Hindostan, had been overtaken by the rainy season; and it was at such

(26) The first title of honor given by the Emperors of Hindostan, is always that of Khan; but as all the Afghans, Patans, and Rohillas, never fail to add it to their names as a national distinction, it became necessary, in order to distinguish it as a title of honor, to add to a name the word Aaly, which signifies high, as well as that of Khan. A Mir-djaafer, for instance, on being decorated with the title of Khan, would find his name run thus: Mir-djafer-aaly-khan. In process of time, the court adds some title, which has some reference to a man's character, in a kingdom or province: thus, Mir-djafer-aaly-khan, Hessam-el-mulk: the high lord Mir-djaafer, the sword of the state. This title is in a little time increased by two more that relate to a man's character in war and to his station in the Empire. For instance, Mir-djaafer-aaly-khan, Hessam-el-mulk, R8k8n-ed-dô8lah, Mehabet-djung: the noble lord Mir-djaafer-khan, the Sword of his Province, and one of the Colonels of the Empire, the formidable in war. Look at the note 14th, section 12th. The titles of Ráy and Radja, the first of which signifies a Genius or a Counsellor, and the second a King, although hereditary in some families of Hindoo Prince, are, however, very often bestowed as a reward on Hindoo Intendants and Ministers by their Musulmen Masters. Once, for ever, it must be observed, that a hundred years ago those titles, which were infinitely less common than to-day, bore a real reference to a man's character, as a soldier, a general, or a minister; whereas now they are become things of course.

Feebleness of Bahadyr-shah's administration.

a time as this, that the Minister thought proper to bestow the Government of G8djrat on Ghazi-eddin-khan, who enjoyed already that of Barar, to which he had been appointed by Aorengzib; but such was the feebleness of the Ministry, and such the contempt into which their administration had fallen, that the new Governor set out without leave, and even without waiting on the Emperor. This insolence of his having been passed over, encouraged the two dispossessed Gentoo Princes, who lived at Court, to take the same liberties. These were Radja Djehising-ketchöa, and Adjet-sing-rhator:(27) they both quitted the Court without leave, and having crossed the Nerbedda, they returned to their own country, where having ejected with a great deal of fighting and slaughter, the Imperial Officers established themselves in their fortresses; they retook possession of them, and reinstated themselves in their own dominions.

So much presumption had at last roused the Emperor. He crossed the Nerbedda with intention to chastise the Gentoo Princes, who had so far availed themselves of their distance from court, and the inattention of the times, that they had given battle to the three Sëid brothers, Ahmed-khan, Hosseïn-khan and Qhäiret-khan, who had been all three slain, and all three had on the same day received the palm of martyrdom. This particular had added to the Emperor's indignation, as well as to the apprehensions of those Radj-poots;(28) when an intelligence arrived at court, which made it expedient to temporise with them, and to accept of the submission of those two Princes who paid their homage as the Emperor was passing on his elephant. He was then indisposed; but the intelligence engaged him to postpone every consideration, in order to smother the fire which G8r8-govind, at the head of his Sycks, had raised in the mountains.(29) That incendiary had got himself followed by the Radja and in-

(27) Ketchöa and Rhator are names of family; the rest is a proper name.

(28) Radj-poots signify issue of Radja or King. They are the military tribes of India: tall, lean, robust, courageous men, who, very different in that from the Brahmanical race, make no difficulty to eat meat, although living in general upon vegetables.

(29) This G8r8-govind, or Bishop Govind, was then at the head of the Sycks, men who, after having been mendicants about three hundred years ago, became soldiers in the sequel, and form now a powerful commonwealth, that has sent more than once sixty thousand horse in the field.

habitants of that snowy-country; and he had slain in battle, Vezir-khan, the Fodjar of Ser-hend. The Emperor, shocked at their ravages, ordered Assed-khan and Zulficar-khan to ascend those mountains, and to blockade, on all sides, the stronghold in which the G8r8 had shut himself up; but in the night, the Radja, who was acquainted with a particular path, found means to elude the enemy's vigilance and to escape with all his followers, of whom only a few were intercepted: a neglect that very much affected Assed-khan's character. The Emperor finding that no glory was to be acquired in that country, left Rostem-dil-khan in it, with a body of troops, and turned towards Lahor; and it was in that city that Assed-khan departed this fragile world. His office of Lieutenant-General to the Emperor was given to Hedäiet-aaly-khan, son to Enäiet-eddin-khan; and he was installed in it with a rich dress of honor. Ghazi-ed-din-khan, likewise, departed his life in his government of G8djrat. The Emperor was then encamped on the banks of the Ravi, the river that flows at Lahor; and it was there that Rostem-dil-khan had the assurance to shew his face at court, after having had the meanness to quit his post, and that too without leave. His impudence met with what it deserved. He was deprived of his grade, command, Djaghir, and confined in the citadel of Lahor; and Mahmed-amin-khan was sent in his stead.

Some strange events happened during the Emperor's residence in that city. As he was fond of the company of the learned and ingenious, and he passed himself for an acute proficient in the subtilities of sciences, and especially in whatever concerns law and divinity, (qualities in which he surpassed by far all the Princes of the House of Timur) so he loved to be surrounded with people skilled in those matters, and he discoursed with pleasure on those subjects; but as he had discovered, by the strength of his own genius, that the sect of the Imamites(30)

(30) The Mahometan world is divided into two principal Sects, one of which is called the Sunnies, or Traditionists, because they admit traditions; and the other is called Shïjahs or Separatists, and Schismatists, but who style themselves the Imamites, or Pontificals. The former acknowledge, for rightful successors of Mohammed, the Qhalifs, or the Emperors, Ab8-becr, Omar and Osman, all relations of the Prophet, and also Aaly, his cousin and son-in-law; nor have they any other profession of faith than that revealed in the Koran, which runs thus: "*There is no God but God, and Mohammed is his Messenger.*" The Shïjahs, on the contrary,

was the only rightful one, and he had set his heart on it, he on his arrival at Lahor, assembled the learned of that city, most of them staunch Sunnies, and argued with them about the justice of the right of his Majesty, the King of Holiness, the Commander of the Faithful, Saint Aaly, son to Ab8-taaleb (on whom be grace and peace!). These men were all confuted; and the confusion in which he saw them, made him conceive the design of adding to the usual profession of faith, as uttered in the public prayers, and in the Qhotba, the words, "*And Aaly is the Saint of God, and the Heir of the Messenger of God.*" An affair of so much importance required a power absolute, and a great firmness of mind, qualities, which were never eminent in the characters of the Princes of the House of Timur, especially in those of the latter times; and, as on the other hand, the Emperor's eldest sons, Azim-ush-shan, and Qhodjistah-aqhter, both men of courage and merit, were extremely zealous for the Sunni tenets, this innovation proved very unwelcome, and could take no root. The Emperor himself became apprehensive of a vigorous opposition on that head; so that his will remained without effect. Still unwilling to abandon his design without making some trial of its practicability, he one day sent a Shijah reader to the main Mosque, after having put him under the safeguard of Azim-ush-

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rejecting the three former Princes, as so many usurpers, admit no other lawful successor but Aaly, as having espoused Fatema, daughter to Mohammed; and they hold him therefore the only rightful Pontiff. Moreover, to the profession revealed in the Koran, which is called the fine words by excellence, they have added the words: "*And Aaly is the Saint of God and the Successor of the Messenger of God.*" It is strange that this Sect, which once partaged the Mohammedan world, at a time when it was governed by Princes inimical to Aaly and his pretensions, should now be restricted to only the greatest part of Persia and some parts of India, for instance, Bengal where, by the bye, the people call themselves Sunnies, or Char-Yaries, or admitters of the Four Friends; but where, in fact, they know nothing of Religion, and think that the whole of it consists in being circumcised, abstaining from any victuals touched by Europeans, and in observing religiously the theatrical idolatrous rites used by the Shijahs in the first ten days of Muharrem. The Sunnies may be divided into seventy sects, all Orthodoxes; but which are all resolved into Four, *viz.*, the Hanefies, or those that follow the doctrines of Ab8-hanifa; and such are the Turks, the Tarters, some Persians and almost all the Indians. They are the most rational and least superstitious of all. The Barbarescs and Marroquines follow those of Malecs, and so do the Arabs. The doctrines of Ab8-hanbal, or Hannibal are followed by another part of Arabs. The Eastern parts of the Turkish Empire follow Shafey; and the Persians themselves pretend to be within that division.

shan's company. The Prince, who was in his heart averse to such an innovation, took the man with him, out of respect to his father's pleasure; but proved entirely passive when the congregation, which was mostly composed of Hanefies, having got information of the scheme, fell upon that innocent man, and hacked him to pieces, before he had time to utter the offensive words.

This commotion was followed by another. The men learned in the law, and some principal inhabitants, all men of the Sunni principles, having forthwith assembled in the Cathedral, sent a message, by which they invited the Emperor over to the right party, and required every inhabitant, Musselman or Gentoo, good or bad, to be assisting with their persons and fortunes; but the Emperor, without minding the invitation, continued during the remainder of his life, to promote the tenets of the Shijahs, and to pass a great deal of his time in arguing with the Doctors of the opposite party; although to no purpose at all. And, indeed, if the promulgation of new principles depended entirely on argument and reason, why should the Prince of Prophets and Chief of Messengers, (on whom, as well as on his posterity, be salutation and peace to the end of time!) have received orders to fight from the Lord of the Creation—he who was confessedly the most eloquent man of his time, whether in Arabia or in Iran?

Five years had already elapsed since the Emperor's accession to the throne, and it was the third year since he was encamped on the Ravi, close to the city of Lahor, when some alteration was perceived in his mind. It was about the middle of Muharrem, in the year 1124 of the Hedjra. One day, he took into his head to give orders for killing all the dogs in camp, as well as all those in the city of Lahor. As such an order, from so sensible a Prince, could not appear but very strange, people were willing to account for it by supporting that some witchcraft or enchantment had been practised upon his person. Such a state of things was the more disagreeable, as the Sycks were becoming equally numerous and troublesome. Forbidden from coming into the city of Lahor, not one of them was to be seen in the day-time; but as soon as it was dark, they never failed to return to the houses of those that used to feed and cherish them; and this manege lasted during the whole night: for at

day-break they would throw themselves in the Ravi,(31) and after having swam on the other side, they lurked in the neighbouring fields.

These manœuvres of the Sycks, as well as the tumult in the Cathedral, I have mentioned upon the faith of a letter which Amin-ed-do8la, of Sambal, had written to his children, and which I have found at length in the papers of his secretary. The latter says, that the Emperor incensed against the Doctors that had excited the tumult which had cost the reader's life, had ordered some of them to be thrown into a prison, and some others to be sent to the fortress of G8aliar. Sometimes after, the Emperor having felt a slight indisposition of which no one suspected any ill, he at once fell into a swoon, in which he suddenly departed from this world, to hasten to a corner of the mansions of eternal mercy. It was the 19th of Muharrem, about two hours before night.

The Emperor Behader-shah dies suddenly.

The Prince Azim-ush-shan, who happened to be present when the Emperor fell into a swoon, finding himself unable to stand such a spectacle, had quitted that spot, and retired to his own camp, after having recommended to Amin-ed-do8la to tarry a few hours more, in order to bring him a sure intelligence about so mournful an event. So that as soon as the Emperor expired, that nobleman had repaired to the Prince, and had informed him that his father was no more, and that all was over. The Prince wept bitterly; but Amin-ed-do8la having dried his tears with a handkerchief, bid him stand up, and take his party instantly, as not a moment was to be lost. "Ascend the throne," said he, "at once, and order the Imperial kettle-drums(32) and music to strike up immediately;" and this being complied with, the few courtiers that chanced to be at hand, made haste to present their Nazers according to custom, and wished the Prince a long, happy reign. At this very time Amin-ed-do8la with Naamet-ollah-khan, and some others, represented that Zulficar-khan, the Generalissimo, as well as Hamid-ed-din-khan, who were both

Azim-ush-shan assumes the crown

(31) This circumstance of whole multitudes throwing themselves into a large river, and swimming over, must not surprise the reader. There are so many rivers, lakes, ponds, and waters in India, that every man knows how to swim; and in Bengal all swim, from the oldest women, to the children of four years old.

(32) Those Drums are made of iron hoops, and twice as big as those used in Europe for the cavalry.

inimical to him, were actually busy in fitting up the imperial body, and would be taken up with that ceremony as far as the grave, and of course could afford a precious delay, in which they both might be seized and secured. The Prince seemingly unmoved by so important an advice, answered," that the Imperial honor would "suffer from such a hasty indecent proceeding; and that for his "own part he trusted solely to his own right, and to God Al-"mighty's assistance; the more so, as after all, Zulficar-khan "could do but little." This answer struck his advisers and well-"wishers dumb; and they said in a low voice: "May God turn "this into some good!" In fact, the Prince was guilty of an enormous oversight, and that too,at the very threshold of his throne. Nevertheless, Naamet-ollah-khan, of his own motion, went away directly, and putting himself at the head of a numerous brigade of his own, he marched straight to the imperial paling; where having found the generalissimo already gone to his camp, and in the middle of his troops, he returned to the Prince, after having missed his blow.

It must be observed that Azim-ush-shan had always borne a great sway in his father's life-time, under whom he had acted as his Lieutenant-General, whether in signing papers, or in dispatching business; and as the whole household, to which he commanded, as grand-master, was devoted to him, he had found no difficulty in taking possession of his father's treasures, and ascending the throne; a step which had afforded some assurance and some satisfaction to the troops in camp. But this was not the case of all. Numbers that looked more narrowly into the matter, were apprehensive of troubles and much bloodshed; so that whoever could provide himself with a carriage or a beast of burthen, made haste to send his family with his best effects into Lahor, during the whole night, whilst others went within the the Imperial paling and took their abode there (33)

(33) The Imperial enclosure of tents (and the Hindostany Emperors heretofore were encamped for six months together in the year) may be of a mile and-quarter in circuit. It contains one hundred and twenty tents, some of them big enough for several hundreds of men, and the largest might admit two or three thousands. All this is surrounded by a conatt, or wall of cloth, six feet high, without which is a paling that surrounds the whole; and it is betwixt these two enclosures that reside the guards. Further off, there is another paling; and here too, in the intermediate space, reside the guards, and some other people attached to the Imperial household, such as chair-men, water-men, taper-bearers, &c., &c.

Whilst all this was going forward, the Physicians, Sadyc-khan and Hekin-el-mulk,(34) together with Mehabet-khan and all the Ministers of State, as well as all the Crown officers, went in a body to pay their homages to Azim-ush-shan. They were led by Shah-nevaz-khan and Hamid-eddin-khan. On the other hand, Rostem-dil-khan and some others acknowledged Qhodjis-tah-aqhter. But Zulficar-khan, the Generalissimo, who did not like this Prince, and was upon bad terms with Azim-ush-shan, re-paired to the eldest son, Muëzzeddin, and asked him whether he had any commands to lay upon him? "None at all," answered the Prince, "at least at present, for I have neither money nor "troops, having added to the Imperial army whatever I could "bring together, when I came to join my father. But I intend "to retire into my Government of M8ltan, where I expect to col-"lect forces as well as the means of appearing again upon the "stage of the world, at which time I shall act as fortune shall "point out." The Generalissimo disapproved of such a dilatory party, offered money, troops, and artillery out of his own private stores, and proposed to join immediately both Qhodjistah-aqhter and Refi-al-cadr, by which junction they would disperse Azim-ush-shan's party, after which it might be time for the three bro-thers to consult together about further measures. This proposal was not relished by Muëzzeddin, who trusting but little to the Generalissimo's promises or power, desired him first of all to go and find his two brothers. Zulficar-khan returned directly to his own camp, where having assembled what money and effects he thought necessary, he sent the whole to Muëzzeddin, repair-ing at the same time to the quarters of the two other Princes, whose hearts he gained at the first interview, after having made them agree to an equal division of the treasures and effects of the late Emperor.

All this while Azim-ush-shan, surrounded by Crown officers, and by the courtiers and generals attached to his party, was sit-ting on the throne in full possession of the Imperial honors, but resolved to fall on whoever should venture to attack him. He surrounded his camp with a ditch, planted his cannon round, and

(34) One may judge from thence how much Physicians are respected in India. There are in most cities charity-lands set apart on purpose for them, that they may practise without fees.

for a few days waited the event, in hopes that the other pretenders, having no money, their troops would disperse of themselves, or come over to his camp. But as fortune was not on his side, it happened that the very reverse of all that came to take place; for Zulficar-khan, after having performed a service that seemed above all reward, invited the Princes to join together; and this being agreed to unanimously, they repaired with him to Muëzzeddin's camp, where they formed him a court worthy of the Imperial splendour. This happened in the 1124 year of the Hedjrah. The next day, they marched to attack Azim-ush-shan, and a royal battle was fought; but as destiny was against him, in a little time his troops were defeated, and they fled on all sides; but what is singular is that Azim-ush-shan's body could not be found, notwithstanding all the search made for that purpose. This event was related in the following manner:—

The first day, there was a slight attack from the enemy; but as if they had changed their minds, they contented themselves, for seven days together, with firing showers of cannon-ball into Azim-ush-shan's camp, from which they were answered in the same style. On the seventh day, Naamet-ollah-khan and Aziz-khan, with Radja Mohcum-sing the Cahtri, and Radja Radj-sing the Djatt, came in a body with Shah-nevaz-khan at their head; and they represented to that Prince, that as his enemies were not yet grown so numerous as had been apprehended, it was possible to attack them, and to disperse their troops, by sallying upon them at once, and coming to hand-blows. For all answer, the Prince desired them to wait a little, and with this order they were obliged to comply. The Prince hoped that as the Djatt Churamon, and the Bandjarras,(35) had so beset the roads, that no

(35) The Djats are a sort of Radjpoots that formed, twenty years ago, a powerful state, that extended from Adjmir to Mahtra and Acber-abad. It has been ruined by Nedjef-khan. The Bandjarras are a set of armed men that travel all over India, by thousands at a time, with their oxen loaded with bulky goods, such as, salt, wheat, fine rice, &c., with, now and then, spices, and tin and copper. They encamp every evening in a regular square, the dispositions of which would be admired in Europe. They are in the centre with their wives and children; their oxen being made fast, three or four deep, to iron pins fixed on the ground. A strong guard at each corner flank this fortification; and their numerous dogs scour all the avenues. Neither tigers nor banditties dare approach them; and a traveller, of whom they have taken charge, is safe to all intents and purposes.

provisions could reach the enemy's camp, the latter would soon be obliged to disperse for want of daily food. Whilst he was so much inclined to dilatory measures, he took none to gain the hearts of his troops. Extremely sparing of those treasures he had found ready under his hand, he looked like one anxious to carry them to the other world with him. With such a scheme in his head, no wonder that whenever any bolder advice was proposed, he was sure to mar it, by answering those very words of his—*wait a little more.* On the eighth day, Zulficar-khan, having fetched from the city of Lahor, several large pieces of cannon, got them planted on a raised advantageous ground, from which they were incessantly pouring showers of large balls into Azim-ush-shan's camp; and as in order to bring up the cannon, the enemy had set open the road to Lahor, the troops of Azim-ush-shan, already exceedingly disgusted, availed themselves of that opportunity to put themselves out of the reach of a heavy fire, by retiring from the rear of his camp. This state of inaction having highly disgusted the two Gentoo Radjas, they repaired to the Prince at the head of their troops, and represented to him that "as there were no means left to tarry in his camp, and they "would put up no more with the eternal taunts of the enemy, "they were resolved to fall upon them with their own men, whe-"ther they should be supported or not, being determined on "taking their chance." To this animated remonstrance the Prince made no other answer than this—*wait a little more.* The two brave Gentoos shocked at such a reception, vented their indignation in expressions of reproach, and with one and the same breath, they sallied forth, and fell sword in hand upon the enemy. As these did not expect such a sudden attack, they were surprized and gave way; and the two Princes, after performing wonders, and passing through the enemy's ranks, penetrated as far as the battery in question, of which they took possession. This was the time to support those brave men; but so far was the Prince from any such exertion, that he sent his Aid-de-camps abroad to reprimand and bring back some commanders that had sallied forth of their own accord. This moment of suspense having been observed by the Generalissimo and Rostem-dil-khan, they made a brisk attack upon the Gentoo Princes, who received them with great bravery, and a sharp engagement took place;

but the two Gentoos, overpowered by numbers, having fallen mortally wounded, their men lost courage, and fled towards Lahor, at the very time that a brave Afghan, called Suléiman-khan-péni, was coming to their assistance with a thousand horse of his nation. He came just in time enough to lose his own life by a musquet-ball, and his body was sent to the city by the victors.

Of about sixty or seventy thousand horse that had been in Azim-ush-shan's army, there remained now about his elephant, no more than about ten or twelve thousand; and these, as soon as the Prince was returned to his quarters in the evening, retired to Lahor by shoals—so that the next morning he found himself with no more than two or three thousand men; and with this handful, he wanted to march up to the enemy; but as they had brought him his accustomed elephant, and he was going to mount, the animal refused to kneel, whatever his driver could do to oblige him; and the Prince was obliged to send for another. By this time, even the few that remained with him had disappeared, and on putting his elephant in motion, he found about his person, only Naamet-ollah-khan, with ten troopers, Amin-ed-dö8la-khan, with twenty, and Radja Djehi-sing, with a little more than a thousand;—all his people, of all sorts, not amounting to two thousand men; still he was advancing to the field of battle; but hardly was the action commenced, when there arose such a violent wind as put in motion all the sands of the Ravi; and it raised such clouds of dust, as left no other party than that of shutting one's eyes, and turning the head away from the violence of the hurricane; nor was it possible to open an eye but to see the flash, or to unstop an ear but to hear the report of the enemy's cannon. Some troops of cavalry having come upon their rear at this moment, let fly a shower of arrows; but as there was no see in Azim-ush-shan's person, they pushed forwards to plunder his treasures. A moment after, a cannon-ball striking the Micdember, or throne, on which he was sitting, set on fire the pillows, and occasioned much smoke. The Prince, to save his life, threw all the furniture down; and Amin-ed-do8la having asked whether he was not hurt, was answered, "*Not at all—go on—go on.*" At these words, the General having fetched several deep sobs, and dropped some tears, was reprimanded by

the Prince, who, with a magnanimity remarked by all, reproached him for his want of firmness. "Firmness!" answered the General, "what purpose can it answer to us now? The vessel of our "hopes is going to be dashed against rocks; and nothing re-"mains to me but to strike my head against a stone, or a stone "against my head. In vain have all your faithful servants been "entreating you to let them sally forth, and march to a general "attack; in vain did they repeat their instances for so salutary "a measure: your answer was always these words, of bad omen,—"*Wait a little more;*" but after all, how could your Majesty do "otherwise, since it was in the Almighty's decree, that we should "be undone? Still there remains one party; it is yet time to take "it; but a moment hence, it will be too late. Leave your ele-"phant, mount a horse, and fly with us towards Bengal. There "you have your family, you have friends and succourers; and at "any rate, Da8d-khan-peni, who commands throughout all the "Decan, is your servant. Let us retire to Bengal, which is a "place of safety; and there, after having dried your feathers, "and trimmed your wings, you may take your party, and come "again, and act as occasion shall direct." "*All that is very fine,*" replied the Prince; "but what has Dara-Shecoh done after his "defeat? And did all that avail to Shudjah?(36) If I am yet "destined to reign, the scriptural sentence—*Many a time did a "small number prevail over a multitude*—shall be verified in "my person; nor is victory and success so far distant from us yet." To all this Amin-ed-do8la rejoined, that he had no more than twenty troopers with him, and that every one else was gone away. "Very well," said the Prince, coolly, "let me have one-"half of these twenty, that I may with them rush on that Muéz-"zeddin; and with the other ten, do you rush on that wretched "of Qhodjistah-aqhtar."(37) The general was near losing his wits on hearing these words, and the Prince was yet speaking, when Qhoadja-hassen (since Qhandö8ran) was heard to cry

(36) Two brothers of Aoreng-zib, who could never recover from a defeat, and perished miserably.

(37) The word Qhodjishtah-aqhta. signifies of a lucky destiny; but Azim-ush-shan having proposed a *na* or negation to the word *Qhodjistah*, made them signify the very reverse. The text has it: "And with the other ten, fall upon that *Na-qhodjistah-aqhtar.*"

from behind: "General, I am going to Bengal. Believe me, let "us go together." "Never," answered the General; "*and so* "*long as there is breath in Azim-ush-shan, I will not part with* "*him.*" He had hardly said this, when a large cannon-ball having struck the elephant full on the root of the proboscis, made him run mad. The animal turned about and made to the water side, with the fury of a whirlwind, and the rapidity of lightning. His conductor lost his seat, and fell on the ground. Djelil-khan-lo8dy, who sat behind,(38) laid hold of the ropes, came to the ground, and fled for his life. Several people attempted to intercept the elephant, and Amin-ed-do8la was of the number; but there was no overtaking him. In a moment, he saw the animal jump down a cliffy part of the bank, and plunge into an eddy—he plunged and disappeared. Coming close, he perceived an extraordinary motion in the waters, with a great deal of mud flying up; he heard the roaring of the waves, but saw no elephant; and he concluded that both the animal and Prince had sunk, never to come up again. Immediately he took to flight, but was soon overtaken and seized; and he was sent close prisoner to the Citadel of Shah-djehan-abad, where he remained until he was set at liberty by an express order which Feroh-syur, after his victory over Muëzzedein, addressed to the Governor Yar-khan for that purpose; and in the sequel he rose to the highest dignities of the state.

Azim-ush shan is drowned.

This important victory, which had cost so little that it seemed a gratuitous present from heaven, raised the ideas of Muëzzeddin, a Prince who wanted neither courage nor merit; and he conceived now the design of setting aside the partition treaty, and of assuming to himself the crown of all Hindostan. With that view, he displayed the standard of contention and superiority, and in such a manner that the union of the three brothers ended in disunion and bloodshed. It is certain that these dissensions arose about the division of the Imperial treasures.

(38) He was of the family of Lo8dy which once had held the sceptre of Hindostan; and in fact, none but people of the highest rank can sit in the back part of the ha8dah, or throne, placed on an elephant; and that place in a province in particular belongs to the Divan or Civil Governor of it, who holds the Moorchull as a mark of his dignity. This Moorchull or fly-driver, is an elegant implement made of Peacock's feathers, beautifully arranged, and stuck into a rich handle, in general, of agathe studded with jewels.

This consisted in eighty cart-loads of the Eshreffies,(39) and in a hundred more laden with rupees. Qhodjistah-aqhtar wanted to divide all this money in three equal parts; but Zulficar-khan made use of so much chicanery, and he brought so many pretences forwards, that three-fifths of that immense sum became Muëzzeddin's share, and the two other two-fifths only fell to the share of the two other brothers. Such a proceeding could not but exasperate them; and Qhodjistah-aqhtar resolved to assume the crown, and took the title of Djehan-shah :(40) so that the two parties were ripe for coming to blows. This Prince, having been joined at the same time by several commanders of great distinction, such as Mahmed-khan, and Rostem-dil-khan, men who breathed nothing but slaughter and blood, the two armies looked at each other with a jealous eye; and although they did not come to a battle, they passed whole days and even whole nights under arms. For as soon as the King of *Astres* had retired behind the western tracts of the world, the two armies would light an infinity of tapers and other fires, and seemed to wait but for an opportunity of coming to blows. Djehan-shah, who had a very cosiderable party, soon found himself at the head of a great army and a numerous artillery; nor was Muezzeddin behind him in those two respects; and he now took the title of Djehandar-shah, or, Possessor of the Whole, or of the World. The two armies partook of the enmity of the two brothers; and for three days together, nothing was thought of but skirmishing by day, and watching under arms by night. On the fourth day the fortune of Djehan-shah's having declined from its meridian, he said to his generals that he wanted to examine his encampment from without, and that meanwhile they should be careful to keep their troops mounted and ready, as he intended a review. At the same time he recommended to his spies to be upon the watch, and to give him immediate notice, the moment they should perceive that the enemy's cavalry had alighted, and were

Bloody decisións between the three brothers.

(39) An Eshreffy is a piece of gold worth from thirteen to sixteen rupees.

(40) The word *Djehan-shah* signifies King of the World, and also King of the Whole; and it was to shew him the difference which he put between himself and his rival, that Muëzzeddin took the title of *Djehandar-shah*, which words signify the *King* possessor *of the World*.

preparing to dress grain for their horses.(41) That moment being come, Djehan-shah, who had his troops mounted and ready, rushed towards the enemy's camp, where after a slight combat, the confusion became general. The enemy's troops confounded by such an unexpected attack, made but a faint resistance, lost ground, and at last dispersed. The flight and dismay became at once so universal, that a famous courtesan, called Lal-coär,(42) who was the favourite mistress of Djehandar-shah's and followed him everywhere, mounted upon a veiled elephant, was obliged to fly with the crowd, and that too on foot without a veil. She fell in the hands of Rostem-dil-khan; and that officer was actually busy in loosening the string of pearl that hung at the cordon of her drawers, when she was rescued from his hands.(43) In a confusion so sudden, Djehandar-shah himself having missed his accustomed elephant, got upon the first that came to hand and had no canopy, wrapped himself up with a large sheet, and bid the driver carry him across the enemy's troops, and under colour of his carrying a woman,(44) to find his way to

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(41) Horses in several parts of India are fed upon a kind of bean, boiled; but horses of distinction are fed with sheep's heads boild to rags.

(42) This title of *Coär* alone would prove that she was a dancing-woman or a public dancer, and a courtesan. The same profession is designed by the words, Baï, P8ri, &c., which those women always add to their proper names. There are several sorts of thrones or sedans placed upon an elephant. The most ordinary one is a häodah, which is made of boards strengthened with iron, the whole having the appearance of an octagon platform, surrounded by boards eighteen inches high, which in war time become two feet high, and those too covered with iron or brass plates. Such an häodah, being divided in two unequal parts, the forepart of it, that is the three-quarter of it, may easily contain a man with his pillows and cushions, and upon a stretch two men; the hind part can contain only one man, and him, too, very narrowly. Such an häodah covered with a canopy, is called an Amhari, and is not used in the field. Lal-coär was upon such an Amhari, veiled, or surrounded with curtains.

(43) This cordon is made of net-work like an officer's sash, but so very fine, that the heaviest of them does not weigh more than one ounce of silk; a kind of girdle which corpulent women could never wear without hurting themselves, but which the delicate shapes of India, wear with a deal of ease. The forepart of this net-work ends in some ornaments of gold and silver thread, and with Ladies of distinction, in several strings of pearls, emeralds, and oftener of rubies mixed, the whole elegantly made. This cordon is five feet long, and eight inches in breadth, when stretched, otherwise it is no bigger than a small finger.

(44) A veiled carriage, that is, a woman's carriage, or chair, is sacred all over India, as well as her apartment. No constable would dare to touch it, and

Zulficar-khan. The man did as he was bid; and no opposition being made to a woman's voiture, Djehandar-shah got safe to his general, just as cries of victory were filling the air in the enemy's troops. Zulficar-khan amazed to see Djehandar-shah in such a condition, became anxious about the fate of the day; he called aloud to a body of choice musqueteers attached this long while to his person, and throwing gold by handfuls amongst them, he told them that the day was come to render him an important service; that it was the only one he asked of them; and that one once performed, they would see what his gratitude was capable of, and what their good fortune had prepared for them. "You see," added he, "that Djehan-shah is now sur-"rounded by multitude of officers and soldiers, who are present-"ing him their Nazurs (45) in compliment to his victory. Let

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we have seen the English themselves pay a respectful regard to that custom. In 1782, Bidjäigur, a strong fortress, belonging to a Gentoo Prince, revolted, having been besieged by the English, and the Radja's women having requested leave to depart the place, the English commander received Governor Hasting's consent thereon, with injunctions, to respect the Indian ideas. So that several scores of covered chairs, laden with women, and to all appearance with gold and jewels, also passed, unvisited, through the whole English army.

(45) The *Nazur* being a custom peculiar to India, needs a description here. This word signifies sight in Arabick, and by implication, *offering*. In fact it is an offering which a visitor makes to one very superior, on a first interview, or on some holy days or solemnities. It is a present in money from one to five rupees, or of five rupees with mohur, or of one mohur as far as eleven And these are presented in this manner: The visitor advances without salute close to the superior and presents his Nazur, which he has placed on a small white handkerchief folded quadruple, on the palm of the right hand, actually leaning on the palm of the left. When the Nazur has been taken up or even touched, (and there are many niceties in taking up or in touching it, which last amounts to an acceptance) then the presenter retreats two or three paces, makes his bow, and remains standing or sits down as he is bid or his rank requires. Persons of nearly equal are admitted to an embrace, some before, some after, the Nazur has been presented. Officers, in general, present their Nazur upon the sleeve of their malmal coats, which they draw down upon the palm of the hand for that purpose. Superior officers present only their sabres couched upon both palms; and this is touched with the right hand, which is then carried to the forehead in token of acceptance. A common trooper meeting by chance a Prince passing on his elephant, would present his sabre in that manner in token of respect, and the Prince, although at so great a distance, would submit to the ceremony of seeming to touch it, and carrying his finger to his head in token of acceptance; for in India a trooper is deemed a gentleman, and is received as such in the best companies. There are Nazurs of

"some hundreds of you mix with that crowd under the same "pretence, and then let them fire at once all altogether upon "him. This is easy, and all that I want of you." As soon as he had done speaking, three or four hundreds of them,(46) with their officers at their head, mixed with the crowd; and whilst Djehan-shah was talking to the people about him, and receiving Nazurs, and looking at the troops who pillaged Muëzzeddin's camp, they fired altogether at him, laid him sprawling in his blood, and gave an unexpected victory to their master. This prince, so unexpectedly victorious, no sooner saw the enemy retreat, than he retired with his mistress to his quarters, where he spent the night in drinking wine,(47) and in looking at his dancing-women, whilst the troops fatigued by such a journey, were taking some repose on the field of battle, every one where he found himself.

Djehandar shah unexpectedly victorious.

The next morning at day-break the Prince Refi-al-cadr sent the principal eunuch of his seraglio to compliment him on his victory; but the victor who had passed the whole night in drinking delicious liquors, was now fast asleep, and there was no awakening him; but his eunuchs hearing of the message, which the Prince's man was bringing, fell a laughing, and told him "that he was a "great fool indeed to bring such a message; the more so as his "master having but just seen what had been Azim-ush-shan's "and Djehan-shah's fate, had no occasion for any further warn-"ing." This answer having convinced the messenger of his

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eleven, twenty-five, fifty-one, one hundred and one, and a thousand and one mohurs; but these except the two first, are presented in a bag, which the visitor places at the foot of the Mensed. There are niceties without number in presenting, receiving, taking up, touching, refusing, taking, touching with one hand, with two, declining, &c., and also in advancing to present a Nazur Governor Hastings in general, never took up a Nazur, but only touched it, and he attended to all the niceties in which a long residence in the country had initiated him. He never took up Nazurs but from five persons in Bengal, and in fact from Lucknow to Calcutta there are but eight persons of a rank high enough to embrace a Governor-General, and to render an acceptance, indispensable.

(46) This manœuvre was the more easy as troops wear no uniforms in India.

(47) Although grapes are uncommon in India, and in general do not ripen kindly in that climate, the Indians extract, instead of wine several kinds of intoxicating liquors from the sugar-cane, the cocoa, and the taal (or Toddy) tree, and also from rice and from mow, a kind of sweet fruit. These are often mixed and compounded.

master's mistake, he made haste to return, and to give notice of what had happened. This intelligence afforded at once an immense deal of information to Refi-al-cadr; like a man waking from a dream, he ordered the Nagara or great kettle-drum to be beat, and listening only to his own despair, he mounted and went forward, his troops and friends following as fast as they could. These motions having put Zulficar-khan upon his guard, he ranged his army in battle array, and sent a trusty eunuch with orders to drag Djehandar-shah out of the women's apartment, and to get him mounted by any means whatever upon an Imperial elephant. But Djehandar-shah was now in the height of intoxication, bare-headed, with his clothes in the utmost disorder,(48) and with hardly any knowledge of what was about him; and it is in that condition he was put upon his elephant and brought to the field of battle, where the Generalissimo was already marching to Refi-al-cadr. This Prince advanced on a full gallop, and charged the troops of his rival with an heroical valor that deserved a better fate. He penetrated through the thickest of the enemy, and fell covered with wounds, after having shown throughout this bloody action a great deal of presence of mind. The few troops he had about his person being mostly slain, or wounded, and himself being left nearly alone, he took up his sabre and buckler, jumped down from his elephant, and after having performed prodigies of valor, he drank undauntedly the bitter draught presented him by death.

This victory having put Djehandar-shah in an undisputed possession of the Empire, he sent notice of his accession throughout all the provinces. Moving at the same time from Lahor, he marched to Shah-djehan-abad, where he made his entry with all the pomp of an hereditary monarch, and all the pride of a victor. It was on a Monday, the fourteenth of the first Djemady, of the *year 1124*, about three hours before sunset. *On his passage through Badely*, he was received by Mahmed-yar-khan, Governor of the province, who went so far

(48) Bare-headed, that token of European respect, would be deemed an atrocious indecence in India, amongst the better sort, where none appear bare-headed but Bankrupts, and they sit then before a Lamp burning in broad day light. However Peasants, especially in Bengal, go bare-headed; and some rigid Brahmans make it a rule to go only so.

on purpose to pay his homage to the Emperor, as he was passing on his elephant. Four days after, at about noonday, the sun being then in the meridian, the Emperor made his entry in the citadel, and took possession of the Imperial palace.(49)

And now the new Sovereign being seated on his throne, confirmed Assed-khan in the high dignity of Vekil-mootlac, or his Lieutenant-General, all over the Empire, and Zulficar-khan, his son, in that of Vezir. But here he commenced embruing his hands in blood. Sultan Kerimeddin, eldest son of Azim-ush-shan, was seized at Lahore through the management of Hedaiët-kesh-khan, and brought to the Emperor's presence, where he was instantly put to death. Nor were the other princes, of the blood, all sons of Aazem-shah or of prince Cambuqhsh, treated much more favourably. Those unfortunate youths, who lived quietly, without suspecting any thing of their impending fate, were all seized at once and rigorously confined. History, melted by the misfortunes of so much innocence, has conserved their names. It was Aaly-tebar, son to Aazem-shah, and Muhi-et-tessa, and Firozmend, the two sons of Cambuqhsh. There was a third son, whose name is not certainly known.

All these precautions being over, the Emperor thought only of raising his relations to dignities and honors, and of rewarding his friends to the utmost of his power. His milk-brother, Cocal-tash-khan, was promoted to the highest offices, and his name was changed into that of Qhan-djehan-bahadyr.(50) His beloved mistress, Lal-coăr, was decorated with the title of Imtiazmahal-begum, or the Exalted Princess of the Sanctuary or

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(49) This Citadel which has more than four miles in circuit, and contains the Imperial Palace, is built of an excellent stone, of a pale pink colour, and presents an admirable aspect. All the buildings (and these although not in the Grecian architecture, exhibit a noble appearance) are built of red stone or of marble. All is of stone there, as well as throughout the city, to the very roofs, which are made of beams, joisters, and boards, all of stone, and terraced in stone

(50) It has been observed that the rich French Banker of the last century, Samuel Bernard, who possessed money enough to buy five hundred Counties, never assumed the title of a count which Louis the fourteenth gave him, being sensible that no man would call him by that title. But in India, as well as in England, a title becomes a rule for all the world; and a man would become ridiculous by deviating from it. The words, *Khan-djehan-behadyr*, might be translated by these of *Valiant Lord of all the World.*

Seraglio, and distinguished with the privilege of riding close to her master on an elephant covered by an umbrella: an honor affected to the Imperial person only. He was equally lavish to his milk-brother, whom he raised to the office of Emir-ul-omrah, or Prince of Princes, which was now the third dignity in the Empire. He even became so very fond of him, that he would add everyday something to his influence and emoluments; but his partiality for Lal-coãr became now boundless. He seemed solely intent on pleasing her. Her brother, Qhoshall-qhan, was made a Hest-hezary, or a Commander of Seven Thousand Horse; and her uncle, Naamet-khan, received the command of five thousand. Not content with that, he intended to dispossess an illustrious Nobleman of the Viceroyalty of Ecber-abad, in order to bestow it on Qhoshall-khan; but here that man's sudden rise, as well as the Emperor's partiality, met with an unexpected check. The Vezir on casting his eyes on the patent he produced, refused to pass it the seals, unless he also brought the fees of office, which, in derision of the new Governor's former calling, he fixed at five thousand guitarres, and seven thousand timbrels. Qhoshall-khan, stung to the quick by such a merciless sarcasm, imparted his resentment to his sister, who had a thorough command over the Emperor's mind. The Emperor, who owed the highest obligations to the Generalissimo, now his Vezir, commanded his attendance, and in a mild tone of voice, recommended Qhoshall-khan's affair to him, adding, that the strange kind of fees he had asked, was doubtless by way of joking. "No joke at all," answered the Minister, in serious tone; "no "pleasantry in the matter—please your Majesty, I was in earnest. "For, as the nobility, your servants, are, from father to son, in "possession of serving the crown in Viceroyalties, Governments, "and such other employments; and the custom of your Imperial "ancestors has been only to amuse themselves with dancers and "singers, whose merits it was customary to reward only by pen-"sions and bounties; so soon as these last shall aspire to "dignities and Governments, and shall contrive to take pos-"session of them, there shall remain then no other party for "your nobility but that of betaking themselves to the profession "just forsaken by the dancers and singers. For, after all, they "must have, as well as these, some calling, by which they may

Singular answer of the Vezir to the Emperor.

" support life. When, therefore, I have asked from this gentle-" man so many thousand guitarres, with as many timbrels, it was " with a veiw to distribute them to your dispossessed Governors " and Generals, who certainly have a right to earn their bread " as well as any others." This answer struck the Emperor " dumb. He hung his head ; but said not a word. The new Viceroy lost his promotion.

Nevertheless matters were going on much in the same manner, and, perhaps, would have been much farther, had not an accident happened, which gave the Emperor some insight into the general discontent.

Lal-coär, when yet a common dancer, had been so intimately connected with Zohra, a woman who sold greens about the streets, the she had made her, her Dogana,(51) as is the Indian word, that is, her sworn-sister. This woman could not fail of partaking of her friend's elevation so near the throne; and she had become the channel of favours and graces, an office by which she was able to appear in the streets with a retinue equal to that of the greatest Lord.(52) She rode upon a female elephant,(53) magnificently caparisoned; and whenever she went to see her old friend, Lal-coär, she rode throughout the citadel, quite up to the apartment of the Ladies, a privilege enjoyed only by Princesses Consorts, or Princesses of the blood. Her people, in imitation of their Mistress, were become exceedingly insolent and overbearing, so that whenever she went to the palace, they used to commit insolences upon old women, and such other inoffensive people, as they met in the streets, a conduct that

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(51) When two men intend to become sworn-brothers to each other, they give an entertainment, at the end of which, they exchange turbants. Women give also an entertainment; but they always bring a plateful of almonds, or pistachios, which they break and eat in common; and when one of them has met with a shell that contains a double fruit, which in that case is called Dogana, (from *do*, two) she gives one to her friend, and eats herself the other with certain ceremonies; and from that moment, these two women call each other Dogana, and become sworn-sisters.

(52) Retinues of several hundreds of men on foot, or on horseback, are very common in India; and of several thousands in Dehli.

(53) Ladies never ride upon male elephants. It would be deemed an enormous indecence.

could not but give general offence, and excite in particular the indignation of the nobility, and of the grandees of the state. There was then in the capital, a lord of importance, an ancient general, son to a great nobleman, known in the world under the titles of Ghazi-eddin-khan-firoz-djung-tevary. His name was Chin-kÿlydj-khan,(54) and as he had been generalissimo under Aoreng-zib, had promoted an infinity of officers, and had enjoyed the highest confidence of that discerning monarch. He made hardly any account of Zulficar-khan himself, whom he had never visited. This general after his master's decease, had abstained from coming to court, finding that the times did not agree with him; he lived retired, was seldom seen abroad, and then it was to pay a visit to some man renowned for his piety or his learning. Unluckily, one day as he was passing by, his very numerous retinue was met by that woman's cortege, which was full as numerous, but much more overbearing; the general out of regard to the complexion of the times, made a sign to his people to step aside, and leave the street free, so that she might not be stopped. But her people flushed with having got the upper hand, let fly a number of sarcasms at the general's people, whom their master was at the pains of keeping under control; and all seemed to go well, when Zohra coming up with her elephant, asked whose retinue it was, and what was their master's name? And being answered, she put her head out of the curtain, and called out: *"Thou Chin-kylydj-khan, surely thou must be the "son of some blind father."* These words unhinged the general's temper; shocked at the deliberateness of her delivery, as well as the indignity of her expression, he made a sign to his people, which they interpreted in an order to chastise that immodest woman's people. Hardly was the sign made, when those old soldiers fell upon her people, and after having handled them severely, they fell upon Zohra herself, pulled her from her elephant, dragged her on the ground, and gave her a full measure of cuffs, slaps, and kicks. This beating was over in an instant. But this instant was enough to make the General recollect in how much danger he had involved himself, and how

Singular quarrel of a general with a female friend of the Emperor's mistress.

(54) These words which are Tartar or Turkish, signify the Sabre-drawing-lord. It is the same man who shall cut so great a figure thenceforward under the name or Assef-dja, better known to Europeans under the title of Nizam-el-mulk.

critical were the times in which he lived. Struck with this thought, he turned to the right, and for the first time went to pay a visit to Zulficar-khan. The Vezir expressed his surprise, and wished to know what were his commands, and to what he owed the honor of so unexpected a visit. The general made him a faithful narrative of what had happened. The Vezir not only condoled with him on such an accident, but applauded his behaviour, and dismissed him satisfied. As soon he was gone, the minister took pen, and wrote this short note to the Emperor: "*The honor of any one of the nobility, your faithful servants,* "*belongs to them all, and your devoted slave joins issue with* "*Chin-kylydj-khan.*" It was high time that such a note should arrive. For by this time Zohra was got within the precincts of the sanctuary, but without advancing farther than the gate, where she was laying ashes upon her head, and rolling herself in the dust; and Lal-coär, who thought herself involved in this affair, was working the Emperor's mind towards some act of severity; and God knows what was going to come out of his mouth, when the note was put in his hand, and to all appearance intercepted some flagitious order.

This affair happened at the very time when Lal-coär's worthy brother, unable to contain himself in his sudden elevation, was boiling over, and committing excesses of all sorts. This upstart having chanced to get a peep at a beautiful woman, married to a gentleman, who lived in the Vezir's neighbourhood, fell desperately in love with the charms he had seen; and as entreaties and presents proved of no avail, he attempted to satisfy himself by main force. The husband screamed, and ran to Zulficar-khan's. This minister, who was naturally a great lover of justice and a man of vigour, was shocked at so atrocious an action. In the agitation of mind in which such a recital threw him, he was seen to move from his seat, and he immediately sent people with orders to bring the guilty Qhoshal-khan, dead or alive. The order being executed with as much severity as it had been given, the man was dragged to the Vezir's apartment, who so soon as he saw him, ordered him to be put to the cudgel; and this was done with so much vigour, that the man was left for dead; and as he heard at the same time that every one complained of that upstart's violences, he sent him prisoner to the

The firmness of the Vezir.

castle of Selimgur,(55) and ordered his whole property to be confiscated to the profit of the Exchequer.

This firmness of the Vezir's, and the exertions it produced now and then, could not fail to displease the Emperor, in so much, that the union and cordiality between him and his minister had already been endangered more than once. But as he remembered that he owed his very life and crown to that minister's abilities, and he was overawed by his undaunted firmness, he thought it expedient to bear with him; the more so as the Eastern Provinces of the Empire were now engrossing his attention.

Bengal, the most Eastern province of the Empire, and the only one which is entirely under the management of the Qhalissah or Exchequer-office, produces the greatest revenue to the Emperor; and on that account, the Divanship or Superintendence of the Revenue of that province is reputed the most important of the Empire. This office was actually enjoyed by Djaafer-khan; who had been appointed in the reign of Aoreng-zib; but it was under the administration of the elder Prince of the blood called Azim-ush-shan, who was Governor of the province, Commander-in-chief of the forces, and fully invested with the power of making war or peace with any refractory Prince of those Eastern extremities of the Empire. The Prince enjoyed, besides, an absolute command over the limitrophe or neighbouring provinces of Oressa, Bahar, and Ilah-abad, as we have already said. To lighten the burthen of so cumbersome an administration, and also to reward two nobleman-brothers that had rendered him services of importance, he bestowed the government of Bahar or Azimabad on Hossëin-ali-khan, and that of Ilah-abad on his elder, Abdollah-khan; at the same time he entrusted Djaafer-khan with the military government of Bengal and Oressa, where he was already Divan or superintendent of the finances. Now it must be observed that on the demise of Aoreng-zib, the Prince was obliged to march to the assistance

(55) Selimgar may be reputed the dungeon of the Citadel of Dehli; or if we take this citadel to be, as it really is, a large populous city, Selimgar is its castle or citadel. This castle is fortified with towers, and contains apartments for Princes of the blood prisoners. The commandant is independent of the Governor of the citadel, as is this last from that of the city and province.

of his father, Bahadyr-shah, and had left his son, Feroh-syur, with some of the Ladies of his seraglio at Acber-nagár, vulgarly called Radjmahal, a place of note upon the Ganga where Sultan Shudjah, brother to Aoreng-zib, had built a noble palace. He left likewise, under the care of some persons of distinction personally attached to him, his treasures and some of his effects, which he did not think proper to send for, no more than the young Prince his son, even during the whole reign of his father, Bahadyr-shah, under which he bore so great a sway. Matters remained in that state, until fortune having put an end to Azim-ush-shan's influence and life in the manner we have mentioned, and that ill-fated prince having by so strange an accident hastened into eternity, Muëzzeddin, now Djehandar-shah, ascended the throne; and one of his first cares was to dispatch an order to Djaafer-khan, Viceroy of Bengal, for sending the prince Feroh-syur, prisoner to court. This order embarrassed the Khan, who thought himself under very great obligations to the Prince's father; and he sent him a trusty person, who advised him to provide for his safety by flying the country in time; or perhaps, the Prince himself having got some advice of the orders received by the Khan, thought it unsafe for him to remain longer in the country. Be it as it may, this much is certain, that the prince who reckoned on the gratitude of Hossëin-aaly-khan, a nobleman of illustrious race, who joined to much military merit a character renowned for goodness of heart and munificence, set out of Radjmahal with his family, seraglio, and effects, and arrived at Azimabad in great dejection of mind, and very uncertain of his fate. Instead of entering the city, he took up his abode in a caravansera, near a spot close to the water side, called Djaafer-khan's garden, and which touches the eastern extremities of the walls; from thence he sent an humble message to Hossëin-aaly-khan, the Governor, in which he expressed himself like a man in the utmost distress, friendless and hopeless. The Governor, who did not think himself strong enough to espouse Feroh-syur's cause, in opposition to the whole empire, which, as well as Zulficar-khan, the Vezir, had submitted to Djehander-shah, declined, at the very first, to have any concern with him. He even answered. "That the orders he had received from Court, "enjoined him a very different conduct; that out of respect for

A Competitor to the throne arises in Bengal; it was Prince Feroh syur.

"the memory of the Prince's father, he could not bear the "thought of seizing his person, as he was commanded to do ; "but that, by all means, it was advisable for him to retire out of "the province, that his flight should afford him (the Governor) "some excuse with which he might cover himself against the "injuries of a jealous Court, and the suspicions of an Emperor "little accustomed to scruples."

All this is related in a different manner in a memoir that appeared after Feroh-syur had mounted the throne, and of which we shall make use in the sequel. According, then, to this author, Ahmed-beg, *aliàs* Ghazi-eddin-khan the Cossa, or Goat's Beard, a man who cut a great figure in that province, having taken a great part in this whole affair, had prevailed upon the Governor, to pay, at least, one visit to the fugitive prince. The Prince received him in so singular a manner, as had never been practised by any Prince to a subject, or by any Lord to a servant. He was all humility and submission ; he stood up for him and made him sit in his presence. After such a preamble, he represented how friendless, hopeless, and distressed was his condition, and how fearful he was lest he should meet at Court with a fate similar to that of his brother, Sultan Kerimm-ed-din. He added, that unless he found some protection and assistance, he had nothing to hope for his safety, or for his life. He had hardly done speaking, when the Ladies of his family, whom he had stationed on purpose behind a veil or curtain, fell a weeping and sobbing, and the Prince's youngest daughter, Maleka-zemani,(56) came out of the veiled-room, and seating herself on the Governor's lap, she repeated to admiration the part she had been taught. In a soothing tone of voice, and a moving cast of features, she entreated him to take pity on a forlorn family, and to grant his assistance and safeguard to her father. At the same time she paid him some compliments, and added these very words, that have been conserved by the author of the memoir : "It is true you "are of the race of God's Messenger, (57) and you descend in

(56) These words signify the Queen of the Times, or the Reigning Queen. and what is singular, she became the Reigning Queen in the sequel, when she was espoused by Mahmed-shah.

(57) Mahomet, according to all Mussulmen, is God's Messenger ; and Aaly, according to the Sijahs, is God's Saint.

"a direct line from his Saint; moreover, you enjoy all the "advantages which power and a high character can confer; "but yet it cannot be denied, that it is to Azim-ush-shan's "favour and countenance that you stand indebted for your pre-"sent well-being. If, then, you make use of all these powers "to come to my father's assistance, and to render him all those "services which may be expected from your illustrious birth, "and your high character for valor and prowess, you shall "have deserved all that my grand-father has done for you; else, "if you choose to act otherwise, then, whatever is to be our des-"tiny, shall certainly come to pass; but do you take care of "what the world shall say of you." The Princess had hardly done speaking, when both the women that had come out, and those that had still remained behind the curtain, joined their entreaties to her's; and from sobs and tears they proceeded to screams and lamentations. At this very moment, Ferock-syur, who, on the Governor's making his bow, had got him dress-ed in one of his own suits of clothes,(58) and had made him sit down, now rose from his seat, and advanced to fasten his own sabre on the Governor's side. The latter overcome by such an unexpected scene, forgot his former repugnance and apprehen-sions, and descending now to the humble tone of a subject, he said, that "what his humble servant had done hitherto, was "nothing more than what became him as a servant, however "unworthy it might prove of his Master and Lord's acceptance. "I have nothing but my head," added he, "and this I dedicate "to your service. And now that I have put on this sabre, I "have said farewell to my head and life, having devoted the one "and the other, as well as my fortune, to your service. Com-"mand me, then, that I may do as I am bid. Now is the time "to raise troops, and to prepare everything for pushing on the

(58) The custom is, that the man designed for that honor, passes into a neighbouring closet, where a person prepared for that office, rolls over the man's turban that which is to be bestowed upon him. He also assists in his putting on the new clothes, that is, the gown and sash, over his own gown; and, in that con-dition, he proceeds to the presence, preceded by a principal mace-bearer, or chopdar, who proclaims his name and titles aloud, with the reason of his receiving that honor. This ceremony over, the man goes home, where he gets new clothes fitted to his body, and he wears them for three days; or, at least, he wears the tur-ban, and the piece of jewel given along with it.

"war. Ascend the throne at once, and, without allowing the "enemy time to look about him himself, let us follow as des- "tiny shall lead.

"Let us see what the mover of the events of this world,
"Shall have intended to bring forth for us."

Ferock-syur's concerted management having had a full effect, Hossëin-aali-khan published, that every one should pay his homage to the Prince, and make a render of his person and fortune. Such a proclamation having produced a great concourse of people of all sorts, afforded to astrologers, fortune-tellers, and to men of learning, a full opportunity to approach the Prince; and as the latter, exceedingly credulous and ignorant himself, was perpetually consulting their science about what might be the fate of his expedition, he put it in their power to feed him with favourable predictions, and with hopes suitable to the occasion; in which some were in earnest, and some meant no more than to provide for themselves, as in fact several of them proved to have done, as soon as Ferock-syur had ascended the throne, and had it in his power to bestow pensions and emoluments upon them.

Whilst the Prince was listening to predictions, Hosseïn-aaly-khan was taking every measure that could promote his undertaking; and with that view he wrote to Abdollah-khan, his elder brother, Viceroy of Ilah-abad, both to give him notice of what had happened, and to entreat his concurrence. Abdollah-khan, amazed at the intelligence, answered his brother in a strain that reflected severely on the precipitancy of his conduct, "as "well as on the extreme danger it was pregnant with. He ad- "verted at the same time to the impropriety of a step, which "besides all the perils of its high nature, involved in its conse- "quences their consorts, children, families and seraglioes, which "being actually at Shah-djehan-abad, could not fail to exper- "ience all the resentment of a Prince, little susceptible of scruple. "and who saw his throne attempted." To this reprimand, Hosseïn-aaly-khan answered. "That for his own part, he had "taken his party, happen what it would, and could not retro- "grade; that he would never form any objections to his remain- "ing, as his elder brother, with the elder party, that is, that of "Muëzzeddin." In the sequel, Abdollah-khan himself carried away

Feroh-syur's party is espoused by two powerful brothers.

by his brother's entreatics and examples, altered his resolution, and wrote to his younger brother: "That since what had happen-"ed could not be recalled, it became them both to make the best "of it. Now that you are embarked in the undertaking," added he, "make haste to join me, as my proximity to the capital "renders me the more liable to become an object of resentment "to the Imperial army. Let us then join together, and have but "one cause."

This is what I find in the memoir in question. But there is another account, and this is as follows :—

The Emperor Bahadyr-shah having appointed Yzed-dö8lah, a nobleman of high rank, to the Government of Bengal, commanded Feroh-syur's attendance at court, who being apprehensive of a fate similar to that which his two brothers, Sultan Kerim-eddin and Prince Homaï8n, had experienced, did not choose to trust himself near the Emperor, and had protracted the time by contriving a variety of delays. Being arrived at Azim-abad, and unwilling to proceed farther, he under pretence of his consort's being near her time, found means to prolong his stay; and he wrote to Court accordingly. During his sojourn there, some astrologers, fortune-tellers and other shrewd men, who wanted only to provide for themselves, prevailed on Hekim-refyh, his Physician, to instil in his mind notions of ascending the throne, and thereby providing for his own safety. Whilst these people were working on that weak mind, there appeared at once at Azimabad, an officer called Mahmed-reza, but better known under the name of Raïet-khan, who being one of those that had fled from Bahadyr-shah's resentment, was contriving to repair his lost fortune, by producing a forged order for his taking possession of Rhotas, a strong fortress, south of Azimabad; and really he found means to effect his purpose, so that he was actually busy in laying in a stock of provisions and necessaries, having made his account with keeping possession. He had even the audacity to write to the Emperor, and to give him advice that his soldier had through the sloth and incapacity of the Governor found means to get such a good post; and this intelligence was likewise confirmed by the gazetteers of those parts and by the Crown-intelligencers. On this piece of advice, there came an order from the Emperor; and it was backed by

a particular letter of Azim-ush-shan, enjoining Prince Ferohsyur to chastise the impostor. But as it was not an easy matter to get admittance in the fortress, and the Prince was mentioning it to his friends, one of them, called Dilachin-beg, a Calmuc by nation, and a stout man of resolute determined temper, but who had so far displeased the Prince as to be forbidden the Court, found means to send him a secret message by one of the principal Courtiers. "I propose," said he, "that the Prince shall "publish that he has received orders to confirm the impostor in "his post, and that I shall be the person who is to carry to him "the robe of investiture. Let the Prince therefore reinstate me "in his Princely favour, and let him try my abilities and his own "destiny in this undertaking, which I hope shall recommend me "to the Imperial notice. But I may perish in the attempt; "and then, if it be after having performed the service expected "from me, I hope it will entitle my family and children to a "subsistence for their lives."(59)

This scheme of his having been approved, the officers of Government published a false account of the Imperial order they had received; and the Prince having sent for the Calmuc, put in his hand the Qhylaat, standard, and patent of investiture, and dismissed him with honor and distinction. The man thus provided, put himself at the head of a numerous retinue, with which cortege he arrived at the foot of the mountain, on which Rhotas is seated; and from thence he sent the impostor notice of his errand. But the latter who was constantly upon his guard, and extremely suspicious, would not admit all that cortege, and sent only a permit for the Envoy and two more persons. The Calmuc went up with only one, and whilst the Governor, into whose hands the standard had been delivered, was intent on reading the patent, he gave him a stab with his poniard, and repeated the strokes until the Governor fell down dead, the Calmuc himself with his companion having been wounded in the scuffle. On sight of this, the officers of the garrison fell upon the impostor's followers, killed some, wounded others, confined the rest; and putting the dead man's head into the Calmuc's

(59) This account is very confused and inaccurate, and there are two gross anachronisms in it, which the translator has been obliged to admit, of course although not without some slight emendations.

hands, they sent him back to Feroh-syur, who loaded him with favours. This happened just at the time when intelligence had come of Bahadyr-shah's demise, and when Hosseïn-aaly-khan was gone on an expedition where he intended to bring to order, and to quiet, some distant parts of his government.

This time of suspense was seized by Feroh-syur; and before any intelligence might arrive of any of the deceased Emperor's children having ascended the throne, he ordered the public prayers at the mosques to be read in Azim-ush-shan, his father's name, published that he had ascended the throne and taken possession, and he wished him a prosperous reign. Having reflected in the sequel on the high nature of his proceeding, and dreading the consequences of his hastiness, he sent a submissive message to Hosseïn-aaly-khan, the Governor of the Province, by which he excused what had passed, and at the same time desired his attendance, as he had sentiments of the highest esteem for his person. Some days after the Governor returned to Azimabad; but as he did not seem inclined to enter into any connections with Feroh-syur, he was visited by the Prince's mother, who soothed his mind, promised him the disposal of all the affairs of the Empire, and taking to witness her own Coran, which she had brought for the purpose, she protested by God Almighty's Messenger, that he would never repent of such an union of concerns. This interview had calmed the Governor's apprehensions, and entirely gained his heart, when news came of Azim-ush-shan's death, and of Djehandar-shah's ascension to the throne. But by this time the Governor had advanced himself so far with Feroh-syur, that there was no receding with any safety; and he thought it better boldly to push on. He, therefore, ordered public prayers to be said in the mosques for Feroh-syur, coined money in his name, and displayed to the full the standard of contention and open war with Djehandar-shah. Feroh-syur, in return, made it a point to cement daily his union with him, and to add every-day to his influence and authority.

The Governor being now in earnest, assembled the bankers and principal men of the city; and having borrowed from them large sums of money, proportionable to their circumstances, for which he gave bonds signed by the Prince, and payable on his having subdued his enemies, he soon assembled a good army,

and on an auspicious day, he set out on his expedition, carrying the Prince at the head of his troops. At the same time he appointed Sëyd-ghäiret-khan, his sister's son, for his Lieutenant-General in the province; and knowing that a convoy carrying the tribute of Bengal, was on its way to Ilah-abad, he wrote to Abdollah-khan, his brother, to entreat his seizing so fair a prize, which, however, he was to reserve entirely for the Prince's use, unless he might want some small part of it for his own necessities. This convoy was under the charge of Shudjah-khan, son-in-law to Djaafer-khan, Viceroy of Bengal. Abdollah-khan no sooner received the Prince's order thereon, than he stopped it, converted part of it to the use of his troops, but kept the remainder for his brother's occasions. He also reviewed the artillery of the citadel and province, and pitched upon a number of pieces that were to compose his train. Whilst he was pushing his preparatives with vigour, Djehandar-shah, informed of his rebellion, had given his government to Radji-mahmed-khan, whose lieutenant, Sëyd-abdol-ghaffar-khan, a man of character, had orders to expell Abdollah-khan; and he had been furnished for that purpose with twelve thousand horse, and a quantity of artillery Abdolla-khan, who had been all this while expecting his brother with the Prince, confounded at their non-appearance, and not thinking his small force a match for the Imperial troops, had shut himself up within his citadel, after having sent one-half of his people to harass the Imperialists. These troops of his which hardly amounted to seven thousand men, cavalry and infantry, were commanded by his three younger brothers, Noor-eddin-aaly-khan, Nedjm-eddin-aaly-khan, and Seïf-eddin-aaly-khan, to whom he added his own Major-General and Paymaster, the Baqhshy Abdol-mohsen-khan, a man of resolution, born at Bidjapoor in Decan, but originally of Nedjef-eshreft.(60) Sëyd-abdol-ghaffar, who had as good an opinion of himself as he had a small one of those three young men, turned their rear, and pushing to the citadel, he besieged it in form,

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(60) Nedjef signifies, in Arabic, a spot high enough to be above the innundation, and so is that in which Aaly, cousin and son-in-law to Mahmet, is buried, near C8fah, a ruinous town near a lake in the territory of Basrah, but which has been once the capital of the Arabian Empire, and the place where Aaly was killed. *Eshreff signifies the ennobled; the holy.*

after having sent word to the Governor, that he had left his nephews behind, because he had no inclination to play with children. This sarcasm which was faithfully reported to those young men, put them upon recommending themselves to that General's good opinion. With this view, they fell upon his rear, as he was on full march; but their troops, which besides being all new levies, were greatly inferior in number, fell into confusion on the first on a set, and were losing ground every moment. This was no sooner perceived by the three young men, than resolved not to survive a defeat, they joined some of those that yet stood their ground to a body of Seïds of Bar, personally attached to them; and stretching the feet of boldness and despair through the field of battle, they fell on the enemy like so many famished tigers of the wilderness, and were performing exploits worthy of being recorded in history. Fortune seemed to take side with the young heroes; one of those violent winds, common in that season, arose at that very time, and blew such clouds of dust and sand into the very faces of the enemies, as blinded them entirely. Unable to resist its violence, and still less to distinguish the friend from the foe, they fell into confusion, and became incapable of listening to command, or of keeping their ranks. This being perceived by the young heroes, they redoubled their efforts, killed Abdol-ghaffar's brother, and were pushing with fury forwards, when a rumour having arisen in the enemy's troops that their General had been slain, it made such a discouraging effect, that even those that stood bravely their ground, fell off and retreated. From that moment the confusion and flight became general, and the proud Imperialist General received a shameful defeat; for Djehandar-shah's fortune was now upon the decline. This victory could not fail of raising the spirits of Feroh-syur's party, but it affected Abdollah-khan in a very different manner; his younger brother, Noor-eddin-aaly-khan, a young man of the greatest hopes, lost his life in it, and in his first campaign, drank of the cup of the martyrdom, and went to join the choruses of his brave and pious ancestors. Abdollah-khan, obliged to order the military music to strike up, was at a loss how to conceal his grief and tears upon the loss of such a hero whose eulogium he pronounced

"The Cup of gladness in his hand, with his brother's corpse, on his shoulder."

The loss of this battle having given the Emperor some suspicions about the event of the war, he thought it proper to try what policy could perform; with that view, he sent a dress of honor to Abdollah-khan, applauded what he had done, and added a confirmation of his government. But it proved in vain; for Feroh-syur was already at Ilah-abad with a numerous army, in which they reckoned a number of Generals of character, for instance, Saf-shiken-khan, Ahmed-khan-coca, Muëzzeddin the Cossa, *alias* Ghazi-eddin-khan, since Ghalub-djung, and Qhoadja-hassen, since Qhandö8ran. The two brothers, who were the soul of all that multitude, having made choice of a favourable moment, invoked the souls of their pious and brave ancestors, and set out full of spirits, on an expedition that already promised so much. This intelligence having been soon conveyed to the Emperor, he resolved to send his son, Yezzeddin, at the head of a powerful army to oppose Feroh-syur on his march. But in fact this young Prince himself was under the care of Qhadja-ahsen-khan, brother to Cocal tash-khan. This nobleman who enjoyed the grade of five thousand horse, was then raised to that of seven with the effectual command of so many; and the whole management of the expedition, as well as the safety of the Prince's person, was recommended to his care. After his departure, the Emperor dispatched Chin-kylydj-khan with orders to reinforce the army with his body of troops. The Prince, after many marches, having advanced as far as Kedjwa near the Ganga, heard that the two brothers were in full march to fight him. This piece of intelligence stopped him short; and although he was so vastly superior to them both in numbers, (for he had above fifty thousand horse) and in artillery, he did not think himself a match for the enemy, but chose to entrench himself. His perturbation already great, became still more glaring, when he heard that the enemy was drawing near by continual marches. On this intelligence he betrayed, as well as his General, every mark of trepidation and pusillanimity. But when Abdollah-khan drew nearer and fell acannonading his camp, which he did for a whole day, he could contain himself no longer; and his General being as much out of his senses as himself, they sallied together at the back part of the camp, after having loaded themselves with as much gold and jewels as they could, and at the beginning of the

The Emperor sends his son, Yezzeddin, to fight Feroh-syur.

night they took flight together, leaving their army, camp, artillery, baggage, jewels, and military chest to be disposed of by the enemy, who as yet knew nothing of the matter. But the army was soon informed of there being neither Prince nor General-in-chief; nor could any party be taken in such a singular evenement; for the officers and grandees in the camp disagreed with each other, and could come to no final resolution amongst themselves, but passed the whole day in disputes. On the evening, the enemy got intelligence of the state of things, and rushing without order into the Imperial camp, they plundered it so leisurely, and found in it so much booty, that vast numbers of people that had never had an assured subsistence, now enriched themselves for the remainder of their lives. Notwithstanding all that plunder, there remained still a vast deal of wealth, which together with the artillery, was seized for Feroh-syur's use. This prince tarried a few days to give some rest to his army, whilst Yezzeddin in his flight towards Ecber-abad, fell in with the corps commanded by Chin-kylydj-khan. This General shocked at so flagitious a conduct, made use of force and violence to stop the Prince, who wanted absolutely to fly farther; and he obliged him to wait in his camp until the Emperor should send orders.

Yezzeddin's shameful flight from his own camp.

Such a shameful defeat very nearly blasted all the hopes conceived by that Prince. Trusting now to no one, that monarch resolved to march in person against a rival so successful; and on the Tuesday of the twelfth Zilcaad, in the year 1124, he set out of his capital with an immense pomp, and an army of seventy thousand horse, besides a numerous infantry and a train of large cannon capable to shake the foundations of the globe. It was Zulficar-khan who commanded this mighty host; he had under him the famous Cocal-tash khan, with several Generals and officers of character, all renowned for their achievements, all fond of battle, and all thirsting after an engagement, like so many famished tigers howling in the wilderness. Such were Aazem-khan, and Djani-khan, and Mahmed-amin-khan, and a multitude of T8ranian and Iranian Lords (61). On his march

The Emperor, undismayed, marches in person against his competitor.

(61) The word *T8ran* signifies all over the East, that immense tract of ground which stretches to the North of Iran or Persia, and of Qhatai or China; and Iran is the only name for designing that Empire which stretches from the Didjla or Tyger to the Atuc or Indus. There are in India infinite multitudes of T8ranian and Iranian adventurers, and they are both called Moghuls.

he was joined by Ser-bolend-khan, Fodjdar of Corrah, who taking possession of the money he had been receiving there on Feroh-syur, his master's account, deserted to Djehandar-shah, to whom that small merit rendered him so dear, that he gave him the Government of G8djrat, and sent him to Ahmed-abad, its capital, after having passed many encomiums on his conduct. As a counterpart to this, Chebilram, the new Fodjdar of Corrah, and Aaly-ashgar-khan, son to Car-talab-khan, Fodjdar of Atava, went over to Feroh-syur. But by this time the Emperor being arrived at Semogur, a town in the neighbourhood of Ecber-abad, found himself over against the enemy, who was parted from him only by the river Djumna. What looks singular is, that the sight of the enemy occasioned transports of joy amongst the two Sëids and in Feroh-syur's Court; whereas it occasioned much trepidation in the Emperor's camp. The reason is plain. Unanimity reigned in the enemy's camp; whereas Djehandar-shah's flagitious behaviour had alienated the hearts of most of the grandees of his court. The T8ranians in particular, had promised by letters and messages, that they would join Feroh-syur; Abdolsemed-khan alone abstained from such promises. Nevertheless there was so visible a superiority of force on the Emperor's side, that it was generally believed that his rival would have no chance against him. Unluckily there reigned such a difference of tempers and sentiments between his principal Generals, Zulficar-khan and Cocal-tash-khan, and this difference had given rise to so much enmity, and to so inveterate an aversion, that nothing went forwards in the Emperor's camp. Cocal-tash-khan, in particular, who enjoyed the Emperor's confidence, was a man equally incapable of giving or of receiving a good advice. In consequence of so much animosity no one concerned himself about any thing; and every thing went to wreck. There is more. No specific order had been issued to cross the Djumna for attacking the enemy; and the two favourites agreeing in nothing but in an eternal variance from each other and in giving opposite advices, it happened that the Emperor himself was actually incapable of taking a party for himself. Desperately in love with Lal-Coär, he had of late fallen into a delirious kind of melancholy, that rendered him incapable of business.

Such a state of things could not be concealed from an

enemy who had so many well-wishers; and, in fact, Abdollah-khan having received information of a ford which was four cosses above the enemy's camp, crossed over in the night time, and marched on without stopping as far as K8zbehari, a village beyond Ecber-abad, on the high road to Dehli. There he took post; and some time after he was followed by Feroh-syur himself, who crossed over likewise and joined his General. To impose on the enemy, and to perplex his ideas, Hossëin-aaly-khan with the rear or corps *de reserve*, remained where he was over against the enemy's camp, and did not cross over, but when his motions could be effectually concealed by the darkness of the night. He had with him Chebilram-nagur, an Hindoo of character. What is very singular, and marks the finger of Providence in this affair, is that this fording over in the dark, seemed to give a turn to the whole war; for as Feroh-syur's army made its appearance at day-break on the enemy's rear, it became necessary in the latter's camp to change the whole order of battle, to marshal the troops anew, and to bring the artillery from the van, all which could not be done without an infinite deal of confusion. This happened on the fourteenth of Zilhaj, of the same year; and the two armies, the one in good order, and the other, that is the Emperor's, in much disorder and confusion, advanced against each other. This Prince took his post in the centre, surrounded by a brilliant cortege, and by several corps of choice troops, that had a train of large artillery in their front. Zulficar-khan, by whom he seemed to be governed in whatever related to matters of war and politics, but who in reality had not his confidence, as his extreme firmness displeased the Emperor, came to place himself before that Prince with a body of old troops and a quantity of artillery, together with the Imperial Music of trumpets, haut boys, and kettle-drums. Cocal-tash-khan, and Djani-kan, with Aazem-khan, and other Lords of his party, took post at the right wing; and the T8ranian Lords, such as Mahmed-amin-khan, Abdol-semed-khan, and Chin-kylydj-khan, took post at the right. Radji-mahmed-khan, with Hafiz-ollah-khan, and some other Generals, with their Corps, were posted as light troops. Reza-cooly-khan, the Grand-Master of the Artillery, was ordered to attend diligently to his business; and the rest of the troops were placed as the ground would permit.

Feroh-syur's army crosses the Djumna in presence of the Imperial army.

On the opposite side, Feroh-syur, in compliance with the Imperial custom, placed himself in the centre of his troops, seated upon a lofty elephant, having Abdollah-khan before him, who with many other Commanders, took post over against Zulficar-khan; and Khan-zeman and Aaly-asghar, with Chebil-ram-nagar, were opposed to Cocai-tash-khan. The engagement was commenced by Abdollah-khan, who, with his troops in good order, advanced first against the T8ranian Lords of the enemy, and then inclining towards the Imperial artillery, he, with an apparent incertitude in his motions, found means to push beyond it, and to come near the enemy's centre, where Djehandar-shah appeared. On the other hand, Hossëin-aaly-khan, supported by Fateh-aaly-khan, Commander of Feroh-syur's artillery, and by Zin-eddin-ahmed-khan, son to Bahadyr-qhan the Rohilla, as well as by the two illustrious brothers, Mir Eshref and Mir Mushref, directed his attack against Zulficar-khan; and being vigorously received, his troops presently fell into confusion, and were slain in heaps; and his bravest officers, as well as his oldest soldiers, those men on whom he trusted so much, being mowed down in his presence, gamed away the capital of their lives, and covered the field of battle with their bodies. Hossëin-aaly-khan, seeing how his best troops had been used, closed at once with the custom of valiant men in Hindostan; and jumping down from his elephant, he engaged, hand to hand, and with a number of brave that followed him everywhere, he performed heroical actions; when, having received several wounds from sabre, musquet, and arrow, he fell speechless on the ground, and was trampled under foot. His brother, Abdollah-khan, had no luck. On his attacking the T8-ranians, he was received by clouds of arrows, which threw his troops into confusion, and made them divide into several bodies, each of which was opposite, and contending with a body of enemies; and as he was exerting himself in the hottest part of the engagement, he was carried away by the crowd, without knowing where he was, until he found himself amongst a body of about three hundred troopers, parted from the standard-bearing elephant, and at a distance from his several corps. It was at this very moment he saw himself singled out by a General, enemy, who proved to be the same Sëyd-abdol-ghaffar, who had

received so shameful a defeat at Ilah-abad. He cried out who he was, and shot an arrow at Abdollah-khan; the latter was as quick as he, and lodged an arrow in his breast; and the General finding himself dangerously wounded, quitted the field, and retired at a distance. But Abdollah-khan was not the better for this action; he was again carried away by the crowds, without knowing where he was, and without having it in his power to guess what might be the consequence of so much confusion. Luckily for him, he was at so critical a moment joined by a body of his troops, with whom he gained an eminence, from whence, he no sooner descried Djehandar-shah in the middle of his troops, than he marched up to him, opening his way with showers of arrows; and he availed himself so well of the disorder into which the enemy was thrown, that he penetrated as far as the female elephants of the Seraglio. The Emperor, carried away by an elephant that became unruly, and, unable to range his troops in order, found himself in the middle of a number of war elephants, which becoming furious, were engaging each other, and exhibiting a scene as dreadful as that of the last judgment. Laal Coăr's female elephant taking fright, had turned about and fled, followed by multitudes that sought to get out of the reach of the enemy's arrows; and that dismayed multitude of men and elephants, falling upon two bodies of troops that yet stood their ground, confounded their ranks, and then bore them down. The Emperor, incapable to make a stand upon an elephant become ungovernable, was closely pursued by Abdollah-khan, whose troops were joining him by whole bodies; and this General, without giving the enemy time to recollect himself, was carrying every thing before him, in so much, that the Imperial troops, amongst which the music had already commenced to play, were now flying on all sides. Cocal-tash-khan, who with his corps made an effort to cover Djehander-shah, was encountered by Qhan-zeman, and Chebilram, who came out of a post they had chosen at the beginning of the action, drove Cocal-tash-khan's troops, and wounded him in several places. And here was slain Reza-cooly-khan, Commander of the Imperial Artillery, as had already been Djani-khan and Moqhtar-khan. Meanwhile, Aazem-khan, brother to Cocal-tash-khan, being wounded, came up to the Emperor's elephant; and

The Emperor is defeated, and flies for his life, whilst his Vezir, Zulficar-khan, bravely stands his ground.

this Prince, finding that matters were now past remedy, went down to Laal Coär, and taking her with him, he on the dusk of the evening, turned about towards Ecber-abad. Such was the state of things with the Emperor; but with Zulficar-khan, they bore a very different aspect. This General without being dismayed by the general discomfiture, had kept his footing without losing any ground, and he even intended to renew the action, as soon as he could bring, either the Emperor, or his son, Yezzeddin, to shew themselves at the head of his troops. But all his endeavours to find them out proved abortive; and several intelligent persons, who were prevailed by dint of money and promises to go on that errand, came back without even getting any intelligence about them. All his efforts failed: and the music of gladness and victory was already filling the air of the enemy's army, whilst the officers of all ranks were running up to Ferohsyur with their congratulations and their Nuzurs. All this joy, however, did not remove the uneasiness he felt, on observing that Zulficar-khan, surrounded by a strong body of veterans, and by much artillery, did not move from the field of battle. Such a resolute countenance had something very imposing. He expressed his surprise in strong terms at what that General could mean by staying so late at night; and at last he sent him this message:— "He that pretended to the empire, has relinquished the throne "and is fled—pray, have you any pretensions to it yourself, "that you tarry so long after him? If you have, this is another "matter; but if you have not, and you are only for an Emperor "of the House of Aoreng-zib, what objections can you have to my "being that Prince, instead of Muëzzeddin?" Such a message, and such a tone of voice, informed at once Zulficar-khan of what he wanted to know; and finding that things were past remedy, he marched off at the head of his troops in good order; and he had so respectable a countenance, that no one thought of disputing the ground with him. The Emperor, meanwhile, had passed the night at Ecber-abad, where he shaved his beard like a Hindoo, changed his apparel for an humble one, and taking Laal Coär with him, he, in the latter part of the night, fled towards the capital, having about his person a number of people of all sorts personally attached to him. But instead of going to the citadel, he landed in the palace of the old Vezir, Assed-khan,

The Emperor is arrested and confined by the Vezir.

who immediately seized and confined him; and hardly had he been secured, when Zulficar-khan himself arrived.

Abdollah-khan, on seeing the field clear of enemies, ordered strict searches to be made for his brother; and the latter was at last discovered stretched on the ground, speechless, and senseless. This lucky discovery was made by two of that valiant nobleman's servants, one of whom remained by him, whilst the other went to give notice; and this piece of intelligence so overjoyed Abdollah-khan, that he took away all the jewels he actually wore, and presented them to the man. There is another account, which says, that on the servants discovering their master, they found him watched by two officers, at the head of a body of troops. These were Leshker-aaly-khan and Muhi-yār-khan, two men attached personally to Hossēin-aaly-khan. Still there is a third account, and this is in the memoirs of Hashem-aaly-khan-khasi, a nobleman of great distinction, who has wrote the History of the Timurian Emperors. He positively says, that Hossēin-aaly-khan having received several dangerous wounds, had fallen senseless on the ground, where he had been stripped stark naked; and it was in that condition that his servants had found him speechless, after a very laborious search. On receiving some assistance, he recovered his senses, so far as to hear with pleasure of the victory of his party. Nevertheless, it was with some difficulty he was put in a Paleki, and conveyed to his brother, who on seeing him so unexpectedly, prostrated himself on the ground, and returned thanks to Providence for so signal a favour.

Zulficar-Khan, on landing at his father's palace, disapproved of the seizure of the Emperor's person. He wanted to bring him a second time in the field, and to try a second time the fortune of war; for as he had been so instrumental in raising Djehandar-shah, and in undoing Azim-ush-shan, father to Feroh-syur, he apprehended that nothing but what was inimical could be expected from the son, and at any rate he wanted to retire into Decan, a rich country, where he was absolute, and where he thought himself fully able to resist the new Emperor. But the father opposing his paternal authority to both these resolutions, and adding entreaties and prayers to all its weight, prevailed on the son to lay aside all thoughts of opposition, and to submit

quietly to the new Prince: a fatal acquiescence, which so prudent a man would have never thought of, had he not been actually under the pressure of a destiny that had decreed these very days for the last moments of Assed-khan's prosperity, as well as for the epoch of the extinction of his family and the destruction of his beloved son. The old Vezir, without any certitude of being well received, and even with a moral certitude of his risking his life as well as that of his son, took him by the hand; and trusting to the merits he had acquired in Aoreng-zib's family, and to the high regard constantly shewn him by both that Prince and his successors, he went without any retinue to pay his respects to Feroh-syur, and to intercede in behalf of his son.

This Prince was yet on the field of battle. Thinking this a favourable day, and finding no opposition before him, he resolved to assume the crown; and on a Thursday, being the fifteenth Zelhidj, in the year 1124, he ascended the throne at day-break, and gave a public audience to the people. Immediately after this inauguration, Abdollah-khan introduced Chin-kylydj-khan, Abdol-semed-khan, and Mahmed-amin-khan with all the T8ranian Lords of their party. These Generals paid their homages to the new Emperor, wished him length of days with a prosperous reign, and were received with distinction, as well as forgiven the errors of their past conduct. At the same time Abdollah-khan, with Lootf-ollah-khan-sadyc and some other persons of distinction, received orders to set out immediately for the capital, in order to quiet the minds of the people there, and to establish order and tranquillity throughout the whole country. He had likewise commission to take care of the Imperial palace and citadel, and chiefly of the Princes of the blood confined there. Feroh-syur himself followed a week after; and on the fourteenth of Muharrem, he encamped close to the capital at Bara-pallah, where having sent for Abdollah-khan, he gave him the grade and command of seven thousand horse, bestowed upon him the title of Cootoob-el-mulk, or Pole of the State, and raised him to the high office of Vezir-Aazem or Supreme Minister. His brother, Hossëin-aaly-khan, was decorated with the title of Ahtimam-el-mulk, or Performer of the State, with the grade and command of seven thousand horse, and with the glorious dignity of Emir-ul-omerah, or Prince of Princes, as well as with the office of

Feroh-syur ascends the throne.

Paymaster-General of the forces. Mahmed-amin-khan was made second Paymaster, with an addition of a thousand horse to his actual grade and command, to all which was added the title of Umad-ed-do8lah, or Prop of the Empire. Chin-kylydj-khan, who enjoyed already the command and grade of five thousand horse, was raised to that of seven, and moreover decorated with the title of Nizam-el-mulk, or the Composer of the State, as well as invested with the Viceroyalty of Decan, in lieu of Da8d-khan-peni, who acted as Deputy-Lieutenant of Zulficar-khan's; and that officer, from the government of Boorhanpoor, which he possessed in chief, was transferred to that of G8djrat. Qhoadja-hassen was honored with the title of Semsam-ed-do8la, and the surname of Qhan-i-dö8ran,(62) together with the grade of seven, and the command of six thousand horse. Ahmed-beg-Coca-Muëzzeddin, who had signalised himself by much activity, and had rendered important services, was decorated with the titles of Valiant Champion of the Law, Ever Victorious in War,(63) promoted to the grade of six thousand horse, with the command of five, and entrusted with the office of third Paymaster-General. But a man who rose suddenly to the highest dignities, and whose elevation shall have hereafter so much influence over the politics of Feroh-syur's reign, was the Cazy Abdollah, then Judge Supreme of Djehangir-nagar-Daca. This man who was already known for having executed with success, several commissions of consequence, and namely, that of going secretly to the capital, and gaining the Lords of the T8ranian denomination, (and he was a T8ranian himself) now appeared with splendour at court, where he was decorated with the high title of Qhan-i-qhanan-emirdjumlah,(64) promoted to the command as well as grade of seven thousand horse, and honored with the utmost confidence of the new monarch, who already seemed to have no ear but for him, and who entrusted him with his private signet, although he seemed to have yet no other office than that of Daca. The moonshy, or secretary, Mahmed-Djaafer, who enjoyed already

(62) *Qhan-i-dö8ran*, the Lord of the age or of the times. *Semsam-ed-do8la*, the Sword of the Empire.

(63) *Ghasi-ed-din-khan, Firos-Djung.*

(64) Qhan-i-qhanan Emir-Djumlah, Lord of lords, Commander of all, or Prince supreme.

several offices, now received the title of Tuckurrub-khan, and to his present offices was added that of High Steward, a charge equally important and lucrative. Sëif-khan, a relation of Abdollah-khan, was made grand Equerry; and offices, and favours, and governments were bestowed on that minister's two younger brothers, as well as on all those that had received promises. All these promotions being over Abdollah-khan, now Vezir, diligently applied himself to the duties of his office, one of which consisted in curbing that air of independence assumed by the grandees of the Empire during the confusion inevitable in civil wars; and happy had it been for the Emperor, had he had his mind employed in that laudable manner, instead of paving the way for his own ruin, by demolishing almost all the ancient families, and especially that of the venerable Assed-khan, that ancient Vezir, so much respected all over that Empire.

We have left him in full march with his son to the Imperial camp of Barapalla, where he was no sooner landed, than both expressed a desire of paying their respects to the new Emperor. This was precisely the circumstance the new favourite, Emir-djemlah, waited, for, that man who had grown jealous of all the ancient families, and had formed the scheme of pulling down every one of them, in order to make room for a number of friends which he wanted to raise on their ruins; that man, who had already conceived an antipathy against the blunt, resolute character of the Generalissimo's, and wanted to make an end of him; did not fail to add fuel to that indisposition of mind which Ferohsyur had conceived against that General. But Emir-djumlah's ill will and machinations would have produced but little, had Zulficar-khan been fortunate enough to listen to the proposal of the Prince of Princes, Hossëin-aaly-khan, who had generously offered his mediation, and had solemnly assured him, that if he chose to be introduced through his channel, not a hair of his head would be touched. Such an offer could not long remain a secret; and Emir-djemlah who felt all the consequences which it would infallibly produce, exerted himself in warding off the blow. He, for that purpose, dispatched the new high steward, Tuckurrub-khan, in hopes, that his being a Moghul, &c., as well as Zulficar-khan, would give him the more influence on that General's mind. This nobleman having found a heartier welcome with the Gen-

eralissimo on that very account, represented to him that, as "the Emperor was dissatisfied in secret with the excessive power "assumed by the two Sëyd brothers, to reckon upon such a "support, and to make his peace with the Emperor through "their mediation, would be as much as to lean against a "rotten tree that would produce nothing but repentance and "disappointment. But where is the necessity of recurring to "others," added he, "and what need is there of any mediation? "So soon as you shall have paid your respects, and tranquillized "your own mind, you shall become yourself a person to be re-"curred to by all the courtiers and all the grandees of the Em-"pire, as your dignities and influence are to be augmented "indubitably; for the Emperor, who has the highest opinion of "your talents, intends to make use of them, and expects the "most eminent services from your attachment." This speech of Tuckurrub-khan's having been closed by the most solemn asseverations, and oaths having been exchanged upon the glorious word of God, both father and son seemed to give their confidence to the messenger. The old man was in earnest; but the son could not rid his mind of some doubts that remained about the Emperor's sincerity, and especially about that of his minister. To dispel, therefore, those clouds that hung still about his mind, Emir-djemlah himself went to the Generalissimo, and after having renewed his oaths and insinuations, he bound his hands together with a shaul, and introduced him to the Emperor. It was in that condition he paid his obeisance to the new monarch, whilst the venerable Assed-khan having said a few words in extenuation of his son's misconceived past conduct, supplicated the Imperial forgiveness in his behalf. The Emperor with the greatest appearance of kindness imaginable, commanded his hands to be set at liberty, and a dress of honor of the highest distinction to be brought in with a set of suitable jewels. He then dismissed the father on account of his great age, but desired him to let his son remain in an outer tent for a few moments, as he had some questions of consequence to put to him, and some objects of moment on which he wished to have his advice. This unexpected turn rendered the old nobleman uneasy, and he went away in a great perturbation of mind. As to the son, who now doubted of his safety, he was

too far advanced to recede, and he did as he was bid. He was hardly seated, when the tent was surrounded by a number of men forwarded from the Imperial presence; and the Emperor at the same time sent him some taunting messages, in which with bitter expressions of resentment he charged him with his father, Prince Azim-ush shan's death. The General, who, to all his innate loftiness of mind and to his generous feelings, added an undaunted courage and a rough temper, having answered with reproaches and with haughtiness, the Calmuc Dilachin-beg (now become Bahadyr-dil-khan) (65) who stood behind, seized a favourable opportunity to throw a leathern thong round his neck; and whilst he was striving hard with the general, a number of men rushed in, who soon dispatched him with their poniards. That same day a number of men were dispatched to the Citadel of Shah-djehan-abad, who having passed a leathern thong about Djehandar-shah's neck, sent him on his travels in the regions of annihilation.

It was after such horried executions that the Emperor thought of making a triumphal entry in the Citadel and in the Imperial palace, and people believed that such frightful scenes would be over; but as soon as he was settled in the palace, (and this was on a Tuesday, the seventeenth Muharrem, in the 1125 of the Hedjrah) he directed that "Djehandar-shah's head "should be fixd on a spear, and his body thrown across upon an "elephant, to whose tail Zulficar-khan's body should be made "fast; that both bodies should be carried throughout the most "frequented parts of the city, and then thrown before the main "gate of the Citadel, there to rot." Not satisfied with all this, he ordered that "Assed-khan himself, the venerable Assed-khan, "should be seized, and put in a Paleki with only what clothes he "should have actually on his back; and that in that condition, "he should follow the elephant in question, attended by all the "ladies of his family in veiled carriages, after which he was to "be confined for life in Qhan-djehan's palace, and his whole "property as well as that of his son, to be confiscated." Whilst that mournful procession was going round the principal streets, the Emperor recollected that a Gentoo of distinction, called Radja Soba-chund, had been too free of speech; and he ordered

(65) The Lord of the Intrepid Heart.

his tongue to be cut off, and his property to be confiscated. The man underwent the operation in all its rigour, and what is singular, he continued to speak as freely as ever. At least so is the general report.

"Never lose sight that the day of retribution is to come,"
"Nor ever forget that wheat arises from wheat, and that barley produces barley."

It was by such bloody beginnings that Feroh-syur marked the first days of his reign; nor was Zulficar-khan the only victim he sacrificed to his resentment or to his fears. Most of the grandees of the old court underwent the same treatment, and finished their days by the leathern thong. The Princes of the blood themselves were as mercilessly used. Yezzeddin, son to the late Djehander-shah; Aaly-tebar, son to the late Aazem-shah, and even the young Homai8n-baqht, younger brother to Feroh-syur himself, were deprived of the benefit of light by a large red-hot needle which was drawn across their eyes. So many cruelties at the very beginning of a reign, and so many unjust murders unnecessarily perpetrated, excited so much terror in the minds of every one, from the highest to the lowest, that people having continually the image of instant death before their eyes, did not think themselves sure of their existence, for one single day. So that such persons as were, by their stations, or by the duties of their offices, obliged to attend every day at Court, never failed, on returning home alive, about the evening, to receive the congratulations of their equals, and the Nuzurs of their inferiors; and nothing was so common, on coming home safe, as to distribute, late at night, money to the needy, and thanksgiving-victuals to the hungry, just as it is customary for people to do, when they have escaped from some imminent peril.(66)

(66) In India when a man returns from a long voyage, or has escaped some great danger, it is customary that his friends send him small presents in stuffs, and that his inferiors should congratulate him with their Nuzurs. But the women of the family (and never the men) send him a tray covered with that mellow pulse called Calal, in the middle of which is sunk a sneaker full of oil. It is always an old woman that addresses the master, and it is in these terms:—*A sacrifice for your safety.* The master stoops to see his face in the oil, throws a few lentils in it, fetches a sob, and adds: *be it acceptable.* All this, together with several trays more, covered with piles of bread and cakes, is distributed to the poor, but never touched by the family; and possibly it is to those frequent distributions of victuals,

It is in the middle of such merciless beginnings, that people perceived a coolness, and then very bitter discontents, between the Emperor and the two Sëids, those two potent Lords, that had saved his life at the risk of their own, and then raised him to the throne. These discontents grew to a great height—to such a height, indeed,—that in their consequences they have produced the ruin of the Imperial family, and the desolation of the whole Empire. The first spark of that fire, that has since blazed out, and caused such a conflagration all over Hindostan, was perceived on the following occasion:—Abdollah-khan, who, immediately after the gain of the battle of Agra, had been dispatched to the capital, with orders to quiet the minds of the people there, and to bring back the affairs of state into their accustomed channel, had, amongst many other promotions, bestowed the office of Divan of the Qhalissah-office, or of First Lord of the Treasury, then vacant, on L8tf-ollah-khan-sadyc, the very person associated to him in that Commission; and he had also confirmed Sëid-amdjed-khan in the office of Supreme sadr, or great almoner, of which that nobleman had remained invested so early as Bahadyr-shah's reign. Unfortunately, whilst he was bestowing these offices in virtue of his Commission as well as in virtue of his Vezirial powers, the Emperor was disposing of them in the plains of Ecber-abad, where he gave the superintendence of the Treasury to Chebilram-nagur, and the supreme Sadrship to Afzol-khan, who had once been tutor to his children. Some days after, the Emperor arrived at the capital; and on his taking cognisance of some offices of state, and of some promotions, and in particular of those two important ones, there ensued a long dialogue between the Prince and the minister. The latter observed that, "if in the very beginning of his administration, "a wound should be given to his authority, he could no more "pretend to execute so important an office with credit to him-"self, or advantage to the public;" and on the other hand, Emir-djemlah inculcated to the Emperor that, "be the powers ever so "full and so illimited which Sovereigns found it sometimes expe-"dient to delegate to any of their servants for a time, still it

as well as to the heat and extreme fertility of the climate, that we must look for the innumerable multitudes of beggars that swarm in every town, every city and every village of India.

"would never follow, that a servant should therefore forget him-"self so far as to dispose of such important offices at his own "pleasure, and without having previously applied for his lord's "consent. He added these two verses from the poet:—

"Let a master be ever so profuse in delegating unlimited authority,
"*Still is the servant never to lose sight of his own distance.*"

It was at last agreed that the Qhalissah should remain with L8tf-ollah-khan-sadyc, and the High-sadrship, with Afzol-khan; but this agreement, which seemed to have quashed much acrimony and discontent, did not fail to leave deep impressions on both sides. Nevertheless, the original cause of these commotions in the Empire, and of the insubordination in the grandees, (commotions which redounded to the ill renown of the Sëids, and which at last overwhelmed their own house and family)—the original cause of the commotions in the Empire, I say,—may be traced in the Emperor's incapacity and in the particular cast of his genius. Feroh-syur had neither the extent of genius, nor the firmness of temper, nor the keenness of penetration, requisite in an Emperor. He was low-spirited, and homely-minded, as well as sordidly inclined; or if at any time he chanced to shew any liberality in his disposition, it was when he enjoyed the company of some low vile people, equally destitute of morals and capacity; and then he would thoughtlessly bestow on them, presents which they did not know what to do with, and offices which they were unable to manage. Such a disposition of mind bordered upon prodigality undoubtedly, but yet produced some present advantages, which being laid hold of by sycophants and other people of that stamp, never failed to be received with the highest applause; but such applause, however, as will never reach posterity. No wonder after that, if Feroh-syur was fond of keeping company with common street-sharpers; and hence the reason of his being so wedded to an Yticad-khan, and to a set of people upon a par with his Yticad-khan. The truth is, that being totally incapable of holding the reins of an Empire, and indeed incapable of any command at all, he was at a loss how to spend his time; and what is still more unfortunate for him, that Emir-djemlah, his confident, the opinionated man, of so much ambition, such high pretensions, and so much obstinacy and opposition, was himself unfit for any higher office, and yet wanted

Feroh-syur's incapacity and mean character.

to overtop all the grandees of the Empire ; and this unworthy favourite, who had made nothing of pulling down and destroying the families of an Assed-khan and a Zulficar-khan, two men whose houses were these one hundred and fifty years past in possession of immense wealth, as well as of the highest dignities and offices of the state, now thought of no less than demolishing two such noblemen as the Sëids—two men who had conferred the highest obligations on his master, and who now figured in the world, as the two principal men of the Empire. But this was precisely what wounded his jealous mind, and what set daggers in his rancorous heart.

However, the disease that had fastened on the vitals of the state, would have never risen to such a head, had not the administration of the most important affairs been strangely neglected by the very persons at the head of the Empire. (The Vezir, Abdollah-khan, was a man of abilities, indeed ; but so passionately fond of fine women, so addicted to feasting, music, and dancing, as well as to all kinds of pleasures, and, of course, so desirous of ease, that he was leaving the whole management of both his immense household and his high office to his Divan, Ratan-chand, a man who had been once a shop-keeper, but who by all means was too enthusiastic in his false religion to discharge decently all the duties of that important charge ; and too narrow-minded likewise, to feel his own consequence and to act with a temper suitable to it. And yet it was such a man who, under his master's name, carried every thing with a high hand, and enjoyed an uncontrolled influence all over the Empire of Hindostan. In consequence of so much incapacity on one side, and so much sloth and supineness on the other, enmities gained daily ground, and daily fuel was added to attentive rancour ; and these enmities in their consequences rose to such an amazing height, as to overtop the sublime columns of the Timurian throne, which they crushed down at last under their weight, involving in its downfall the families of the two Sëids, which they demolished entirely, and ultimately altering the very constitution of the Empire.)

At last Emir-djemlah, and the Emperor with some others who expected great things from him, contrived, or at least thought they had contrived, a scheme for parting the two brothers, whose union and presence had become formidable. It was

proposed to Hossëin-aaly-khan, the youngest, to undertake an expedition against Radja Adjet-sing-rhator, a powerful Hindoo Prince, who since the demise of the Emperor Aoreng-zih,. had assumed great airs of independence, and had been guilty of some unwarrantable actions, such as, demolishing Mosques, in order to raise idol-temples on their ruins; and all that in the very middle of Oodeïpoor, his capital. Such excesses had necessarily passed unnoticed during the whole reign of Bahadyr-shah, who being eternally involved in civil wars, or busy in destroying the Syks, had no attention to spare for so inferior an object; for the Syks, from a fraternity of mendicants, had in his time become a whole army of banditties, which ruined and desolated the whole province of Lahor. Hossëin-aaly-khan, who was fond of glory and military achievements, soon closed with the proposal, and he set out at the head of a numerous well appointed army, followed by a train of artillery, well served.(67) Being arrived in the Radja's country, he found him gone into a difficult mountainous tract, where he had concealed his family, treasures, and even troops, having never thought himself a match for so powerful an army; but what is singular, and strongly characterises the genius of the Court, the Hindoo prince was actually receiving letters from the capital, in which the Emperor exhorted him to stand upon his defence, and to crush his invader by every means in his power. The Hindoo Prince, unmoved by these impotent exhortations, thought it much more expedient to come to terms, and to obtain a pardon; nor would he have obtained it easily, if at all, had not Hossëin-aaly-khan, at this very time, received intelligence, that the jealous and envious of his family had laid hold of the opportunity afforded by his absence to spread a snare

Scheme for parting the two Sëids.

Hossein-aaly-khan, undertakes an expedition against a Gentoo Prince.

(67) The expression of an artillery well served, is found more than once in our author; but it ought not to mislead an European reader. For, although artillery has in India, no less than five thousand years of historical antiquity, well attested, (fire-arms being expressly forbidden by one of their Saints and Legislators, who wrote two thousand years before Christ) and guns, made of iron-hoops, but of great antiquity, have been found in various places in India; yet it is certain, that artillery had fallen into disuse long before the arrival of Europeans in India, and that it is from them that the Indians have learned to correct the awkward cumbersomeness of their carriages, as well as their ignorance in the service of cannon. Their scruples are worn away, and several Princes in India have now an artillery, well mounted and served.

for entrapping and seizing his elder brother, Abdollah-khan. The latter, who had no certain intelligence, but who suspected mischief, sent letter after letter to request his brother's immediate attendance. These letters having rendered Hossein-aaly-khan exceedingly anxious, he thought it better to listen to the Radjah's supplications, and to grant him some terms. And these were, that he should send his son to humble himself, in his father's name, before the Imperial General, and also forward his daughter to the Imperial Seraglio, with a large sum of money, and a suitable set of presents.

An end put to the expedition.

Hossein-aaly-khan having put an end to this expedition, returned to the capital, where his presence could not fail of raising a fresh ferment. For as the two brothers, in consequence of their enjoying the two highest offices of the Empire, possessed an unbounded influence in every affair, civil, and military; and Emir-djemlah, on his side, who wanted to render them odious, and to conciliate the favour of the public, was making it a point to use quickness and dispatch in whatever application was made to him. For (besides his being Keeper of the Emperor's Private Signet) (68) he had so far engrossed his master's affection, that the latter had declared more than once, in full Durbar, or, in full Court, that, "*Emir-djemlah's Tongue and Manual Sign, were Feroh-syur's Tongue and Manual Sign.*" A Emir-djemlah, I say, found so much his account in forwarding the people's business, he was therefore an eye-sore to the Vezir, Abdollah-khan, or, rather, to his minister, Rotan-chund, who, so soon as he could discover Emir-djemlah's finger in any thing, or his signet in any patent, was sure of setting it aside without ever letting it pass the seals; whereas, whoever made a suitable present to himself, and another to his master, was certain of carrying his point, and that too with dispatch. Such a conduct could not fail to set daggers in the Emperor's heart; and it must be

(68) The Emperor, besides his Broad Seal, has several lesser ones, which are in the custody of a proper officer, always a man of importance; and one of them is likewise entrusted to a lady of the Seraglio. The last of these is carried by the Emperor himself, and it is one of his rings, containing his name and that of his father, upon a stone or piece of metal of one-quarter of an inch square. The Broad Seal, and these are two, one round and one square, are full two inches or two inches and-a-half in diameter, and contain in beautiful characters, the Emperor's name and titles, with the name of his father.

acknowledged, that this man had conceived such high notions of himself, both on account of his immense wealth, and the unbounded influence of his master's, that he had become of an insolence intolerable, which rendered him a general topic for obloquy and resentment; the more so, as by representing Emir-djemlah's dispatch and accessibleness, as full of design and craft, he had rendered it odious to both brothers.

Fatal jealousies between the Emperor's favourite and his two ministers.

Emir-djemlah on his side, was perpetually dropping in the Emperor's presence, words and expressions, all which had a tendency to depreciate the two brothers, whom he thought his duty to represent as overbearing, and of such a conduct and deportment, as seemed highly undutiful, and strongly favoured of independence. Moreover, he reflected, now and then, upon their abilities, as wholly inadequate to the high posts they pretended to fill. It was upon such and the like insinuations, that the Emperor had become so suspicious and fearful, that he had formed the plan of seizing Abdollah-khan's person; and it was on that account that he had put himself on the footing of coming often out of the citadel, sometimes under pretence of a hunting, and sometimes under that of taking an airing in those delightful seats that adorn the suburbs, and especially in Mohsen-khan's garden.(69) But although he had the cunning to vary his pretences and schemes, he was too undecided and two faint hearted to bring any one to bear; nor did all his contrivances produce any other effect than that of heaping aversion upon aversion, and rancour upon rancour. But what is singular, and yet is universally reported, the Empress-mother herself, out of regard to the oath

(69) The gardens and seats in the environs of the capital, as well as those all over India, without exception, are free and open to all the world; and any one may give entertainments there, or pass several days in any of them with his family. A garden or seat with keys and locks, and there are some that are magnificent, is what an Indian has no conception of. What mean these Frengis with their seats and gardens always shut up, use to say the Hindostanies, when they chanced to go to Calcutta. This freedom of gardens and seats, (which by the bye are all ready-furnished and attended by a number of servants) is so imprinted in the Indian minds that, Mubarec-ed-dõõla, the nominal Navvab or King of Bengal, happening to land unexpectedly by water at his seat of Sadyc-bagh, struck at once to the left, on hearing that a gentleman was amusing himself and friends with a natch, that is, with the performance of a number of dance-women. The gentleman having got up and preparing to get away, received his compliments with a request to go on with his entertainment, as there was plenty of room for two, and for many more.

she had taken upon the Coran at Azimabad, and out of scruples of conscience, had more than once given the two brothers secret advice of what was actually planning against them.

Hossëin-aaly-khan obtains the Viceroyalty of Decan.

It was in such circumstances that Hossëin-aaly-khan supplicated from the Emperor the Viceroyalty of Decan. Not that he intended to repair himself thither—nothing was further from his thoughts—he expected only that the immense emoluments of so rich a government would enable him to keep his footing at court; for his intention was only to send thither, as his Lieutenant, the famous Da8d-khan-péni, who was to return him the same contribution, which he used to pay to his late lord, Zulficar-khan. This was the very reverse of what the Emperor and his favourite intended; for they reckoned that he would repair to those rich, but very distant countries, and leave his brother alone. This could not suit Hossein-ally-khan, who thought it very improper to leave his brother alone exposed to all the resentment of the Emperor, and to all the machinations of his ministers. Such a difference in opinion having given vent to a number of peevish expressions, full fraught with haughtiness and reproach, matters at once shoot up to such a height, that the two brothers henceforward abstained from going to court, and also commenced fortifying their quarters, which they filled with troops. The Emperor, on hearing of this, sent for Emir-djemlah, Mahmed-amin-khan, and Qhandö8ran, and some others, with whom he was holding councils every day and every night, without coming to any determination; for he was so irresolute and so faint-hearted, that he could put nothing in execution. Meanwhile, the report of these dissensions being spread far and near, occasioned such a dearth of all kinds of eatables in the capital that, inhabitants as well as travellers found it difficult to support life, although letters and messages were continually passing and repassing on that subject between the Emperor and the two brothers; and God knows, how far the distresses of the poor had been carried, had not the Empress-mother been so affected by what she heard of their miseries, that she came out of the palace, and went to pay a visit to Abdollah-khan, on whose mind she gained enough to engage him to be reconciled to the Emperor, on condition, that the two brothers, on going to pay him their respects, should have full permission

The dissensions between the Emperor and the two brothers, occasion a scarcity in the capital.

to take, for their own safety, such precautions as they should deem sufficient, after which they should attend at court as heretofore. The treaty having had its full execution, the two brothers appeared before the Emperor, implored his forgiveness for the errors of their past conduct, and bitterly complained of certain suggestions and insinuations that filled his Imperial breast with suspicions, and estranged his Princely mind from them, his zealous and faithful servants. Grown warm with the occasion, they both loosened their sabres from their sides, placed them both at the Emperor's feet; and the eldest went on with this address: "If we be guilty, here are our two heads, and there "are two swords; or if a remembrance of our past services should "render our execution unwelcome, please to divest us of our "offices, and to dismiss us altogether from your service, that we "may be at leisure to take a journey to the house of God, in "order to heap honours upon our heads by visiting the tomb of "the Prince of men (our glorious Ancestor, on whom be peace "for ever!) or if your Majesty chooses to draw some further ser-"vices from us, and to keep us near your sacred person, vouch-"safe, great sire, to dismiss your suspicions, and cease to listen "to the suggestions of a set of covetous, envious, designing tale-"tellers, that are perpetually aiming at the lives of such faithful "servants as we, without once minding how much blood we have "spent in the Imperial cause. Be reconciled, great sire, to these "your two approved servants, and cease to harbour sentiments "equally repugnant to that sense of gratitude, so natural to "generous minds, and to the stability of an agreement consecrat-"ed by the most tremendous oaths."

Speech of one of them to the Emperor.

This scen seemed to have affected the Emperor, and it produced a momentary reconciliation. After many conferences it was agreed, that the only way to put an end to suggestions and dissensions, was to part the two adversaries. Emir-djemlah was ordered to quit the court, and to repair to Azimabad, the government of which was given him for an honourable exile; and Hossëin-aaly-khan agreed to set out for his Viceroyalty of Decan, where nothing but his presence could curb the refractory of those countries, and quiet those that had submitted. This agreement, which satisfied both parties, was not much relished by Emir-djemlah, who thought himself sacrificed to the resentment of the

two brothers; whereas, in reality, the whole intent of it on the part of the Emperor, was to increase his favourite's means of power, and also to exasperate his mind. Hossëin-aaly-khan's patent at the same time was drawing up; and orders were issued to the Governors of provinces and fortresses in all those parts, to all commanders, and to all crown-officers throughout the six and-a-half Soobadaries or provinces of Decan, in whatever station they might be, to submit to the new Viceroy, and to be henceforth obedient to his commands. Two letters of recall were likewise dispatched; one to Chin-kylydj-khan-nizam-el-mulk, Viceroy of Decan, with orders to quit his office, and to repair to the presence, and the other to Dā8d-khan-péni, Governor of G8djrat, requiring him to repair to Boorhanpoor, there to wait the new Viceroy's arrival, whose commands he was to obey. But this was only the ostensible letter; a secret but a strong one was at the same time conveyed to him, enjoining him to lay in wait with a strong army at Boorhanpoor, where he was to spare no means to destroy Hossëin-aaly-khan and his troops, as in that case, he would himself be appointed Viceroy in his stead, and become a proper object for further favours and distinctions. It was after dispatching these secret instructions, that the Emperor thought of celebrating his nuptials with Adjet-sing's daughter, as we shall soon relate; but as Dā8d-khan-péni is going to cut so great a figure in our history, it will not be out of its place to insert here an idea of his person and character, by giving some account of the disturbances and troubles to which his impudence and partiality had given occasion between the Mussulmen and Hindoos of Ahmed-abad, his capital.

The Emperor's insincerity.

In the second year of that officer's administration, which was likewise the first of the Emperor's, it happened that in the night, in which the Gentoos have it in custom to burn their H8ly,(70)

(70) As it is impossible to draw any lights from either the common Hindoos, who know nothing but the bark of their religion, and from the higher classes or tribes, which are of a shyness unconquerable on that subject, we shall content ourselves with saying something of the H8ly of the Gentoos, without diving into what it was intended to be. It is properly the Carnival of India, where the populace, extremely modest and reserved at all times, become licentious in those three days, and do and say what they please. At the third day, at about noon, they roll themselves in the dust, naked, and throw handfuls of it at each other. At about two o'clock in the morning, they make a bonfire of whatever combustibles they can

one of them was going to perform that rite in his own house-yard, a small part of which appertained to some Mussulmen's houses, when these last objected to it. The Hindoo, having pleaded that every man was master in his own house, paid no regard to the objection, and burned his H8ly. The very next day, the Mussulmen, taking advantage of the Hindoo's plea against himself, brought a cow within that very yard, and killed her with intention of eating in common, and distributing some victuals to the poor, as it was the day of the demise of the Crown of created things.(71) This action brought upon them all the Gentoos of that quarter, who having overpowered the Mussulmen, put them to flight, and obliged them for their lives to conceal themselves in their houses. The Gentoos transported by a religious fury, sought out the butcher who had slaughtered the cow, and on not finding him, they dragged his son, an innocent youth of fourteen, into that very yard, and slaughtered him in atonement for what they deemed a sacrilege. The Mussulmen shocked at such a sight, set up a general hue and cry throughout the city, and drew after them, not only multitudes of the Mussulmen inhabitants, but likewise some thousands of Dä8d-khan-péni's Afghan soldiers; and all these repaired to the Cazy or Supreme Judge's lodgings. The Judge, who did not choose

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lay hold of, and this is called *Burning the H8ly*. The ceremony of throwing handfuls of dust is so sacred with the Gentoos, that even an Englishman, that divinity on earth, would not be exempted from it. One of them who was freshly landed from Europe, and knew nothing of this ceremony, was approached with many bows and many excuses, by two whole scores of those naked men, and two handfuls of dust were not thrown but put in a corner of his Palenkin. The Englishman confounded at what he saw, was asking what they meant? Don't be angry, my lord, said two of them, it is our custom; we grow mad these three days. But his dog, who comprehended as little as his master at what he was seeing, having grumbled, and barked angrily, one of the two speakers made him a salam, and told him in a respectful soothing tone of voice: Do not be angry, my lord, it is our custom; we mean no harm.

(71) There was an enormous malice in this action of the Mussulmen. For besides that only a small part of the yard belonged to them, they certainly could kill an ox as well as a cow, but by-the-bye, the latter is not customary; and as the killing of a cow in a Gentoo's house, renders it uninhabitable for him ever after, and exposes him, as well as all the by-standers, to the pains of hell, unless they be redeemed by a whole life in pilgrimages, and a whole fortune in alms, the whole family becomes polluted, and *ipso facto* interdicted *aqua et igni*, among all the Gentoos. In one word, it was for ever excluded from society, and the whole quarter partook of the pollution. The Crown of created substances is Mahommed.

to meddle in an affair where he knew that the Governor had taken side with the Hindoos, shut his door in their faces. This could not but incense the Mussulmen who, carried away by their own prejudices, or possibly directed underhand by the Cazy himself, demolished and burned his gate, and having taken the magistrate's person amongst themselves, as if to authorise their actions, they proceeded to set fire to the shops in the market-place, and to as many Hindoo houses as they met in their way; and they would have gone on burning and destroying, had they not been opposed by one Cop8r-chund, an eminent jewel-merchant, much in favour with the Governor, but a most violent zealot against the Mussulmen. This man seeing his own quarter in danger, armed himself and friends, shut the gate of his quarter, and put himself upon his defence. He placed musqueteers on the gate, opened port-holes, and a fray ensued between the two parties, in which numbers of lives were lost. The tumult continued for some days; the shops were shut throughout that great city, and business was at a stand. When the tumult had subsided, the Mussulmen who thought themselves the aggrieved party, deputed three men of note to carry their complaints to court, and these were the very men that had been pitched upon before, to manage an accommodation between the Mussulmen on one side, and the Governor, and Gentoos, on the other; to wit, Sheh-abdol-vahed, Sheh-mahmed-aaly, an eminent preacher, and Abdol-aaziz. Da8d-khan himself, who found his person compromised in this affair, deputed Cop8r-chund, after having put in his hand a S8rut-hal, or narrative of the whole disturbance signed by the governor, by the Cazy, by the Commander-in-Chief, and by all the Crown-officers, which certified that the Gentoos were not in the wrong, and that the Mussulmen were the aggressors. But as soon as the three deputies were arrived at the capital, they were all three cast in prison by Ratan-chund's management, a man zealous in his sect, who found means to stifle their complaints. And God only knows how long these innocent persons had remained in prison, had not Qhoadjā-mahmed-djaafer, the dervish or religious, chanced to hear of them, and concerned himself in their unhappy case. This personage was no less a man than a brother to Qhandö8ran, one of the principal lords of the court; a pious man, who devoted to the love of God, had renounced the world and lived retired. It

Religious troubles in Ahmed-abad.

was in his retreat that he heard of Ratan-chund's cruel partiality; and from thence that he requested his brother to get those unfortunate persons released. So great a favour made such an impression upon one of them, namely, on Sheh-mahmed-aaly, the Väez or preacher, that from that moment he attached himself to his benefector; and as it was customary for a number of public singers and comedians to assemble in his retreat, and in the *effusions of their ardent zeal, to sing verses in honour of the Crown* of created things, and of his twelve descendants, to the unspeakable delight of the illustrious holy man; the preacher who now was become a frequenter of that retreat, made it a practice, after he had done preaching, to say a few sentences in honour of the Messenger, and then to launch out in the praises of the twelve Imams or Pontiffs, his pious descendants: a novelty which was likely to excite commotions in the capital, but which, however, excited none, as we shall shortly mention; our business at present being to say a few words about the Emperor's nuptials with his intended bride, the daughter of the Hindoo Prince, Radja-adjet-sing.(72) Her father, in dismissing her, had put in her hands a number of important papers which she was to deliver to the Emperor, namely, the letters and order he had received for opposing and destroying Hossëin-aaly-khan by any means in his power. Whether during that nobleman's journey to court, or during the Ranie's or Gentoo Princess's residence in his palace, it is certain that Hossëin-aaly-khan found means to get at these papers, and also to quiet the inquietude which the Ranie felt on finding that they had been in his hands. These papers, of course, were produced by the two brothers to the Emperor, who made an apology for them, when his mother managed an agreement between her son and them. This explanation having put an end to the dissensions and disputes, and peace having been further confirmed by Emir-djemlah's being exiled from court, the Emperor thought of celebrating his nuptials with the Ranie, as it had been agreed

Religious troubles in the Capital.

(72) The Emperors of Hindostan have it in custom to take to their bed two or three Gentoo Princesses, daughters of the four most potent Radjahs of Hindostan, namely, of those particular families that have in ancient times possessed the throne. The ceremony of their reception amounts only to this, that they are made to pronounce the Mahomedan profession of faith on their entrance into the seraglio, and receive Mahomedan names.

that, after that ceremony should be over, Hossëin-aaly-khan would set out for his Viceroyalty of Decan.

The Emperor, therefore, laid his commands on his household officers for making the necessary preparations for that solemnity, and they in a short time performed their business. But this not satisfying Hossëin-aaly-khan who thought his honour concerned, as the Princess had been brought to court by his means, had been all this while lodged in his palace, and might be deemed his adoptive daughter, he made it a point to give that solemnity all the magnificence and all that splendour for which Hindostan is famous; and he made such preparations both for the bride and the bride-groom as exceeded all that had even been heard in the capital, as well as all that had been done for the greatest Radjahs and Kings of Decan, or for even the magnificent Emperors of Hindostan. The furniture, jewels, and illuminations surpassed by much any thing that had been done by the Emperor himself. As soon as night came on, an infinity of fires and imitative stars threw out at once such a blaze as seemed to dispute of pre-eminence with the starry host of the firmament, and to reproach it with its inferior twinkling. Whilst the artificial parterres, by the variety of their colours, and the different shades of their hues, gave the beholder an idea of the celebrated gardens of Irem.(73) Pleasures and shews of all sorts, as well as splendid entertainments, followed each other with so uninterrupted a profusion, that the lowest man in the city could partake of them, as well as the highest; and surprise, delight, and hilarity would run after every one of the spectators, like so many beings put in motion by some animal instinct. Such were the throngs and the crowds of attendance, and such the concourse of spectators, that the streets and markets of such an immense city seemed to have become narrower, and each of them more uneasy than the heart of a lover in despair; and, on the other hand, pleasure and joy were enlivening every face with such a bloom of florid freshness, that the flowers of the gardens were

Magnificent preparatives made by one of the two brothers, on the solemnity of the Emperor's nuptials with a Hindoo Princess.

(73) Gardens once existing in a southern part of Yaman or Arabia Fœlix, and which were destroyed a thousand years before Mahomet, by a very strange accident for an Arabia Land, to wit, an inundation. The dyke that contained a vast natural reservoir, formed by these mountains, giving way at once, swept away the very soil of the gardens.

stung with the pangs of envy, and roses felt themselves seated on the thorns of jealousy. At last, after several days of so animated a scenery, the Emperor attended by his whole Court, repaired to a noble hall of Hossëin-aaly-khan's palace, where an illustrious assembly was waiting for him; and the reading of the marriage ritual having closed the ceremony, the Emperor took his bride in his own cortege, and in the middle of a music, whose delightful sounds filled the air with gladness, he hastened to his Imperial habitation. It was on a Thursday, the 22nd of Zilhidj, in the year of 1127 of the Hedjra.

Who would have thought that such a scene of pleasure and delight would have been followed at once by religious disturbances? Sheh abdollah, a divine of note, from M8ltan, having come to the capital on some particular business, took his abode near the cathedral, where he often preached to crowded audiences, with whom he soon acquired so much celebrity, that the very passages to that mosque were always thronged. Once he went to pay a visit to Qhoadja-djaafer, that religious nobleman, of whom we have already spoken; and on observing that some of the latter's followers and disciples always saluted him with a prosternation, in which they kissed the ground, and also that the comedians and singers, who frequented that holy retreat, made it a practice to sing verses in honour of the Messenger's Immaculate Spirit, and that of his sacred offspring, he was scandalized; and he remarked: "That prosternation was appropriated "to God Almighty alone, and, of course, unlawful and indecent "for any other. That to listen to songs and verses in matters of "religion, was reprobated and forbidden. And that to content "oneself with a few praises in honour of the Crown of created "things, in order to launch out in the praises of his descend-"ants, without saying a word of his venerable four successors, "was repugnant to the principles of Mussulmanism." Qhoadja-djafer answered that, *as religious persons as well as their followers acknowledge the omnipresence of no being existing, but that of God Almighty, it was impossible that they should pay a prosternation to any other being, and, of course, impossible that their Directors should connive at such a practice. But that, at any rate, men, who, transported by the extacies of their zeal, fancied everywhere present the object of their adoration*

and love, and therefore prostrated themselves on that ground, and kissed it devoutly, would not be likely to give over their practice upon any one's representations; and if that were the case, how could he prevent it, and where was his fault in not putting a stop to it. He ended by these verses:—

"The traveller, the friend at your side, and your neighbour, are all His;
"Whether in the beggar's rags, or under the gold-cloth of kings, they are all His;
"Whether divided by distance, or assembled under one roof,
"They are all His; indeed they are all His."

"As to the singing of the comedians, and the verses of public singers, these people sing nothing but what they have learned from their masters; nor do I choose to interfere in their singing, it being no business of mine. As to your own part, if you know of any verses in praise of the four Lords, (74) do impart them to these people, that they may sing them; and that it may become a practice for them at all times, and in all places.

This answer could not satisfy Sheh-abdollah, who strongly suspecting that it could not have come out but from a man inclined to the Shyah sect, went away discontented; and on his next sermon day, he reflected on Qhoadja-djafer's words, as favouring of Shyism, and condemned them openly. He added some invidious assertions: "For instance, that Aaly-morteza, "son of Aab8-taalub, was not within the cloak. (75) That it was, "improper to call him a Sëid; and that the expression of *five*

(74) This was an injurious request, worthy of a designing Syah. For, were as the Syans have an infinity of verses in praise of Aaly, and his two sons, &c., the Sunnies reprobate all verses on that subject, and content themselves with only mentioning, in some of their prayers, the names of the four Lords, (every one of whom had either protected Mahomet or saved his life) with only the addition of *greeting and peace be unto them.*

(75) Aaly is called the M8rteza or Agreeable, because, besides Mahomet, he is the only man living mentioned in the Coran. As to that obscure expression of the *cloak*, it refers to this fact. It is reported that the Christians of Medina (who, however, were the first proselytes of Mahomet's principles) having challenged the Messenger to perform some prodigy; and their chief having on his side offered to perform one, enveloped himself in his cloak, in the open field. The Messenger did the same on his part; but it was remarked, that he took within it only his daughter, Fatemah, and her two sons, Hassen and Hossein, to the exclusion of Aaly, their father. He then commenced an invocation of the name of God, upon which the Christian desisted from his challenge.

"*pure bodies*(76) was contrary to the principles of Sunnism; for, "whoever should admit the same would thereby give an implied "exclusion to the three other Lords, as not being equally pure." He added several words and expressions, all tending to depreciate the Imamite sect; and he seemed to aim at casting reflections and strictures upon its tenets and practices. Qhoadja-djafer, on hearing of that sermon, sent him word, *that to drop such expressions from the pulpit was dissonant from the current belief, and repugnant to the custom and usages of the Sunni sect, and might possibly give offence, and excite dissensions. That should he choose to come to his humble cottage, or to any other place, where a number of learned persons might be assembled, he flattered himself that the trouble he would be put to would not be without its advantage, as he might thereby find an opportunity of having his doubts tried by the rules of reasoning, and the authority of tradition. For, in that case, they would be referred to the most approved writings of the Sunni sect, and to the six holy collections.*

This message was received with expressions of peevishness and resentment; and a few days after, a multitude of young thoughtless men, of an Iranian extraction,(77) having assembled at the cathedral in sermon time, placed themselves full in the preacher's face, with their beads and amulets of Kerbella clay before them,(78) using at the same time some threatening

(76) The expression of the *five pure bodies*, is a translate of that oath. It is an invocation, common in India, and runs in these words. Pandj-aten-pac, which is a corruption of Pandj-ten-pac.

(77) Although there are two or three provinces in Iran or Persia, such as, Shirvan, the Dagbistan, and the Derghasin, &c., that follow the Sunni principles, nevertheless, the bulk of the Iranians or Persians are of the Shyah sect, which they style Imami, as they admit only of Aaly for Imam, Pontiff or successor to Mahomet, to the exclusion of Ab8-becr, Omar and Osman, who in fact have been the immediate successors, and of course, Pontiffs.

(78) This clay of Kerbella (the place where Hossein, the idol of the Persians, has been slain, and is now buried) is naturally white, but being dyed green, and baked, it assumes a pale-green colour; and the Persians make use of no other beads than those of that clay. Moroever, in their prayers and in their many prosternations, they lay their foreheads upon a piece of clay made for that purpose. It is two or three inches in diameter, and of a circular form, with the Shyah profession of faith stamped on one side, surrounded by the names of the twelve Imams, or Pontiffs. The back part is stamped with the Pandj-ten-pack, or the name of the five pure bodies, which are, Mahommed; his son-in-law and cousin, Aaly; his daughter, Fatemah; and her two sons, Hassan and Hossëin.

expressions and gestures. This was resented by two or three thousands of his followers, all of the Sunni sect, who suspecting this scene to have been concerted by Qhoadja-djafer, and the whole intended against their preacher's safety, took fire at once, and falling upon the young men with reproaches of impiety and blasphemy, they drove them out of the mosque. And this affair was likely to end there. But an ill-fated Hindoo, who was a military man of some character, and had come to hear the sermon, having chanced to go out immediately after them,(79) was remarked by some people, and in particular by one of the servants of the mosque, who taking him to be one of those that had just given so much offence, ran after him with an intention to stop or kill him; but the man having turned round and killed his pursuer, he was soon overtaken by some others, who hacked him to pieces; nor would the multitude for three days together suffer his body to be taken up, being in expectation to get some further lights from such as might come to do him that office. After this unhappy affair, some of the most zealous of the preacher's followers having found access to some principal courtiers, and by them to the throne, went in a body to the Emperor, and complained that Qhoadja-djafer wanted to excite a schism in the Sunni sect, similar to that which had excited commotions in the reign of Bahadyr-shah, when that Prince attempted to introduce the words *Aaly is Heir to God's Elect* into the Mussulman profession of faith. And they added that as something still more serious seemed to be in agitation, it was better that the offender should be commanded to quit the capital.

One would hardly believe that so small a commotion should have excited such heats in that immense city. For whereas it was heretofore common enough to see professed singers and others go singing about the streets the praises of the pure and holy offspring; and numbers of even learned men used often to stop

(79) Those that are eternally accusing the Mahometan religion of having propagated its tenets by the sword (and the very reverse is truth) ought to come to India and see those shoals of Gentoos that embrace it everyday; and we may remember that on the Portuguese landing in India for the first time at Caleco, where the Arabs were only merchants, they found that the reigning Emperor's father, (Peromul by name) sovereign of the whole Malabar, had embraced the Mahometism, and quitted his Crown to perform the pilgrimage of Mecca, where he died.

and to take a pleasure in hearing their verses and music; now matters became so much altered, that such singers were sure of being hooted, and accused of impiety and blasphemy. The Emperor on hearing of this new disturbance, consulted the Cazy Sheriat-ollah-khan, on the subject, as the most eminent divine that attended the Court. The theologian answered that "what "Sheh-abdollah had said would not stand the test of a confronta-"tion with the best treatises on the Sunni tenets, and that "therefore, it would prove difficult to convict Qhoadja-djafer of "heterodoxy. But as on the other hand, it would be proper to "put an end to this ferment, he gave it as his private opinion, "that the Qhoadja should be requested to change his abode, by "retiring to the suburb, the more so, as there would be neither "harm nor trouble in that. This decision was no sooner rumoured about, than Qhando8ran, one of the principal Lords of the Court, and a Minister of state, having sent for the preacher, inquired of him what might be the subject of his wishes in coming so far to the capital, and whether he had any commands for him; and the preacher having answered accordingly, Qhando8ran dispatched his business in a few days, and wished him a prosperous journey to M8ltan, his native country. At the same time he paid a respectful visit to His Holiness, Qhoadja-djafer, and in the course of a conversation on that subject, he supplicated in humble terms the Holy man's condescension, giving it as his private opinion, that if he would change his abode for a time, so far as to take his residence at the monument of Saint Nizam-med-din, in the suburbs, such a concession would effectually shut up the mouths of his opponents. In this manner the commotion, which bore a threatening aspect, subsided at once. It was high time; for very serious troubles were rising in the northern parts of the Empire.

In the year one thousand one hundred and twenty-eight of the Hedjra, that is, in the fifth year of Feroh-syur's, a bloody action happened in the plains of the Pendjab, between the Sycs and the Imperialists, in which the latter commanded by Abdol-semed-khan, a famous Viceroy of that province, gave those inhuman freebooters a great defeat in which their General, Benda, fell into the victor's hands. This barbarian, whom nature had formed for a butcher, trusting to the numbers and repeated successes

Some account of the Sycs, and especially of Benda, their actual leader; and of Nanec-shah, their patriarch

of those other butchers he commanded, had exercised upon the people of God cruelties that exceeded all belief, laying waste the whole province of Lahor. Flushed with victories, he had even aspired to a crown; and we shall say something of his history and person. He was a Syc by profession, that is, one of those men attached to the tenets of G8r8-govind,(80) and who from their birth or from the moment of their admission, never cut or shave either their beard or whiskers, or any hair whatever of their body. They form a particular society as well as sect, which distinguishes itself by wearing almost always blue clothes,(81) and going armed at all times. These, when once admitted into that fraternity, never make any difficulty of mixing or communicating with one another, of whatever tribe or clan or race they may have been hitherto; nor do they ever betray any thing of those scruples, precautions, and antipathies and customs,(82) so deeply rooted in the Gentoo mind, whatever diversity or opposition there may have hitherto been in their tenets, principles, or common way of life. This sect or fraternity, which spread itself far and near about the latter part of Aoreng-zib's reign, reckons for its institutor, a G8r8-govind, one of the successors of Nanec-shah, the patriarch of the sect; and here is what we know of this Nanec-shah. He was son to a grain-merchant of the Catri tribe; and in his youth he had been as remarkable for a good conduct and a laudable character, as well as for the beauty of his face, and

(80) The words G8r8-govind may be rightly translated by those of Bishop Govind. The Gentoos without coming to any particulars, make however a kind of confession on visiting their G8r8, and this always is done by prostrating the whole body at full length on the ground, with the hands joined and stretched beyond the head.

(81) It is true that they wear only a short blue jacket, and blue longdraws; but they use likewise the yellow and the white in their turbants, as well as the blue, although by-the-bye the latter is the general colour.

(82) These scruples and antipathies are so rooted, that even those that become Christians at Pondichery and elsewhere, are not to be reasoned with on that head. A Gentoo will abstain not only from any thing prepared or even touched by an European, but even from his water-pot, his knife, his clothes; and likewise from any thing prepared or touched by any person of a different tribe, or even by a person they are not familiar with, be he of their own tribe. The Brahmans alone or the Levitical tribe are out of this rule. They eat nothing but what they have themselves prepared, but every other tribe deems it an honour and blessing to receive it at their hands; and hence the reason why Brahman cooks are in such high repute.

the sensibleness of his repartees.(83) Nor was he destitute of money. There was then in those parts a fakir or religious of note, called Sĕid-hassen, a man of eloquence as well as wealth, who having no children of his own, and being smitten with the beauty of young Nanec, upon whom he chanced to cast his eyes, conceived an affection for him, and charged himself with his education. As the young man was early introduced to the knowledge of the most esteemed writings of the Mussulmen, and early initiated in the principles of their most approved sophies(84) and contemplatives, he improved so much in learning, and became so fond of his books, that he made it a practice in his leisure hours, to translate literally or virtually, as his mind prompted him, such of those maxims, as made the deepest impression upon his heart. This was in the idiom of Pendjab,(85) his maternal language. Little by little he strung together these loose sentences, reduced them into some order, and put them in verses, and by this time he had so far shaken off those prejudices of Gentilism which he had imbibed with his milk, that he was become quite another man. His collection becoming numerous, it

(83) The Mussulmen, and probably it is the descendants of those so inhumanly used by the Sycs, tell strange things of this surprising beauty of young Nanec's, and of the affection it kindled in his tutor's breast; and these things although so very incredible in England, would have nothing surprising in India. The Sycs are silent on that head, and bring Nanec at once from the age of twelve to that of thirty, at which time he had followers There is another religion, of very great pretensions in this world, and of still greater ones in the other, which very prudently leaps from the first year of its patriarch to his twelfth, and then again, takes another mighty jump up to his fiftieth year, where his history is closed, so important it is that the particulars of the spring, and summer, and even of the autumn of a legislator's life should be concealed by a venerable cloud of impenetrable obscurity. Of all the patriarchs, none has ever had his whole life written with any detail but Confu-tse or Confucius, and Mahomet, this last, in the most circumstantial detail that has ever existed.

(84) The word *Sophi* from which the Greeks have made *sophos* has, at all times, signified a wise man, contemplative and virtuous; but as these people made it a point to wear nothing but woollen stuffs or camblets, called *sofs*, all over Turky and Persia, it is not impossible but the garment should have communicated its name to the men. Hence there are in English such words as black-friars and white-friars. This much is certain, that one of the first, bravest, and most virtuous Emperors of the Turks was called or surnamed *sofi*, because he wore nothing but *sof*. It was Sultan-morad, the first.

(85) The Pendjabi is a dialect of the Hindostany, but like all the languages of Hindostan, sonorous, soft and melodious.

took the form of a book, which was entitled Grent, and became so famous in the times of Sultan Babr, as to give celebrity to its author, who from that day was followed by multitudes of spectators or well-wishers. This book is to this day held in so much veneration and esteem amongst the Sycs, that they never touch or read it, without putting on a respectful air and posture. And in reality, as it is a compound of what he had found most valuable in those books which he had been perusing, and it is written with warmth and eloquence, it has necessarily all the merits and attractions peculiar to truth and sound sense.

In times of yore, the religious persons of that fraternity could not be distinguished, either in their garb or their usages, from the Mussulmen fakirs; nor is the difference easily perceptible even to this day. They live in communities both in villages and towns, and their habitations are called Sangats,(86) where we always see some one that presides over all the rest. Nanec, their patriarch, left only two children. One of whom when grown up, used to amuse himself with hunting and all the other pleasures of high life; and in this he has been imitated by his descendants to this day, all of whom are reputed heirs and partakers of his authority. The other son, having addicted himself to a religious life, and taken up the garb of it, his followers have done the same, and look to all intents and purposes like so many Mussulmen fakirs. But what is strange, Nanec-shah had not for his immediate successor, either the one or the other of his children, but only a servant of his, called Angad, who sat on the patriarch's carpet with full authority.(87) The ninth in succession

The Patriarch Nanec is not succeeded by any of his children, but only by Angad, his servant.

(86). The word Sangat signifies together, and also fraternity. It comes from *sang* which signifies *with*, as well as *sat*.

(87) This right of sitting upon another's carpet implies the right of succeeding to his rights and authority; and this ceremony and expression is spread all over the East, from whence it has been brought to the confines of Europe, where we see the Crim-tartars using the same ceremony. As the Khans of the Crim-tartars, as well as all the Tartarian Princes, deduce their pedigree from the famous conqueror, Djenghis-khan, we see that when they intend to acknowledge a new Khan, or King, they make him sit upon a small carpet which has served to that ancestor of theirs, and four men raising the carpet and the new King as high as they can, shout out in the middle of the C8r8ltäy or assembly: *Choc-yasha*—live long; a shout that is echoed by the rest. But as a carpet *four hundred years old* would not stand such a test, it is always placed upon a new one.

from this Angad was one Tygh-bahadyr,(88) who was of such an extraordinary character, as drew multitudes after him, all which as well as their leader went always armed. This man finding himself at the head of so many thousands of people, became aspiring; and he united his concerns with one Hafyz-aadem, a Mussulman fakir, and one of those that styled themselves of Sheh-ahmed-serhindi's fraternity. These two men no sooner saw themselves followed by multitudes, implicitly addicted to their chief's will, than forsaking every honest calling, they fell a subsisting by plunder and rapine, laying waste the whole province of Pendjab; for whilst Tygh-bahadyr was levyiny contributions upon the Hindoos, Hafyz-aadem was doing the same upon the Mussulmen. Such excesses having soon attracted the notice of the Crown-officers, gazetteers, and intelligencers, they wrote to the Emperor Aoreng-zib, that these two men made it a practice to live by plunder and sack. In answer to such an advice, the Emperor commanded the Viceroy of Pendjab, residing at Lahor, to seize these two miscreants, and to send the Mussulman to the country of Afghans, quite up to the last limits of Hindostan, beyond the Atec,(89) with defense to him to cross it again under pain of death. Tygh-bahadyr, the other freebooter, he was to send prisoner to the castle of G8aliar. The Governor executed his orders punctually. Some days after there came an order to the Governor of G8aliar, to put Tygh-bahadyr to death, to cut his body into four quarters, and to hang them at the four gates of the fortress, a sentence which was literally executed. But this execution was followed by mournful consequences. Hitherto the Sycs had always worn the religious garb without any kind of arm or weapon at all; but G8r8-govind having succeeded to his father, distributed his numerous followers by troops, which he put under the command of his best friends, to whom he gave orders to provide themselves with arms and horses. As soon as he saw them accoutred and mounted, he commenced

The Sycs, from mendicants, become soldiers.

(88) *Tygh-bahadyr* signifies a valiant blade.

(89) This river, the Indus of the ancient, is the same as the Sind which passes at Bacar, and Tatta, and empties itself by two mouths into the sea, one of which is that of Divel. It bears the name of *Atec* only in those parts where it serves as boundary to the Empire of Hindusthan; for to-day as well as two thousand years ago, none could be ferried over without a pass from the Governor of a fort. Hence called *Atec*, from the verb *Atecne*—to stop or to be stopped.

plundering the country, and raising contributions. But he did not go long unpunished The Fodjdars of the province joining together, fell upon those freebooters, and soon dispersed them; but G8r8-govind's two sons having fallen alive in their hands, were put to death. The father's situation was now become full as dangerous. Hunted down everywhere like a wild beast, he retired to a stronghold which secured his person for the present, but at the same time, precluded his escaping to his country and family beyond Serhend, the country betwixt being full of troops and garrisons. The man prompted by his critical situation, applied to the Afghan mountaineers that live behind Serhend, and he promised them a large sum of money, if they could contirve to carry him to a place of safety. A number of these accepted the bargain, and oming down from their mountains, they engaged him to let grow his beard, whiskers, and every other hair of his body; and when they saw it of a proper length, they put upon him a short blue garb like that used amongst those highlanders, brought him out of his stronghold amongst themselves, and made him traverse the whole country, not only with perfect safety, but also with honour. For whenever anyone put any question about this man which they paid so much respect to, they would answer, that he was a Pir-zada or Holy man of theirs, the Pir-zâda of 8tch. G8r8-govind having been so lucky as to extricate himself out of so great a danger, conserved the Afghan garb in memory of that event; and he even made it henceforward the distinctive garb of his followers, no one of which could be admitted into it. unless his hair and beard proved of the proper length, and his garb of the proper pattern. But the loss of his children had made so deep an impression on his heart, that he lost his mind, fell in demencey, and shortly after died of grief and sorrow. He was succeeded by Benda, that butcher-like man, of whom we have spoken above. This infernal man having assembled multitudes of desperate fellows, all as enthusiasts and all as thirsty of revenge as himself, commenced ravaging the country with such a barbarity as had never had an example in India. They spared no Mussulman, whether man, or woman, or child. Pregnant women had their bellies ripped open, and their children dashed against their faces, or against the walls. The Emperor, (and it was the mild Bahadyr-shaw) shuddered on hearing of such atrocious deeds.

He was obliged to send against those barbarians not only the troops of the province, but entire armies, and these, too, commanded by Generals of importance, such as, the Lord of Lords, Munaam-qhan, who at the head of thirty thousand horse enclosed that scelerat in the fort of L8hgar, where he besieged him. The man, after having defended himself for some time, contrived to give him the slip by an expedient in which he shewed as much sagacity and wisdom as animal courage and prowess. Neverthe-less being still pursued, he was encircled again by three Generals that had joined their troops together. It was Mahmed-amin-qhan, Aghyr-qhan, and Rostem-dil-qhan. But his genius, fertile in expedients, extricated him again. Not that he made any stand before the Imperial troops; he hardly gave them an opportunity to see him. Perpetually on the wing, he kept out of their way, when having given them the slip, he suddenly sallied forth at an opposite side, like some savage escaped from the hunter's nets, and then he put every thing to fire and sword, massacring every Mussulman, and destroying every temple and every sepulchre of theirs which he could find, in so much, that his ravages and barbarities seemed to go on increasing; and such was the state of things, when Bahadyr-shah departed this life. His children, occupied in disputes about the throne, had no attention to spare for Benda, so that his power became formidable at last. On Feroh-syar's accession to the throne, Esl-m-khan, Viceroy of Lahor, received orders to destroy those freebooters; but those freebooters defeated him totally in a pitched battle, and that Viceroy after losing the greatest part of his men, retired within Lahor, with his full measure of shame. Benda elated by so unexpected a success, recommenced his barbarities with more fury than ever. It was some time after this battle that Bayezid-khan, Fodjdar of Serhend, hearing of Benda's approach, thought it better to meet him half way; and he was encamped without the walls, when in the evening he retired to a private tent, where with a small congregation he was performing the afternoon prayers when a Syc, as desperate doubtless as any of Hassan-saba's devoted young men,(90) having crept under the wall of the tent.

(90) *Hassan*, surnamed *Saba*, is the man known in the Crusades under the name of the old *man of the mountains*, which is a bungling translate of the words *Shek-el-Djebal*, the Prince of the hilly country, and as his dovoted young men were called

gave him a mortal stab, as he was prostrating himself, and in the confusion and surprise which ensued, he retired to his brethren without receiving any hurt. This piece of intelligence having soon reached the capital, the Emperor commanded Abdol-semed-khan, a T8ranian Viceroy of Cashmir, who entertained several thousands of his countrymen, to march against those scelerats, and to encourage him in that expedition, the Emperor sent him the patent of the government of Lahor for his son, Zecariah khan. This General, who since became so famous, had with him several thousand troopers of his nation, with several commanders of the highest distinction, such as, Kamer-eddin-khan, whom we shall see Vezir-aazem in the sequel, Mahmed-amin-khan, and Aghyr-khan. They were at the head of their own troops, to which the Emperor added several bodies of his own guards, such as, the Vala-shahies, and the Ahedians.(91)

With such reinforcements Abdol-semed-khan, who waited only for a train of artillery, set out for Lahor, after having appointed for his Lieutenant, at Cashmir, his own slave Aref-khan, and taking with him the troops he found encamped at that city, he marched in quest of the barbarians. As he had a good army in which were several thousands of his own countrymen, these troops fell with such fury upon those wild beasts, and they repeated their attacks with so uninterrupted a perseverance, that they crushed them to atoms; nor did the General give over the pursuit, until he had made an end of them. That miscreant of Benda stood his ground to the amazement of all, and in the first engagement he fought so heroically, that he was very near giving a complete defeat to the Imperial General; for although beaten and vigorously pursued, he retired from post to post, like a savage of the wilderness from thicket to thicket, losing endlessly his men, and occasioning losses to his pursuers. At last worn down by such an incessant pursuit, he retired to Goordas-

in Arabic *Hassanin*, or the Hassanians, this word has given birth to the word Hassasin or Assassin, that signifies a murderer, in six or seven languages of Europe.

(91) The Emperor's household amounts to forty thousand men, all cavalry, but serving on foot in the citadel and in the palace. It consists of several corps, such as, the Sorqh-poshes or Red-wearers; the Soltanies, or Royals; the Vala-shahies, or high Imperials; the *Camul-pushes* or Cuirass-wearers; the Ahedians, serving single, because these last have the Emperor for their immediate Colonel.

poor, the native country of most of thoſe barbarians, and where their chief had long ago built a strong castle, in which they kept their wives and families with the booty they used to make in their courses. The Imperial General blockaded it immediately; nor was the place unfurnished with provisions. But the multitudes that had successively retired thither were so considerable, and the besiegers kept so watchful a guard, that not a blade of grass, nor a grain of corn, could find its way to the fort; and the magazines within being at last emptied of their contents as the blockade drew to a length, a famine commenced its ravage amongst the besiegers, who fell a eating any thing that came in their way. Asses, horses, and even oxen became food, and what is incredible, cows were devoured. Nevertheless such was the animosity of those wild beasts, and such their consciousness of what they had deserved, that not one of them would talk of a surrender. But every thing within, even to the most venerable, as well as to the most loathsome, having already been turned into food and devoured, and this having produced a bloody flux that swept them by shoals, the survivors asked for quarter, and offered to open their gates. The Imperial General ordered them to repair to an eminence, where they would see a pair of colours planted, and where they were to depose their arms and clothes, after which they might repair to his camp. The famished wretches obliged to comply with an order which foreboded nothing good, obeyed punctually like beasts reduced to their last shift, and having been made fast hand and foot, they were made over to his Moghuls or Tartars, who had orders to carry them close to the river that ran under their walls, and there to throw the bodies after having beheaded them all. The officers and principal men were put in irons, and ordered to march in a body, mounted upon lame, worn down, mangy asses and camels, with each of them a paper-cap upon his head; and it was with such a cortege that the General entered the city, of Lahor, which he reached in few days. It happened that Bayezid-khan's mother, an old T8ranian woman, lived in that city, and hearing what had happened, and that her son's murderer was amongst the prisoners, she requested her attendants to point him to her. For, the man having acquired a character amongst his brethren by such a daring action, had been nick-named Baz-sing by

The Sycs, after a multitude of bloody actions, are destroyed.

them,(92) and had been promoted to a considerable office. The old woman having got upon a terrace that overlooked the street, lifted up a large stone which she had provided, and being directed by the sound, (for she was blind) she let it fall so luckily, that she killed him outright; and the old lady, after this action, said, that she would now die satisfied, and revenged. But this action having, as a signal, roused the people of that city, and the General conceiving that he might lose all his prisoners through the fury of the mob, ordered them to be conveyed to a place of safety amongst the baggage, where they were covered with trappings of elephants, and every thing that could conceal them from the people's eyes. The next day, he set out of the city at day-break, and with the same precaution, his intention being to present them alive to the Emperor. For further precaution, they were put under the care of Camer-eddin-khan, and his own son, Zacariah-khan, and forwarded to the capital under a strong escort. As soon as they had arrived in the outskirts of the city, the Emperor sent out Mahmed-amin-khan, with orders to bring them in, mounted as they were, but preceded by a number of heads fixed upon pikes, amongst which should be seen Benda, with his face besmeared with black, and a wooden-cap on his head. That wretched himself, having been brought before the Emperor, was ordered to the castle, where he was to be shut up, with his son, and two or three of his chief Commanders. The others were carried by a hundred at a time every day, to the Cotval's tribunal, where they were beheaded, until the whole number of them was completed. But what is singular, these people, not only behaved quietly during the execution, but they would dispute and wrangle with each other, who should be executed first, and they made interest with the executioner for that very purpose. In this manner the whole number of these

(92) The Falcon-lion, or Lion with the rapidity of a Falcon. These titles are common all over India, amongst the Gentoos; but especially in Decan, where any one that has killed a Tiger, without shooting him, is henceforward surnamed *Matsa*. In Hindostan, he that had killed a Lion with a sabre, pike, or poniard, assumed the title of *Sing*, or Lyon; and it is this institution which the Mahometans had in a view when, on their making conquests in India, they perceived so many Generals with the title of *Sing*. This institution they copied, by giving to their bravest chiefs, the title of *Djung*, which implies some remarkable character in war and battle. For those of *Dóßla* and *Mulk*, have been copied from the Qhalifat, or Arabian monarchy

wretched beings told over, and every one of them having received what he had so long deserved, Benda himself was produced; and his son being placed on his lap, the father was ordered to cut his throat, which he did without uttering one word. Being then brought nearer to the Magistrate's tribunal, the latter ordered his flesh to be torn off with red-hot pincers, and it was in those torments that he expired, his black soul taking its flight by one of those holes towards the regions for which it seemed so well fitted. It is reported, that Mahmed-amin-khan, having had the curiosity to come close, and to look at the man, was surprised at the nobleness of his features. Struck with such an appearance, he could not help speaking to the wretch. "It is surprising," said he, "that one that shews so much acuteness in "his features and so much nobilities in his conduct, should have "accumulated upon his head a multitude of horrid crimes that "would ruin him infallibly in this world as well as the other— "crimes that had brought him at last to so excruciating an end." The man, with the greatest composure, answered in these terms:— "I will tell you, my Lord. Whenever men become so corrupt "and wicked, as to relinquish the path of equity and to abandon "themselves to all kinds of excesses, then it happens, in all coun- "tries and in all religions, that Providence never fails to suscite "such a murderer as me, whose only office is to chastise a "race become totally criminal. But when the measure of punish- "ment has been filled, then the butcher's office ceases, and his "mission is over, and then, that some Providence never fails to "suscite such a mighty man as you, whose mission is to lay hold "of the barbarian, and to consign him to condign punishment."

Benda undergoes an excruciating death.

"Why should this oppressor's haughtiness and violence last so long?
"Is it because God Almighty's scourge strikes without a sound?"

After having been carried thus far by a digression which we thought we owed our readers upon the Sycs, it is but natural that we should revert to the thread of our history, especially as the dissensions at Court carried a most threatening aspect, and seemed to presage infinite ills to the whole Empire. We have already related how it had been agreed between the two rival contending parties that, on Emir-djemlah's quitting the Court, Hossein-aaly-khan should repair to his post in Decan, and how his departure had been delayed on some particular accounts. At

last, after having accomplished all his views, that Viceroy set out, but not without repairing first to Court, and telling the Emperor and his confidants, plainly, "that if, in his absence, any thing "should be attempted against his brother, the Vezir Abdollah-"khan, His Majesty might rest assured that he would quit every-"thing, in order to be again in the Capital within twenty days, "at most." This open threat having only shewn to the Emperor, how powerful the Viceroy thought himself, he was no sooner gone, than the Ministers dispatched letter after letter to Da8d-khan-peni, Governor of G8djrat, an Afghan of an illustrious pedigree, who had acquired such a high character in those southern countries by his great bodily strength and his heroical prowess, that he was revered in all that tract, and held in the highest esteem with the rulers and generals of the Marhatta Empire. Those letters brought him the patent of the government of B8rhanp8r added to his own, with orders to repair thither at the head of his army, it being on the high road to Decan, and to demolish Hossēin-aaly-khan and his troops, by any means in his power, after which he would of course succeed him in that Viceroyalty, then become vacant. On the receipt of these instructions Da8d-khan, who made but little account of his enemy, repaired to B8rhanp8r, where he without hesitation assumed all the state of a Viceroy of Decan. This intelligence having been soon conveyed to Hossēin-aaly-khan, the latter wrote to the Afghan that, "as he (Hos-"sēin-aaly-khan) was actually invested with that Viceroyalty, "it was but proper that he, Da8d-khan-peni, should come to pay "his respects to his superior, and shew himself ready to execute "his commands, this being so very conformable to the rules of "service; else, he had better repair to the Emperor's Court at "once, without giving so unjustifiable an example to those re-"fractory countries, and rendering himself guilty of proceedings "that could end in nothing but in disturbances and dissensions." This letter having not made the least impression upon Da8d-khan, he came out of B8rhanpoor, and encamped in the plain fully resolved on a vigorous opposition. He at the same time invited over a number of Marhatta Generals, who had become Crown-servants, having been decorated with grades and commands of honour and emoluments, such as, of five and seven, thousand horse, so early as the reign of Bahadyr-shah. The most

Threat of one of the brothers to the Emperor himself.

Dä8d-khan-peni, a famous warrior of Decan, prepares to oppose Hossēin-ally-khan.

considerable amongst these was Bimba-sindïah, who enjoyed the whole territory of Aorengabad in lieu of his pay. All these came and remained encamped with Da8d-khan until the twenty-fifth of Ramazan, at which time Hossëin-aaly-khan appeared at the head of twenty-six thousand horse, the only ones that were able to keep pace with him, but all veteran troops, accustomed to be led to success and victory under his command. This happened in the fourth year of Feroh-syur's reign. The Viceroy being arrived within sight of the enemy, endeavoured to reclaim that haughty imprudent Afghan, by sending him several very inviting messages, but finding him deaf to all remonstrances, he thought only how to reduce him by force. He, therefore, ranged his army in battle array, mounted his elephant, and marched down upon the enemy. The latter did the same on his side, after having placed on his front a body of Afghans, all his countrymen, every one of whom thought himself equal to a Rostem.(93) The battle proved obstinate and bloody. The valorous on both sides, pressing upon each other, as in the Day of Judgment were rushing forward, regardless of every thing but how to engage amongst the foremost. In a moment it commenced raining heads, which dropped like hail from the clouds raised by the inflamed sabres,(94) and streams of blood pouring down from

(93) Rostem, R8stam, and also Rostan is the Hercules of the East. Like him, he was of a prodigious strength of body; like him he founded a potent family, and a principality; like him he purged his country of monsters, serpents, dragons, and lions, as well as of tyrannical kings; like him he wore a lion's hide; but the difference is entirely in favour of the Persian hero. The latter was just, temperate, and an amiable Prince; he also had blue eyes and a red beard, whereas the Greek had them both black. Lastly, the Grecian wore his hide just as he had got it from the animal flayed, whereas the Persian had it made into a close dress, not unlike that of a Hussar, and in such a manner as that the head and mouth came so low as his forehead, and formed a head-cap, which last circumstance proves his having lived in a more civilized country than the Grecian.

(94) The Persian and Indian sabres being made of a particular steel, particularly tempered, look, when polished and prepared with some mineral acid, as if a plentiful stream of water or of fire was actually pouring down upon the whole surface, from the hilt to the point; and hence those metaphorical expressions so common in our author, as well as in all the Orientals, of *a devouring sabre—a sabre vomiting fire and flames—of an enemy drinking plentifully of the stream running down from the sabre of his victor.* These sabres are made in India, in Lahor, and Dehli. In Persia, they are made in Com, Ispahan, and especially at Lar. In Turkey they are made at Damascus and in Mesror Cairo. *Look at the Remark 140, Section 2nd*

The bloody battles of B8r-hanpoor.

the hands of so many heroes in fury were drenching the dry thirsty earth. How many bodies, hitherto accustomed to all the conveniences and delicacies of a luxurious life, found that day their bed on the bloody hard ground, and how many heads streaming with blood, did colour the point of spears, like so many full blown roses, fixed on their stalks! The ponderous earth eternally shaken by the incessant roaring of cannon, seemed to have assumed a motion like the heaven, whilst heaven itself confounded at the appearance of so many blood-drunk warriors, stopped short, and stood motionless, like a lumpish clod of earth.(95) Da8d-khan had given orders to his conductor to carry his elephant close to that of Hossëin-aaly-khan's as soon as he could descry him. But meanwhile Hiramon, a valorous Gentoo, who commanded the Afghan's van, had pushed as far as the enemy's artillery, where he was making a great slaughter, when he was himself given for food to the famished sabres of a body of Sëids of Bar, who threw themselves in his way, and killed or wounded every one of those that had followed him. But this loss did not divert Da8d-khan from his design; he was eagerly pushing forward amongst a body of officers mounted like himself, amongst whom he towered out as terrible as the man on the elephant mentioned in the Coran.(96) He was seeking his rival everywhere, being preceded by three hundred stout Afghans, who armed with battle-axes, were hewing down every thing in their way. This formidable body struck a panic in the enemy's ranks. It was there that fell the bravest of the Viceroy's army—Mahamed-y8ss8f, Commander of his artillery, as well

(95) Those that shall read this animated description, shall probably find this Eastern style superior to all those pieces of Europe, where no Poet can speak of battle without introducing those imaginary beings of Mars and Bellona, &c.

(96) There is made mention in the Coran of an Æthiopian General, who, after having conquered Yaman, or Arabia Fœlix, came to attack the Hedjaz, and Mecca, its capital, at the head of an army of fifty thousand men. He was mounted upon an elephant; and this happened about thirteen hundred years ago, and fifty years before Mahomet. This piece of history gives an insight into what must have happened in some other countries of world, where arts and sciences must have appeared and disappeared at certain periods. It shews that, twelve centuries ago, the Æthiopians were a civilised people, that understood the art of taming elephants, and that of building ships, which last implies all the arts, whereas to-day, all their shipping consists in hollowed logs of wood, and all their art in bewildering and then killing elephants for food.

as Rostem-beg and Bessalet-khan, both at the head of their troops which were mowed down by shoals, and now returned their acknowledgments to their masters by torrents of their blood. Aalem-aaly-khan, with Qhan-zeman-qhan, and a nunber of persons of distinction, were wounded there grievously. The Afghans making their way with such a slaughter, Da8d-khan at last found himself against Mir-mushreff, an ancient General personally attached to Hossëin-aaly-khan. He was armed Cap-a-pié, and looked like one cased in iron. Da8d-khan, mistaking him for the Viceroy, cried out who he was himself, and said, *What for do you keep concealed behind your muffler, like a woman? Up with your visor, man, that I may see who you are.* Da8d-khan said this out of contempt, because that Afghan never wore but a djama of muslin on the day of battle. He said, and putting an arrow to his bow, he with an unerring aim, lodged it in Mir-mushreff's neck. That officer fainting with anguish and loss of blood fell down from his haödah, to which he just held by one of his hands. In this situation Da8d-khan's driver, making a stout use of his iron-crook,(97) gave him on the back two or three blows, so well conditioned, that the nobleman remembered them for the remainder of his days; and several years after, on recounting all this detail, he could not help carrying his hand to his back, and saying that they were severe blows, indeed, and that he felt them still: Whilst this terrible execution was taking place, Mir-mushreff's elephant-driver seized this opportunity to part the two beasts, and as he hung still by the hand, a report spread throughout the whole army that he was slain; and this report only increased the panic. And now the Afghan drawing near Hossëin-aaly-khan's elephant, people thought that all was over, and numbers fell off their ranks, whilst others fled in earnest. A signal discomfiture was going to ensue, few choosing to stand by their General but a body of men of note, who resolved to perish rather than to forsake him. Matters grew critical, and the confusion as dreadful as that of the Day of Judgment, when a musquet-ball, as if by express order, struck Da8d-khan in the

(97) This iron instrument is called *ankush*, and may weigh twelve pounds. It is one inch in diameter, and three feet long, ending in a sharp point. At eight inches below that point, there shoots out another which bends downwards like a hook, and it is chiefly with this last that the animal is directed and chastised, although the straight point, and its round bottom, serve occasionally.

forehead, killed him outright, and changed the morning of his life and glory into an everlasting evening. The driver seeing his master without any sign of life, turned his elephant about, and fled with those that sought to avoid the edge of the pursuing sabre. At sight of this, Hossëin-aaly-khan ordered his military music to strike up in token of victory and rejoicing, and sending his people after the Afghan's elephant, which was soon overtaken, he ordered his corpse to be fastened to that animal's foot, and dragged throughout the whole city of B8rhanp8r.

Da8d-khan killed in the middle of his victory.

It may be asked what has become of Bimba-dji and his Marhatta Cavalry, of which we have said not a word. And the answer will be short. The man, like a true Marhatta, contented himself with scampering about at the beginning of the action, and then remained motionless like any common spectator; so that when he saw that victory had turned towards Hossëin-aaly-khan, he galloped over, and presented him his Nuzur as did all his officers. And all this while his Marhattas having broke in the enemy's camp, were plundering every thing they could lay their hands upon. Nevertheless, there still remained much booty for the victorious army; and the whole of Dä8d-khan's equipage, money, horses and elephants were seized for the Viceroy's use, a small part of which only he vouchsafed to send to the Emperor, and that, too, after a length of time.

Da8d-khan had left at Ahmed-abad a consort, by whom he was tenderly loved. She was the daughter of a Hindoo Zemindar, or great Landlord of that kingdom, where it was a standing rule, that some of those Gentoo Princes should give their daughters to the Viceroy in being. This lady who had been initiated in the Mussulman religion, on her entrance into the seraglio, was now pregnant, and seven months gone with child; and she had entreated for the liberty of following her husband, of whom at his departure, she had obtained his poignard, as a token of his love. The news of his death in the middle of a victory having now reached Ahmed-abad, she took the poignard, and opening her own belly with a precaution and dexterity that amazed every one, she carefully drew out the child, and tenderly recommended it to the bystanders, after which few words, she expired.(98)

Strange anecdote of Da8d-khan's Radjpoot consort.

(98) It must be recollected that this lady had been bred in the Radjpoot notions, which inculcate that a woman who burns herself for her deceased husband, resus-

The report of this victory soon reached the capital, and it was remarked that the Emperor could not conceal his concern and regret. He even said in the Vezir Abdollah khan's presence, "That it was a pity that so heroical a man as Dä8d-khan should have been slain," and he added, "that he had been unworthily used." This expression was taken up by the Vezir, who answered, "That "had his brother been slain by that savage of an Afghan, his death, "he supposed, would have appeared very proper, and at any rate "would have been more welcome to His Majesty."

Severe answer of the Vezir to the Emperor, on the latter expressing a concern for Dä8d-khan's death.

When dialogues between the Emperor and the Minister could be tainted with so much acrimony, it was not difficult to conjecture how far matters might proceed, and this was soon put to the test by two events that happened immediately after this conversation: These were the sudden dismission of a body of choice men which the Emperor had ordered to be raised with a high pay, from forty to nine hundred rupees per month, a pay which was to be assigned on Crown-lands, or Djaghires, and in expectation of which they had been promised one with another fifty rupees in ready money; but twelve months had already elapsed since that creation, and they had as yet touched nothing, when at once the body was broke and dismissed, and its Paymasters were told, that at present there was no money in the treasury. The second event is the sudden arrival of Emir-djemlah from Azim-abad, where over and above the standing troops of his Government, he had raised a large body of Moghuls, and other foreigners; and as the revenues of the country, very ill-managed by him, could not afford to maintain those additional troops, they subsisted by pillaging the flat country, and exercising violences even in the middle of its capital, where they put under contribution the poor people, as well as the nobility. Such enormous disorders could not but render Emir-djemlah's administration an object of universal detestation; but as he had also most extravagantly squandered away the public money, and no resource remained for him against the insolencies of those people who

citates presently to live happy twelve hundred thousand years—tenets which engage Radjpoot women to burn themselves by scores; and this lady being debarred in the seraglio from such a liberty, and unwilling to survive her husband, took this method of following him without hurting her child. For, pregnant women are not allowed to burn themselves.

threatened his person, here is the expedient, he imagined, would extricate himself. He got into one of those veiled-chairs that are used to convey women, and without imparting even a hint to his most intimate friends, or even to his menial servants, he fled towards Dehli, where, terror adding wings to his flight, he arrived in fifteen days; and where, in the very middle of a dark night, he suddenly made his appearance at the castle-gate, like a ghost from his grave. This was at a time when terrible reports were spreading everywhere throughout the city, as if schemes were actually in agitation about seizing the Vezir's person. And, indeed, as the Emperor had now conceived a rooted aversion against the two brothers, a rumour ran, that Emir-djemlah had been sent for underhand. This much is certain that, when that Governor made his appearance at Court, he was ill-received; and that this reception having only added to the bad opinion which the world had conceived of his character, he turned himself towards Abdollah-khan, to whom he commenced paying an assiduous courtship, as he was, said he, resolved, henceforward to devote himself solely to his family. But all these protestations were attributed to artifice by the public, and even to a concerted scheme of seizing the Vezir's person. It was even suspected, that the unexpected dismission of the eight thousand troopers, together with the vast crowds of Moghuls, and other disbanded soldiers, who arrived daily in shoals from Azimabad, and went everywhere armed and mounted about the streets, and especially to the palaces of Mahmed-amin-khan, the Paymaster-General, and of Emir-djemlah, and of Qhandö8ran, were nothing more than so many contrivances to circumvent the Vezir; and they raised supicions in every one's breast, as if all these manœuvres meant no more than to fall unexpectedly upon his palace. That Minister, at last, came to think so himself; and now giving way to his apprehensions, he ordered his quarter and his habitation to be put in a state of defence, and a number of troops to be raised. It happened that his nephew, Ghäirat-khan, who had been appointed Fodjar of Narnö8l, and had gone out of the city with a strong body, to take possession, came soon to hear of these disturbances; and he turned about, and took his quarters round his palace, not only with what troops he actually had with him, but also with some new levies which he made by the way, and chiefly with a large

The dissensions between the Emperor and the Vezir rise higher than ever, and the latter fortifies his quarter, and raises new troops.

body of Sëids of Bar, who had flocked into the city, on hearing that the Vezir, whom they looked upon not only as their countryman, but also as their kinsman, was in danger from his enemies. Such terrors were spread everywhere, and such apprehensions conceived, that Abdollah-khan's friends, who had fortified themselves in his quarter, or in its neighbourhood, were now sitting upon their elephants the whole day, and standing to their arms the whole night, the more so as shoals of disbanded soldiers were now seen armed and mounted in almost every large street. But what looks very singular is, that it was such a time of mistrust and confusion, that Emir-djemlah, at a loss what to do with his own person, chose to refuge himself in Mahmed-amin khan's house, after having rendered himself not only odious, but even contemptible and ridiculous by his thougtless behaviour. It was with such a pusillanimous conduct, and in such an abject state of body and mind, that he still harboured thoughts of not only contending with such mighty men, as the victorious Hossëin-aaly-khan, and the Vezir Abdollah-khan, the pole of the Empire, as well as with the late Zulficar-khan, the Prince of Princes, but also of overtopping them in the state. Amidst all these movements and troubles, the Emperor who felt his own inability as well as his favourite's incapacity, and who through his innate levity of mind had already grown sick of these commotions and preparations, undertook to put an end to the whole by discarding Emir-djemlah. He was dismissed to his native country of M8ltan, and Ser-b8lend-khan appointed to his Government of Azimabad-patna. But all this repentance, and all these changes produced no conviction in any mind amongst discerning men; and the Emperor's insincerity was now so publicly known, and suspicions had taken so deep a root on that head, that whenever the Emperor went out a hunting, or the least motion was observed in his household, the report was presently spread that the Vezir had been seized. No wonder after that, if that Minister continued to raise troops, and to prepare every thing for his defence.

Death and admirable character of the old Vezir, Assed-khan.

This year, which was marked by so many troubles and dissensions, became also memorable by the demise of Assed-khan— the venerable Assed-khan—that wise Assef(99) of the State, who

(99) This *Assef* was Prime Minister to Suleïman, or Solomon, and his name has ever after been used as an encomium on a wise Prime Minister.

had been so long Prime Minister to Aoreng-zib. He departed to the mansions of eternal mercy, after having completed the ninety-fifth year of a virtuous life, full of merits. It was the sixth of Feroh-syur's reign, and the seven hundred and twenty-ninth of the Hedjrah. He may be said to have been the seal and last member of that ancient nobility of Hindostan, that had done so much honour to the Empire. He had every qualification that can constitute a character equally eminent in public, and amiable in private; of a placability of temper, and of a benignity of disposition so endearing, that to this very day, his name is affectionately remembered by every one. Without of the having ever stooped to any Lords of the recent Courts, he lived with dignity and splendour to the very last, conserving uninterruptedly his boundless influence over every part of the Empire, where, to his immortal honour, as well as to the emolument of all contemporaries, he never ceased to employ his credit, as well as purse, in obliging any one that presented himself, whether a friend or stranger.

"Merits or demerits, that is the whole of what we can carry to the grave:
"Happy he who shall go thither perfum'd by his merits."(100)

May God Almighty be merciful unto his Soul—Amen.

It is well known that the proper name of that venerable Lord was Ibrahim,(101) and Ismaël, that of his son. This was no other than that same Zulficar-khan, so unjustly, so inhumanly murdered by Feroh-syur's order, in the very beginning of his reign; and people remembered, that the son being unwilling to submit to the new Emperor, and fully able to assert his own independence, was soothed by the father's entreaties, and totally subdued by the weight of paternal authority, which engaged him to lay aside all thoughts of opposition, and to repair with him to Feroh-syur's quarters. Upon which, there were then handed about two very affecting lines, that deserve to be preserved. They are as follows:—

"The evening echo with tears of blood streaming from its eyes,
"Repeats, lo! Hibrahim, is leading his Ismail to the stone of sacrifice."

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(100) This alludes to the rite of not only shaving, washing with soap, and perfuming all dead bodies, but especially to the custom of putting dry rose-leaves, and other odoriferous drugs under their armpits, &c.

(101) The Arabs know nothing of Abraham carrying his second son, Isaac, to the stone of sacrifice. They only know of Hibrahim, carrying his eldest son, Ismail, thither, which Ismail is also their Patriarch.

Long before this venerable man's demise, the Emperor, whose main vice of administration was to have never discerned real merit, and who now repented of his precipitation, had rendered all his esteem and good will to that forlorn family. He was himself wondering at his precipitation, the more so, as he now felt deeply the fatal consequences of it. On hearing that Assed-khan was upon his death bed, he sent him a man of distinction, who after having humbled himself in his name, had orders to pay him a visit of condolence on his part, and to address him in these terms:— "It is a pity that we(102) should have not been at first sensible "of all the merits of your illustrious family, and that such a fatal "ignorance should have brought about a mournful event that "ought never to have happened. Now we repent, and regret, and "sob; but all these come too late, and prove of no avail. Never-"theless, such is the high opinion we have conceived of your High-"ness's eminent character, especially for benevolence, and such "are the emergencies of our situation, that we flatter ourselves, "that you shall not deny us some piece of advice on what we "are to do with the Sëids. Such a favour, after all, would not "prove a novelty in a character so renowned for sensibility and "benevolence."

The Emperor's humble message to him just before his death.

The dying man's remarkable answer.

The venerable old man, after having attentively listened to the message, answered in a mild tone of voice:—"You have committed "a very great error; but such doubtless was our destiny,—and "you was yourself under the actual impulse of fate;—but now "the day of retribution, I am afraid, seems at hand; you are full "in its way;—and I much fear, lest under the appearance of these "dissensions, ruin and desolation should have crept under the "columns of the Timurian throne. Now that you have so unfor-"tunately given up your authority and Empire into the hands of "the Sëids, it is too late to retrograde; on the contrary, spare "nothing to keep them easy and satisfied, lest these dissensions, "by being protracted to a length, should give birth to matters "of a high nature, and reduce you to the necessity of suffering "the reins of your liberty to slip absolutely out of your hands."

(102) The Emperors of Hindostan never speak of, or design themselves, but in the plural number, whether in letters or in conversation.

SECTION II.

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NOTHING could be wiser than the dying nobleman's advice; but it made but a momentary impression, and the Emperor continued as thoughtless as ever. Eternally obseded by courtiers equally imprudent and ambitious, he used to bestow, on their recommendations, all the subordinate offices and employments of Decan; and so soon as any one was requested, so soon was the patent of it drawn up and bestowed, to the great discontent of Hossēin-aaly-qhan, the actual Viceroy, who looked upon all those promotions, as derogatory to his authority, and as even dangerous to his safety. His constant practice was to set aside the promoted with fair words, and sometimes with raillery, and to advance his own creatures to all posts of trust—a conduct that could not fail to occasion endless heart-burnings at Court. Nor was Abdollah-qhan, the other brother, more scrupulous. His Divan, Ratan-chund, proud of his master's unbounded influence, meddled at pleasure with the Imperial registers, without minding the Mutu-suddies or Crown-officers and servants, whose province it was to keep those books. Even the Divan of the Qhalissah-office, who is, properly speaking, the Minister of the Finances, or at least the Accomptant-General, was become a mere cypher, or a body without a soul; and every matter of revenue and administration passed through the hands of that Gentoo, who in a few hours time would transact business to the amount of several corors. He leased out all the Crown-lands. A conduct, so overbearing and so decisive, could not but embarrass both Ettesam qhan, who had been put at the head of the Qhalissah-office, on Qhandō8ran's recommendation, and the Kaïnaïan, or chief counsellor, who had the Divanship or inspection general of all the musters: the more so, as these two officers were differently affected—the former inclining to the Emperor's side, and the latter to the Vezir's—an ambiguous conduct which exposed them to the displeasure of both sides, and which at last rendered it expedient for them to give both their resignations of one common accord. So that

those two offices were vacant, when Ynaïet-ollah-qhân made his appearance at Court on a sudden. This nobleman who had fallen in disgrace in the first year of the Emperor's reign, had made the pilgrimage of Mecca, from whence he was now returned. As that nobleman had acquired a great character for acuteness and fidelity in the several offices of administration and finance, which he had held under Aoreng-zib's and under Bahadyr-shah's reign, and he passed for an able Minister and an excellent Accomptant, the Emperor could not but be pleased with the arrival of a man of whose talents he wanted to avail himself for the purposes of remedying those disorders occasioned by Emir-djemlah's incapacity; for he was now conscious to himself, how improvident he had been in demolishing the ancient nobility. He, therefore, cast his eyes upon him as the fittest person he could substitute to Ettesam-qhan in the two offices, which the latter had thrown up, tired of two employments, that exposed him perpetually to insurmountable difficulties, and rendered it impossible to manage two such opposite parties as those of the Emperor and the Vezir's. The Emperor having received his resignation for those two offices, and given him the Government of Cashmir in exchange, immediately appointed Ynaïet-ollah-qhan. This nobleman shewed much backwardness in assuming two offices, which he conceived he never could discharge to his own or to his master's satisfaction, so long as Abdollah-qhan or his Minister should continue to carry every thing with a high hand; nor was this last Minister himself pleased to see appointed a man, whose severity he had more than once experienced in Aoreng-zib's reign. Luckily that this disagreement was put an end to by Yqhlas-qhan, a Gentoo convert of Bahadyr-shah's reign, a wise, learned, ingenious man, who although professionally attached to the two Sëids, was too much displeased with the complexion of the times, to accept himself any office. He lived a retired life solely occupied by the Emperor's order in writing the history of his time, under the title of Feroh-syur-nameh, or History of Feroh-syur. This nobleman having connections with either parties, and enjoying the esteem of both, proposed the following expedient:—That Ynaïet-ollah-qhan should be appointed, under condition that he would never propose any thing to the Emperor without having first consulted Abdollah-qhan. There were two more

Ynaïet-ollah-qhan appointed to the office of Minister of the Finance department.

stipulations. The first, that Ratan-chund should not interfere in Ynaïet-ollah-qhan's province; the second, that Abdollah-qhan himself should be more assiduous in the discharge of his office of Vezir, as the only means to put an end to the clamours of an infinity of men, whose business was at stand, for want of his seal or of his signature. It was agreed that Abdollah-qhan should repair twice a week at least to the castle, where he should sit in state under the Vezirial canopy, ready to hear petitions, and to determine differences. And with this agreement, the Vezir complied for some time; but he was so averse to the Emperor's presence, and on the other hand, he was so addicted to women, and, indeed, to every species of pleasure, that he soon relapsed into his former sloth and neglect, having no time to spare for public business.

Whilst this Minister's effeminate conduct left every thing to take its own course, Ynaïet-ollah-qhan was increasing the confusion by an exactness and a severity, of which his discernment ought to have pointed out the inexpediency and danger at present. Without sufficiently attending to the actual complexion of the times, or to Ratan-chund's boundless influence, he proposed to the Emperor to enforce certain laws relative to the capitation levied on Gentoos; and the Emperor approved of the proposal. On the other hand, as the Court and palace were full of eunuchs, Gentoos, and Cashmirians, who had availed themselves of the inattention of the Vezir's administration to get at exorbitant salaries, to engross the best Djaghirs, and to disappoint or to render very precarious the pretensions of those who aspired to such emoluments on better titles, the Minister of the Finance proposed that part of those exorbitant grants and salaries should be suppressed, and part reduced within proper bounds, or that they should be granted on such terms as were pointed out by the Imperial registers. These two proposals having proved highly disagreeable to Ratan-chund, and to all the pillagers and defaulters, they complained to Abdollah-qhan, to whom likewise they proved unwelcome; and all the guilty joining together in a general combination against the proposer, gave rise to a coolness, which brought on a neglect of the several articles agreed to between the Vezir and the Minister of Finances. Daily bickerings gave rise to daily disgusts, and a breach ensued openly on the following occasion:—

High disputes between the Minister of the Finances and the Vezir's dependants.

A Gentoo who managed some Crown-lands, was found

indebted to the treasury in a large balance, for which he was put under confinement, notwithstanding the repeated applications which Ratan-chund had the front to make on so glaring an occasion; so that the man who was conscious of his guilt, corrupted his guards, and made his escape to Ratan-chund's house, where he was protected. Ynaïet-ollah-qhan having represented the matter to the Emperor, he engaged him to send a detachment of the palace-slaves to fetch the delinquent; but Ratan-chund's people having put themselves upon their defence, matters, from high words and an altercation, were proceeding to an affray, when the Emperor shocked at so much daringness, commanded the Vezir to dismiss his Divan, which the other promised without having ever thought of complying really with the order. But the main subject of dissension, which brought all heart-burnings to a head, and proved that the Emperor had lost all power, was Churamon the Djatt's affair.

This was a powerful Zemindar or Gentoo Prince in the neighbourhood of Ecber-abad, who was of a family which at all times had proved so troublesome, that several Emperors had not disdained to march against his ancestors in person, and to bring them under control. He had himself been once chastised for his refractory, turbulent disposition, ever ripe for commotions. This man becoming troublesome again, the Emperor, at the beginning of Shevval in the year 1129, appointed the Radja Djehi-sing-sevăi, surnamed Radja Dehiradj, to bring him to order. The Emperor on appointing him to command that expedition, raised his military grade, and presented him with an elephant, a suite of jewels, and some lacs of rupees. After his departure, he dispatched to his assistance a large body of troops under the command of Seïd-qhan-djehan, brother to Abdollah-qhan. By this time the Gentoo Prince was arrived before the Djatt's fortress, where he had pushed his trenches close to the place, after a great loss of time and blood. It was at this conjuncture that the new General arrived. The latter being young and fiery, disapproved of the slowness of these approaches, and gave several assaults, which proved so unsuccessful, that the camp was full of wounded men. But yet the place being already invested this whole year, and suffering distress from the want of every thing, could resist no longer. So that Churamon wrote to his Vekil or Agent at Court,

to apply to the Vezir Abdollah-qhan, offering to submit, to send a Peishcush or present in money, and to attend at Court should the Emperor be pleased to forgive the errors of his past conduct; but all that only under the express condition, that the negotiation would not be communicated to Radja Djehi-sing, nor that Prince, his enemy, admitted to any share in the treaty. All that was no sooner agreed to by the Vezir, than the Gentoo received advice of it, and was shocked at his exclusion. He quitted the army, repaired to Court, and infused his resentment in the mind of the Emperor, who found himself compromised in this affair and humbled. As an addition to all this, Churamon himself arrived a few days after at the capital, and took up his quarters close to the Vezir's palace. After all those provocations, he had the assurance to present himself to the Emperor, who detesting his person, would see him no more; and he seemed greatly affected by the turn which this affair has taken, at a time especially when nothing but disagreeable news were daily arriving from Decan, where troubles had arisen that involved the Emperor and the Empire in their consequences.

We have left Hossëin-aaly-khan at the head of an army become victorious against all appearances to the contrary. After so important a victory, he returned to Aorengabad, his capital, where he spent his time in introducing order and subordination everywhere, when he heard from the province of Qhandess, that Cand8-behary, one of the principal Marhatta Generals in the Radja Sah8's service, was committing enormous excesses in that province where he enjoyed an extensive command. It is observable that, although that country was within the Viceroyalty of Decan, and of course of Hossëin-aaly-khan's jurisdiction, yet it had, as well as the other provinces of that extensive country, a Marhatta Commander, upon a par with the Imperial Governor himself, and whose business was to manage, on his master's part, the cho8t or quarter, that is, that part of the gross revenue allotted him by treaties. This strange custom had found its way all over the Decan, ten or twelve years after the demise of the Emperor Aoreng-zib, at a time of troubles and civil wars, and when the Princes of the Imperial blood, fully occupied by their own intestine broils, had no thoughts to spare on those distant parts. This Marhatta General, having lined the road from B8rhanp8r up

Depredations and successes of the Marhatta, Cand8-behary.

to Surat, the principal port of India, with a number of mud-forts which he had garrisoned, made nothing of stopping merchants and whole caravans, and exacting one-quarter of their goods; to which exaction if they submitted, all was well; else, he used to get the goods plundered by the way, and the merchants ransomed at so much a head. Such arbitrary practices having raised a general clamour against him, the Viceroy dispatched his own Paymaster,(103) Zulficar-beg, at the head of a detachment of eight thousand men, cavalry and infantry, to put order to those rapines. Zulficar-beg having got with some difficulty over the difficult passes that are beyond Aorengabad, was marching in that tract of hilly ground which borders on the Qhandess as well as on the territory of Surat, when he discovered Cand8-behari at the head of eight or nine thousand veterans, all cavalry, and all effective men, but which had been swelled by fame as far as fifteen or sixteen thousands. It was at about seventy cosses westward of Aorengabad, on the confines of the Buglana. Zulficar-beg immediately prepared to attack, but the Marhatta, who was accustomed to fight only on his own terms, declined the combat; and he went on retreating until he had drawn his enemy into a a difficult country full of underwood and uneven ground. In vain Zulficar-beg's harcaras and scouts informed their master that this was not a proper spot for engaging such a set of expert freebooters as the Marhattas. He made no account of the advice; but proud of his own prowess, and full as thoughtless as a number of Sëids of Barr that followed him, he fell upon them directly, and killed a number of those uncircumcised, whom he sent to the bottom of hell. The Marhattas faithful to their own custom, gave way on all sides immediately, their General seeming to fly likewise with no more than five hundred men, although this manœuvre was calculated to draw the Mussulmen farther and farther into that dangerous country, which obliged them at each turn to split into several distinct bodies, parted from each other by ravines and brush-wood. This was precisely what Cand8-behary had intended. As soon as he saw his enemies entangled within such a net, he secured the few passes by which they might join again, and having fallen at once upon them on all sides, he slew

(103) It must be observed once for ever that in India the office of Paymaster is both civil and military, and answers to that of Major-General in Europe.

their General at the first onset, and killed or wounded every one that fell in his way. The massacre lasted for some time, when those that survived it, having exchanged their late haughtiness for present humility, obtained that their lives should be spared, on condition of parting with their horses, arms, and clothes, and of remaining prisoners.

So disgraceful a defeat having shocked the Viceroy, he appointed Radjah Mohcum-sing, his first Minister, with a good army of veteran troops, to avenge the honour of his arms; and not satisfied with that, he got him followed by another body of troops, of which he gave the command to his own younger brother, Seïf-eddin-aaly-qhan, whom he appointed to the Government of B8rhanp8r. The two Generals, who had orders to act in concert, were resolved to put an end to the Marhattas; but Cand8-behary, who had no inclination to fight on such disadvantageous terms, retreated southward with all his people, whom he placed in several strongholds of the Sah8 Radjah's dominions. As to his mud-forts, as soon as one of them was besieged by a detachment, it was directly evacuated; but no sooner had the troops marched farther, than the garrison returned. And although Mohcum-sing defeated and dispersed another body of freebooters that advanced from Ahmed-nagor in quest of booty and plunder, and he pursued them incessantly to the very gates of Satara, nevertheless, Zulficar-beg's defeat and death remained unrevenged.

Such a disgrace could not but affect the Viceroy's credit, as well as the honour of his Government—the more so as the people of those parts, at all times unruly, were now become sensible of the intestine dissensions between their Viceroy and the Emperor, and had grown refractory and rebellious; a disposition which was not a little encouraged by letters from Court, where not only the Radja Sah8, but also all the Crown-servants and subordinate Governors of Decan were directed to deny Hossëin-aaly-khan's authority, and, moreover, to do every thing in their power, to ruin and destroy him and his army. Such secret orders could not but excite troubles and resistance. And although at this very time, Mubariz-qhan, a nobleman famous in those parts, and Governor of the kingdom of Haiderabad, submitted to the Viceroy, who received him with great honours, and confirmed him in his post, yet neither that kingdom, nor that of Bidjap8r, nor

that of Carnatek, could be brought under complete order and control; and the Viceroy sensible from whence the wind blew, and convinced that all these manœuvres were calculated to undermine him silently, refused, on his side, to admit those Divans, or Superintendents of Finances, that were sent him daily from Court, and he either tired them with endless delays, or cut them short with a flat denial.

Such a subterraneous warfare between the Viceroy and the Court, could not but undermine the foundations of that little tranquillity and order, which the warlike and victorious Aoreng-zib had been at so much pains to establish in countries, where he had spent so great a part of his life, and dispersed all the treasures amassed by that second Lord of the Conjunction, the Emperor Shah-djehan, his father.(104) With infinite labour and personal toil he had, in a campaign which lasted full five-and-twenty years, wrested thirty or forty strongholds from the hands of the Marhattas, driven that restless nation from its own home, and reduced it to take shelter in skulking holes and in fastnesses. But some years after his death, intestine wars and troubles having distracted the attention of the pretenders to his Empire, and Bahadyr-shah, who at last mounted the throne, having chosen for his residence the city of Lahor, a place remote from the centre of the Empire, and still farther from those troublesome frontiers now become the scene of so much action, the Marhattas availed themselves of this oversight as well as of the general inattention, to rush out of their fastnesses, and to spread themselves over all the neighbouring provinces, where step after step, they not only recovered several of their strongholds, with most of the conquests made upon them, but committed such ravages in the Imperial territories, as obliged them to redeem themselves by submitting to pay them a yearly tribute of one full quarter of their

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(104) *This Conjunction is that of Jupiter and Mars, which is always reckoned* victorious; and whoever was born under such a conjunction, was reputed a successful Prince. History reckons but three Princes distinguished by the appellation of *Sahab Kuran*, or Lord of the Conjunction, *to wit*, Timur, who is called Tamerlane in Europe, from Tamar-lang, *i.e.*, Timur the Lame, although he does not bear amongst his own countrymen any other name than that of Timur Acsac, which has the same signification. The second is Shah-djehan, Emperor of India; the third is Nadyr-shah, known in Europe under the appellation of Tamas, *i.e.*, Tahm-asp-C8li-khan.

revenues, under the appellation of Chŏ8t;(105) whilst those that refused to bend under so infamous a yoke, were consigned every year to all the atrocities of fire and sword. Not but that they met with a vigorous resistance in some particular spots, from whence, after a blockade of some length, they retired with shame and loss, but it was in order to return again. Such a state of eternal warfare had tired the Marhattas themselves; and so early as the latter end of Aoreng-zib's reign, Rana-baï, the relict of Ram-radja, had supplicated that Prince to put an end to the miseries of mankind by granting her a Des-mucky,(106) in lieu of all her pretensions, that is, a tenth of the revenue of the six provinces that composed the Viceroyalty of Decan. This proposal met with a flat refusal, whether out of avarice and parsimony, or from a principle of honour, and a delicacy upon the discredit that would fall on the Mussulman religion should he comply with such a disgraceful proposal. The Prince's ambassadors, however, now joined to those of Sah8-radja, were more favourably received at the court of Bahadyr-shah. But this Prince, who wished for some rest, was disappointed in his wishes, by the dissensions which soon after took place between the Prince's relict and the reigning Prince; and matters remained on that uncertain footing until the times of the famous Da8d-khan-péni, who governed all those countries as Lieutenant of the Vezir Zulficar-khan. This Lieutenant, for whose prowess and bodily strength the Marhattas entertained the highest respect, and who lived in a commerce of amity and brotherhood with them, found means to bring them to this agreement:—"That they would henceforward abstain from "any demands on such tracts and territories as were held in appan-"age by the Princes of the Royal blood; but that as to any others "that should belong to the Grandees of the court, or any others, "whether as Djaghirs or under any other title their Chŏ8t would "be levied by Hiramon himself, Lieutanant of Da8d-khan's, with-"out their interfering in it in any manner whatsoever."

The Marhattas establish a tribute all over Decan.

This agreement which seemed to put an end to all broils and pretensions, gave birth to an infinity of bickerings and troubles, which always ended in some blood. Under the government of Nizam-el-mulk, which lasted no more than one year and some

(105) The word *Chŏ8t* signifies quarter part.

(106) The word *Des-muchi* signifies the tenth-handful.

months,(107) the Chö8t which had been hitherto levied by mutual agreement, ended in battle and blood. He chastised the Marhattas once, and took from them a vast number of mares, and two or three elephants, which last he sent to the Emperor under the care of Mirza-beg. But this Viceroy, who was a man of vigour, having been succeeded by Hossëin-aaly-khan, whose attention was wholly engrossed by his misintelligence with the court, the times proved so unfavourable, that no agreement could take place for two years together, and no effectual opposition could be made to the Marhattas. His attention was perpetually diverted to the machinations of an insidious court, who by perpetually exciting the Sah8-radja to his ruin, and by encouraging the Radjas and Governors of those distant parts in their refractory disposition, effectually marred every measure which he could devise. Unsupported by his master, whose designs he had every reason to dread, and solicitous to strengthen himself against his personal enemies, he thought it best to turn his attention wholly to that side, by coming to an agreement with the Marhattas on the following conditions:—"That over and above what had been agreed to under "Da8d-qhan-peni's administration, as to their due, they should "be entitled to their Des-mucki or tenth, upon all the revenues "of the six and-a-half of the provinces of Decan; and that the "Marhatta Generals, Djesvent and Chimna-ba, should reside at "Aorengabad, at the head of a good body of veteran troops, near "the Viceroy's person, as deputies from the Sah8-radja, in whose "name they might collect their Chö8t from the Djaghir-holders, "as well as their Des-mucki or tenth-handful, from the rayots or "common husbandmen."

The Marhattas establish a double-headed tribute all over Decan.

In consequence of this definitive treaty, an end was put to the disputes, quarrels, pillages and massacres that had this long while so far desolated so great part of Decan as to be reputed customary, and matters of course; and the minds of the inhabitants commenced to enjoy the thoughts of traquillity. But henceforward, the talk of Collector of the Revenue or of requestor, Governor or renter, became troublesome, complicated, and pregnant with endless heart-burnings, all these men being now obliged to

(107) The author means the first time Nizam-el-mulk went into Decan; for at the second time, he governed it as an absolute monarch, during no less than thirty-eight years.

deal with three distinct governments—the Collector of the Imperial Revenue, the Collector of the Chŏŏt, and the Collector of the Des-mucki. Hossëin-aaly-khan after exchanging the ratifications of this treaty, and admitting the Marhattas in all the cities of his immense government, sent notice of it to the Emperor, with a petition in which he supplicated His Majesty's approval, and his letters of Jussion to command its execution to every one. The Emperor instigated by those nearest his person, disapproved the whole treaty, as highly derogatory to the honour of the Empire, as introductory of whole bands of freebooters within the Imperial territories, and as favouring strongly that spirit of independence with which its author was so much infected. At the same time he appointed Djan-nessar-khan to be the Viceroy's Lieutenant in the province of Qhandess, an ancient nobleman, who bore a high character both for valour and prudence, and who derived a new kind of illustration from his having once exchanged turbants with the old Abdollah-khan *alias* Mia-khan, father to the two Sëids. The Emperor on dismissing him presented him with a sumptuous dress of honour, an elephant, and a serpitch or a piece of jewel-work for the forehead. This was in public. In a private audience, he charged him with some admonitions for Hossëin-aaly-khan, in hopes that as that ancient nobleman was reputed an uncle to that Viceroy, and in fact was held as such by him, and treated therefore with the utmost respect and condescendence, he might by the weight of his authority prevail on his nephew to behave with more submission to the Emperor. This happened in the sixth year of his reign, which answers to the 1130 of the Hedjrah. He at the same time appointed Mahmed-aamin-khan to the Viceroyalty of Malva, on the frontiers of which he was to receive his patent with letters of recall for Radja Djehi-sing-sevaï. But the general report was that he had set out upon a very different errand, and that there was at the bottom quite another scheme; and it is this rumour which engaged Djan-nessar-khan to stop on the borders of the Nerbedda, the first boundary of Decan, with hardly any thing more than his usual retinue, being too prudent to risk rendering his person suspicious or odious, by appearing with a body of troops on the frontiers of a province to which he had indeed been appointed, but where it was doubtful whether he would find admittance. On the other hand, Mahmed-aamin-khan, after

having advanced to Serondj, the first great town of Malva, stopped short to take some rest; and instantly a report spread throughout Decan, that he was marching to Aorengabad at the head of fifty thousand horse, and that his vanguard of eight thousand horse, and more, had pushed forwards under Djan-nessar-khan. This piece of intelligence having been circulated in that great city by the novelists with which all capitals swarm, at last impressed the Viceroy himself with apprehensions. All these doubts, however, vanished on letters coming from Djan-nessar-khan himself, where he requested a small number of troops to escort him through certain narrow and difficult passages, where a freebooter of the name of Sinta was robbing and pillaging on his own private account, without any dependence on the Radja-sah8, his master. The escort was sent, and it brought Djan-nesser-khan, who immediately waited on the Viceroy. The latter who knew that the Qhandess was his northern frontier against an invasion from the side of the Court, did not choose to put such a country in the disposal of a man of the Emperor's recommendation; but as, on the other hand, he professed himself a high regard for his person, he made it a point to pay him every kind of honour, and to welcome his arrival with several very rich presents. Three other persons of importance arriving at this very time from court with letters-patent for two great offices in Decan, served only to shew how the Viceroy mistrusted the Emperor's designs, and how little account he made of orders sent from the capital. These were Zya-eddin-khan, who was a Persian-born and a Sheriff of Qhorassan,(108) who on the death of Dianet-khan, nephew to Emanet-khan, had been appointed to the office of Divan, or Controller of the Finances in Decan; the two others were Djelal-eddin-khan, appointed Divan of B8rhanp8r, and Faïz-ollah-khan, designed Paymaster of the forces in those parts. Zya-eddin-khan, who was furnished with a letter of recommendation from the Vezir Abdollah-qhan, was admitted to take possession of that great charge, where he had the prudence always to act in conformity with the Viceroy's pleasure, and to keep him easy and

Rumours in Decan.

Djan-nessar-khan appointed Governor of Qhandess.

(108) A Sheriff is one that is born of a Sëidanee or Sëid woman, be his father what he will, whereas a Sëid is he that is born of a Sëid father, be his mother what she will. Qhorassan, as its name implies, is the *Easternmost* province of Iran or Persia, and one of the six grand divisions of that Empire.

satisfied. Djelal-eddin-khan received for a while the superintendence of the Barar, instead of that of Qhandess, to which the Viceroy had objections; and as to the designed Paymaster of the forces, the Viceroy did not even vouchsafe to return him the salute. These pieces of intelligence having soon found their way to court, raised the Emperor's grief and resentment to a pitch, but without, however, occasioning any change in his manner of living, or engaging him to conceal from the public sight the infamous vices to which he was now found to be strongly addicted. It was on the following occasion:—One Mahmed-morad, a Cashmirian, at all times reprobated for his vicious life, but now universally held in abomination for the unnatural practices to which he seemed so prone, was by a countryman of his presented to Sahabe-nisvan,(109) the Empress-mother, and by her to the Emperor, her son, who gave him a private audience. The man said that he had thought of a variety of expedients to seize Abdollah-khan's person, and to demolish his brother, without it being necessary to recur to open force, or to any violent exertion. This advice was immediately embraced by the Emperor, who being too faint-hearted to betake himself to any vigorous measures, was glad to hear of any expedient to circumvent his enemies; and he increased his affection for his adviser in proportion to the importance of his advice. He changed his name into that of Yticad-khan or the trustworthy Lord; and as he was himself so strongly addicted to unnatural practices, he was overjoyed to find so able a partner, who henceforward became his bosom-friend, and to whom he consigned his mind as he had already consigned his body.

The Emperor strongly addicted to unnatural practices.

This man insinuating himself deeper and deeper in the Emperor's good graces, soon became the soul of all his motions, as well as the depositary of all his schemes against the Sëids; and now titles and dignities and honours commenced raining upon him. His name and titles were lengthened into those of Yticad-qhan-feroh-shahy-roc8n-ed-dö8lah, which signifies *The prop of the Empire, as well as the trustworthy of the Emperor Feroh-syur.* These titles were followed by the military grade of seven thousand horse with the full pay and command of ten thousand; and these were followed by daily presents of an immense value, and

(109) *Sahabe-nisvan* signifies the Lady of the sex.

by jewels of an exquisite beauty, to which were added the most curious and costly stuffs from the Emperor's wardrobe. All these were bestowed upon him with so unbounded a profusion, that the man himself came to be sick of them, and was at a loss what to do with such a deluge of gifts. Meanwhile politics had become the topics of the whole court, especially as the Emperor was every day holding councils with his new favourite, in one of which it was at last agreed that three persons of great importance should be sent for to court from their different stations—Ser-b8lend-qhan from his government of Azimabad, Nizam-el-mulk from M8radabad, and Radja-adjet-sing from G8djrat—all men of talents and military character, whom it was intended to gain over by heaping honours upon them, and by promising them the highest offices of the Empire. But hardly was Nizam-el-mulk arrived, than his Fodjdary of M8radabad together with the rich Djaghir he enjoyed in that province, were both transferred to Yticad-qhan, with these further circumstances, that the name of M8radabad was changed into that of Roc8n-abad, or Roc8n-ed-dŏ8lah's colony; and that the whole was bestowed upon him as *Altimgha* irrevocable. With all this thoughtlessness, the Emperor, who now and then reflected on the impolicy of discontenting powerful men so unworthily used, thought proper to make amends to the Gentoo Prince, at least by the title of Maha-Radja or great Prince, and by pointing out to him all the graces and dignities to which he would be entitled, so soon as he should compass the ruin and destruction of the two Sëids. But the Gentoo Prince, who was fully apprised of the Emperor's levity and pusillanimity, declined taking any concern in such an affair; and sensible of both the innocence and the great power of the two brothers, he went over to their side, and became Abdollah-qhan's bosom-friend. As to Nizam-el-mulk and Ser-b8lend-qhan, who had come from so far under the promises of being promoted to the high offices of Supreme Vezir and of Paymaster-General, they not only were disappointed in that promise, but moreover lost even the posts and emoluments they had hitherto enjoyed. Their surprise and discontent had no bounds; but yet as they had set their hearts on those offices, and as they were men of valour and execution, "they supplicated His Majesty to "entrust the casket of the Vezirship to either of his faithful

Three Governors of great characters sent for to Court.

Resolute proposal made by two of them.

"servants, then present, if he wished to undermine Abdollah-"qhan's overgrown power and influence; after which change "that nobleman would meet with what chastisement he deserved, "if he continued to prove refractory and assuming; and that "they took his point upon themselves." To this resolute proposal the Emperor made this curious answer:—*I know no man fitter for a Vesir than Yticad-qhan.* There were then at Court several great Lords of both Iranian and T8ranian extraction, all men of known characters, and all men of execution; but so soon as any of them would open his mouth, and propose to rid the Emperor of the two Sëids under the condition of having the Vezirship as his reward, he was immediately saluted by these ridiculous words: *I know no man fitter for a Vesir than Yticad-qhan.* Such a song repeated at each turn, could not but disgust every one; and every one retired with indignation, no man choosing to expose his life for so childish a master, or to serve under so infamous a Minister. What made all those Lords so forward in offering their endeavours on that trying piece of service, was the favourable opportunity afforded by the approaching feast of the Corban or sacrifice,(110) where the whole city would pour out and advance beyond the suburbs to pray in the open fields; and it must be observed that the retinues and troops brought by those two Lords and by the Gentoo Princes added to those always attending the Emperor's person, could not amount to less than seventy or eighty thousand effective horse, whilst it was well-known that the Vezir Abdollah-qhan had no more than four or five thousand troopers about his person; nor could it be denied but that on that very day a general report had run all over the city that Abdollah-qhan was going to be arrested or slain. And yet with all these favourable circumstances, and with so favourable an opportunity, nothing was done, and not a man raised his voice. Nay, this very report served only to put Abdollah-qhan more upon his guard; and he that had hitherto admitted no man but those of Barr, whose soldiers being all Sëids like himself, he was inclined to trust above all others, now ordered twenty-five thousand horse to be raised forthwith, without any distinction of country or nation. The report was of so pressing a

(110) That day the whole people march out of the city in the open fields, where prayers are said in the open air. *Look at the note 17, Section 1st.*

nature, that it had already reached the other brother, Viceroy of Decan. Impressed with well grounded fears for the safety of his brother, and also for that of his family and wealth, which he had left in the capital, he resolved to postpone every other object, and to quit the Decan in order to march to that city where he intended to rid himself of all apprehensions for the future, by crushing at once all the enemies of his family and power.

The Viceroy resolved to repair to Court at the head of an army.

This design having taken posesssion of his mind, he remembered of Muëzeddin, a neglected young man, now at the Sah8-radjah's Court, where he passed for a son of Prince Ecbcr, youngest son of the Empéror Aoreng-zib. He sent an escort to bring him, and he made him enter the city of Aorengabad in the middle of a pompous retinue; but in such a manner, however, that no one could distinguish the young man's features. This event was now made a paragraph in his dispatches to the Emperor, and instructions were requested thereon. To this he added a private supplication of his own," where he intimated his being forced to "quit his station, and to repair to the city in order to recover a " health impaired by the air and water of Decan, as well as broken "by the fatigues of so continual and so laborious a campaign." These letters frightened the Emperor. His natural pusillanimity was deeply impressed; and to get rid of his own uneasiness at a time when one of the brothers was coming to the city with a powerful army, whlist the other was enlisting men on all hands, he resolved to make an agreement with so powerful a family. He, therefore, sent the Gentoo Prince, Adjet-sing, to carry an apology to Abdolla-qhan; and as the messenger was of a sincerity of character welcome to both parties, he soon found means to lessen the distance that divided the Emperor from his Vezir, as he had attached himself to the latter for life, and had obtained many favours on his recommendation, without forfeiting, for all that, the good opinion which the Emperor entertained of him. To put a seal to this reconciliation, which took place at the end of Shevval, the Emperor set out of the citadel, accompanied by his favourite, Yticad-qhan, and his Minister, Qhandö8ran; and with a deal of pomp and magnificence, he went in state to pay a visit to Abdollah-qhan, to whom he swore that henceforward he would be his friend in full sincerity, and without any reserve, or any remainder of rancour; and these protestations having produced

The Emperor intimidated.

a scene of excuses for past errors, and of solemn promise of future attachment, the Emperor returned satisfied to his palace. But such was the instability and fickleness of his temper, that he never continued in the same mind for any length of time, but shifted endlessly—now submitting quietly to his fate, and taking dissimulation and acquiescence for his part—and then resolving on coming to extremities with the Sëids, and making them feel all the weight of Imperial resentment. And all this alternately just as his mind chanced to be influenced by the different opinions of his confidants and favourites, who being like himself narrow-minded and pusillanimous, discouraged the men of valour and resolution who were fully able to execute the most difficult orders. The latter, of course, refused to be dictated to by such a vile set of men as had the Emperor's ear, or even to have any concern at all with them; so that they retired one after another to their lodgings, full of indignation at the enormous credit of those worthless men that approached the Emperor's person. And even the very men whom the Emperor had sent for from afar, in order to strengthen his own cause by their valour and advices, had, by this time, lost the employments they had hitherto enjoyed; and they lay neglected and unthought of, as was the case with Ser-b8lend-qhan, and Nizam-el-mulk, who had come over upon his pressing invitations and his express commands, and who had his Imperial promises under his handwriting. Once these two Generals being joined by Mubaruz-el-mulk, and the Radjah Djehi-sing-sivaï, went in a body to the Emperor, and proposed: "That Abdollah-"qhan should be dismissed from his office forthwith, as the whole "business depended upon dropping the veil, and acting openly, "after which, himself, as well as his younger brother, might easily "be crushed; and, in that case, they undertook either to prevail "on the two brothers, by dint of reasoning, to behave hence-"forward like dutiful subjects, or to fight them as incorrigible "rebels, guilty of numberless insolencies and insults." So bold a declaration did not rouse the Emperor. He continued to listen to his favourite, disappointed and disgusted the two Generals, as we have already said, and, as if he had not done enough yet, he took a rich Djaghir from Ser-b8land-qhan, and to this affront added the greater one of bestowing it upon Emir-djemlah, that vile dissembler, who had already perpetrated the ruin of Assed-

-qhan's family, and was working hard for demolishing the Empire likewise.

The Emperor, on returning to his palace, sent for Yqlass-qhan, a nobleman whose intimate connections with the two Sëids were known, and he gave him the commission of quieting Abdollah-qhan's mind, so as to reclaim him from exciting troubles, and to engage him to prevent his brother from quitting the Decan. For the report ran strong that he was already in full march; and this much is certain that he had already sent his younger brother, Seif-eddin-aaly-qhan, to B8rhanp8r, at the head of a body of four or five thousand horse, with orders to prepare a camp-equipage and a train of artillery. He had been roused by the troubles that were rising in the capital; and he intended to march, when he received intelligence that the Emperor had gone to visit Abdollah-qhan in order to bury all the past in oblivion, and to swear an eternal friendship to their family. This contrary intelligence could not but perplex his mind, but yet he stayed the preparatives he was making for his departure, and resolved to wait for further advices from the capital; and he was in a suspense of mind, when, to his amazement, he was roused again by a pressing letter from Abdollah-qhan, who requested his assistance without a moment's delay. At the same time the general report was at Aorengabad that his brother, the Vezir, was reduced to extremities at the capital; and that he had not a moment to lose, if he wanted to save him from destruction. What added greatly to his inquietude, was an answer returned to his supplication by the Emperor, which purported that "It might be better for him to repair to "Ahmed-abad, in G8djrat, if he only wanted a change of air; "else, he might come to the capital, where His Majesty would see him with pleasure." This was accompanied by an order to send to court the pretended son of Prince Ecber.

Whilst the Viceroy was preparing every thing for his march, his brother, Abdollah-khan, was enlisting troops with all his might at the capital; in which operation he was greatly seconded by the wretched circumstances in which not only the train of artillery at the capital, as well as all the troops in and about that immense city laboured, but also by the distress which even the body-guards with the whole Imperial household suffered for want of pay and subsistence. Full nine months in arrears were due

to them, whether in consequence of Abdollah-qhan's neglect, or perhapst hrough his own contrivance. They had received nothing in that long while, 'and their discontents had risen to a height; but they had no one to direct it, or to lead them to action. So that Abdollah-qhan's levies amounted by this time to full twenty thousand horse; and he had besides the art of adding to his strength by a winning deportment. Here is an instance of it:—

Ser-b8lend-qhan was by this time reduced to an extreme necessity, not only because he had been at all times indigent, and his Djaghir had been taken from him of late, but especially because he had spent his all in supporting the troops he had brought with him, which were now persecuting him for their arrears and pay. Driven to despair by such large demands which he could not satisfy out of his own purse, without depriving himself of every thing, he had now resolved to get rid of the clamours of his troops, and of the persecution of his other creditors, by abandoning to them his elephants, horses, equipage, furniture and jewels, as far as they would go; after which he intended to put on a religious garb and to turn Fakir. Nor was Nizam-el-mulk better circumstanced. That General who had been sent for to court with such pressing invitations and under a solemn promise of the casket of the Vezir, not only had been disappointed, but he had besides lost a rich Djaghir which he possessed; and he had the mortification to see it bestowed on Yticad-qhan, this new favourite, on whom the Emperor seemed so far to doat, that he seemed to have no eyes and no ears but for him. He now lived retired without ever going to court, and was pining away in discontent. The Vezir being informed of all these particulars, engaged the two Generals, by dint of entreaties, to come to his palace; and when they were arrived, he sent for Ser-b8lend-qhan's military officers, and his others creditors, and after having adjusted all their demands, he paid them out of his own private treasury, and moreover recommended him to the Government of Cab8l, then vacant. Turning then his attention towards Nizam-el-mulk, he made him hope that he would shortly be appointed to the Government of Malva. Two actions that gained him entirely the hearts of those two Lords. It was just at this time that Mahmed-aamin-qhan arrived suddenly at court from Malva,

without any leave and without any letters of recall. This designed Governor had advanced as far as Serondj, where receiving no further instructions from court, and hearing also that Hossëin-aaly-qhan, Viceroy of Decan, was upon his march for the capital, he quitted his post, and repaired to court, where the Emperor would not see him; and he, moreover, dismissed him from his service. Abdollah-qhan no sooner heard of this, than he sent for him, and by dint of presents and favours gained him to his party; and he was so successful in this kind of warfare, that Qhandö8ran himself, who in society with Emir-djemlah had been so instrumental in blowing the coals of dissensions, now went over to the Vezir's side, and was admitted to all his secrets.

So many desertions could not but sour the Emperor's mind, and he was contriving expedients every day to chastise those deserters. One day the Emperor going out with a hunting party, had agreed with his courtiers, that at his return he would call at the Vezir's; and as Maharadja Adjet-sing's lodgings were upon the road, and close to that Minister's palace, it was expected that the Gentoo Prince would stand out to make his bow, and present his Nazur, in which case he might be seized easily, without the Emperor's appearing to be of the plot. Unluckily the Gentoo Prince, who was fearful of what might come to happen, being conscious how much his attachment to the Sëids had rendered him obnoxious, or who possibly had received timely intelligence of what was intended, thought proper to repair to the Vezir's palace, where he tarried. This miscarriage could not but affect the Emperor's spirits; and although part of his retinue was already rendered at the Vezir's, and that Minister himself had come out and waited on the strand for the moment of paying his bow, the Emperor kept his eyes fixed on the opposite side, and having ordered his bargemen to steer by the middle of the stream, he soon arrved at the citadel.

The Viceroy in full march for the capital, obliges his army to an exact discipline.

By this time Hossëin-aaly-qhan had quitted Aorengabad, and was on full march towards the capital. Although his army was numerous, and his camp-followers still more so, he made them observe so exact a discipline, that no man was bold enough to offer the least injury to any one in the many villages enclosed every night within his encampment. One day, a girl, daughter to a poor widow, that could hardly subsist, came out of one of

these villages, and impelled by the pangs of hunger, she availed herself of the darkness of the night to stroll about the tents in quest of some food. A man was actually dressing some victuals; and having asked her, whether she chose to follow any one that would take care of her, she consented, and fell asleep close to the man, who overcome by the fatigues of a long march, slept soundly the whole night, without ever thinking of the girl. At day-break he got her mounted upon a camel that carried his things, and sent her with the baggage. Meanwhile, the widow, who had in vain waited late at night for her daughter, could not obtain a moment of sleep; but at day-break, she took her post upon a rising ground, close to which she knew that the Viceroy would pass. On descrying his elephant, she screamed out, "That "a virgin daughter, the only property left to his afflicted servant, "having strayed last night about the camp in quest of some food, "had to all appearance been enticed away by some of his people." She added with a flood of tears, "That she hoped that the Vice-"roy, out of a tender regard for afflicted widows and all injured "people, would condescend to stop, until her daughter should be found out, as she could not bear to live without her only child."

An affecting story.

The Viceroy greatly affected by the woman's tears, stopped short, and after having sworn that he would taste neither food nor drink, until she was righted, he ordered strict search to be made throughout the whole army. On this order the Paymasters produced their rolls, and sending their officers everywhere, they enjoined to each Commander to send a number of trusty men amidst the ranks in order to set up an exact search; and as there are Angels always ready to second the intentions of virtuous men in high offices, this immense multitude, that equalled the crowds at the Day of the Judgment, and which moved like the waves of a sea, proved of no obstruction to the search; for after a slight inquiry, the man and the girl were both found out, and both brought before the General. The latter turning towards the girl, asked her how she came to go astray, and whether her person had been meddled with? The girl answered that, tired with suffering every day the pangs of hunger, and the thoughts of famine, she had followed the man of her own free-will, in hopes of putting an end to her sufferings; and that as they had slept the whole night soundly, he had not touched her person. The

General, on this answer, returned thanks to God Almighty, that her chastity had remained undefiled in his camp, and that he had it in his power to gratify the disconsolate mother. At the same time he sent one of his guards with her, with orders not to quit her cottage, until the whole army should be gone, and at a distance.(111)

It has been mentioned, that Hossëin-aaly-qhan had sent his younger brother to B8rhanp8r to prepare a camp-equipage and a train of artillery. It was the fifteenth of Shevval, in the year 1131 of the Hedjrah. But that city being upon the high road to Shah-djehan-abad, he waited there for another letter from the capital, resolved to take his final resolution upon it; but on receiving intelligence of his brother's danger, he set out immediately, and having tarried only a few days in that territory to dispatch some business, he commenced his march. It was in the beginning of Muharrem, in the seventh year of the Emperor's, which answers to the year 1132 of the Hedjrah. He was accompanied by a vast number of persons of distinction, such as, a son of his own uncle, called the holy Navvab, but whose name was Assed-ollah-qhan. He had also all that nobleman's children, together with Djan-nessar-qhan; Yqhlass-qhan, Deputy to the Governor of Berar; Assed-aaly-qhan, the maimed, a relation to Aali-merdan-qhan, together with Dilir-qhan of Paniput, brother to Qhan-saadyc; and Yqhtisas-qhan, nephew to Qhan-aalem; as well as Hadji-sëif-ollah-qhan, and Zyäeddin-qhan, Divan of the whole Decan, with Firoz-aaly-qhan, the Paymaster, one of the most renowned Sëids of Barr. Several Gentoo Princes had likewise accompanied him of their own motion, such as, Radja Partab-sing the Bundlah, and Radja Mohcum-sing, one of the principal Lords of the Viceroy's court. He was also attended by all the Crown-servants of Decan; some of their own accord, and some much against their own will. His army as numerous as the billows of the sea, covered the whole plain. His cavalry alone, amongst which were ten or twelve thousand Marhattas, amounted to full thirty thousand horse. The infantry was innumerable, as numbers of Mansobdars, or Military officers, who had never moved

(111) It is a pity that this narrative, like so many others, should disappoint the reader's expectation. The author has said nothing about the Viceroy's having accompanied the girl's restitution by a handful of gold to the mother.

from their homes for either Viceroy or Prince of the Blood, had now been obliged to attend. As to the fortresses, some, like Ahmed-abad, were garrisoned by himself, and some he left to be garrisoned by the Marhattas.

All these arrangements being taken, and some days spent in dispatching business about B8rhanp8r, he departed; and proceeding by continual marches, he crossed the river that flows by Acbarp8r. On his arrival at Mandōu, he was met by Yqhlass-khan, the nobleman that had been sent by the Emperor to sooth Hossēin-aaly-qhan's mind, and to prevail upon him to return to Decan. This nobleman in a private audience recounted, " How " an accommodation had been two different times agreed to, and " two different times broke; how the seeds of discontent and " dissension seemed to shoot up everywhere; how the Grandees " of the Empire were flocking to the capital; how both Nizam- " el-mulk and Mahmed-aamin-qhan continued sullen in their dis- " content, and how the Emperor was more than ever addicted " to Yticad-qhan." All these matters being represented in their proper colours, could not fail to render the Viceroy anxious about his brother's fate. He was advancing with ardour, and receiving on his way the homages and compliments of all the Governors and Commanders on his passage; but he had the mortification to find himself slighted by Merhamet-qhan, an officer of character, who commanded at Mandō8, whither he had been sent from court for the purpose of bringing to order the refractory Zemindars of that country, a service which he had performed much to his honour. This officer having neglected to pay a visit to the Viceroy, could not fail of giving offence, and of becoming obnoxious, as he experienced in the sequel. Whilst the army was on full march about Odjēin, news came that the Emperor, intimidated by the Viceroy's march towards the capital, had paid a visit to the Vezir Abdollah-qhan, in which he had entered into a fresh treaty with him, and an end had been put to all dissensions. He had sworn to his promises upon the glorious word of God, had solemnly promised to be henceforward a friend to his family, and had ended his visit by taking his own turbant from his head, and putting it upon that Minister's, as a token of a brotherhood indissoluble. The Emperor, not content with those protestations, had turned towards Yticad-qhan and his other favourites, and had strongly recommended

New accommodation with the Vezir.

to them to bury all discontents in oblivion, to look upon this day as the last of the dissensions that had distracted his court, and henceforward to live upon good terms with his Minister. This recital having seemingly affected Hossëin-aaly-qhan, he said aloud in the middle of his court that, "as the Emperor was sincerely "reconciled to them (the two brothers) he might rest assured "that they on their side would henceforward behave as dutiful "subjects, and I intend nothing more now" added he, "than to pay "my respects to the Emperor, and then to return to Decan." The greatest part of the assembly being composed of Decaners, could not be but much pleased at these words, as every one of them expected soon to return to his own home. But the Viceroy's bosom-friends thought very differently; especially since that Viceroy being in private with them was heard to say "That all that "visit of the Emperor's was but a farce, and all those protestations "of his but a tale to lull him asleep,(112) or at least to put a "stop to his march, and that there was not the least truth in the "monarch's promise, whom he knew too well to repose any con-"fidence in him; and rest assured," added he, "that if the Em-"peror finds an opportunity to get us within his clutches, he will "not miss it on any account, nor will it be possible to save either "our honour or our lives; but rest assured also that if he falls "within ours, we shall not use him better."

After having pronounced these words with much deliberateness, he decamped and advanced into the territory of the Radja of Gohud, where some villages were plundered, and some havoc committed. But on the Gentoo Prince's Vekil or Ambassador appearing with a perishcush or a sum of money, the country was spared, and suffered no further damage; so strict were the orders given on that head. This was not the case with Radja Djehi-sing-sivaï's dominions. The whole country was sacked and plundered, to punish its owner for his siding so warmly with the Emperor. In vain did the Prince's principal Agent humble himself before the Viceroy, to whom he presented a considerable sum of money. The compliment was rejected, and every thing in his country was

(112) There are in India menial servants, whose business is to lull men asleep by repeating certain tales or stories which they have learned by heart. In Seraglioes this office belongs to women, and these are held in much higher estimation than the men, being welcomed in the best companies.

abandoned to the rapaciousness and fury of the soldiers. Tilled fields without number were ravaged, and young persons, of both sexes, carried into captivity; nor was any inquiry made about those disorders. In a little time the army arrived at about three or four days journey from the capital; and the roads became thronged with the retinues of people of the highest distinction, who flocked to pay their court to so poweful a Viceroy. Zaafer-qhan was of the number, as well Ratan-chund. All these together with a vast multitude of the wealthiest citizens behaved respectfully, and were received with regard; but Zaafer-qhan, who had made a show of his numerous retinue, and on that account seemed somewhat assuming, had the mortification to see himself slighted, and even rendered ridiculous. This haughtiness in the Viceroy as well as in his brother, the Vezir, was continually fed by numbers of tale-tellers, who desirous themselves of novelties on their own account, were poisoning their minds by reports true or false; and who unawares of the fatal consequences that might ensue from such dissensions, were everyday contriving expedients to widen the breach which always subsisted between the two brothers and the Emperor. The principal of these was Ratan-chund, who impelled in general by his religious zeal against Mussulmen, and in particular by his enmity to the Emperor and to so many Grandees of the Empire, made such envenomed reports, and irritated the Viceroy's mind to such a degree, that it became totally incurable. Incensed beyond measure, he had advanced close to the city, and encamped under Firoz-shah's steeple. It was the first of Reby. On approaching his tent, the music played to him, which is never done but for the Emperors themselves; and after having entered it with a retinue and a pomp truly Royal, he was heard to say: *That as he did not think himself a subject, he did not care to pay so much deference to the etiquette.*

The Viceroy does not think himself a subject.

Even all this did not rouse the pusillanimous Emperor. Eternally floating and undecided, he talked of the Imperial indignation, and of the chastisement which might be the consequence of it; and a day after, he spoke only of forbearance and dissimulation, and even made advances towards a reconciliation and a renewal of promises and stipulations. So much feebleness discouraged even his most zealous servants. Radjah Djehi-sing, tired with

so much uncertainty, once proposed to him to come resolutely out of the castle, to put himself at the head of his household and troops, and to fall suddenly upon those two rebellious brothers. "The moment," said he, "that your troops and friends, (and "these, after all, cannot be reckoned at less than twice the num- "ber of those that follow your enemies) the moment your friends "shall perceive that you are acting openly and with vigour, they "will flock to you from all parts, and will put it in your power to "punish your enemies. I am even inclined to believe, that at "such a sight, numbers that seem to follow the standard of the "two brothers, will quit it, to return to their lawful master, and "will be assisting in crushing them to atoms. So that these, fall- "ing at once from the height of their hopes, shall be obliged to "submit to your pleasure."

Generous advice of Djehi-sing-sivâi rejected.

This generous advice did not produce any effect. So that none of the Lords of the Court, who saw the Emperor's levity of temper and his infatuation for his unworthy favourites, thought it expedient to declare themselves, or to take the lead in an affair in which himself seemed quite passive. And what is singular, whilst Djehi-sing's advice lay unminded, no firm resolution was taken to come at least to some sincere accommodation. The sober advices of so many Grandees zealous for the honour of the Crown, were disregarded; and the Emperor approving nothing but what was suggested by his own mind, or by his thoughtless favourites, spread the discouragement everywhere, and was ruining his own affairs. No wonder then if at last he saw what came to pass. For numbers of Grandees, equally wise and brave, on beholding such a deplorable state of things, were broiling on the fire of impatience and indignation; and they groaned at having their hands tied up, and at finding themselves condemned to inaction. Nay, some that had heretofore been put under the Vezir's command, now quitted his party of their own motion, on discovering to what lengths his ambition and arrogance might proceed; and matters might have taken another turn, when the Vezir, aware of his danger, and obliged to hasten a crisis, sent the following message to the Emperor:—"Should your Majesty vouchsafe to "dismiss Djehi-sing, that known enemy of our family, from your "court, and to send him back to his own country, and should you "condescend to add to that favour the two others of bestowing

The Vezir's artful message to the Emperor.

"on our friends the two offices of Grandmaster of the Artillery, "and of Superintendent of the two Halls of Audience,(113) with "full leave to us to take our own precautions in the Imperial "castle, we, the two brothers, your faithful servants, being hence-"forward free from our apprehension, would attend your Majesty's "person, as we did heretofore." The Emperor, without betraying his real sentiments at such a message, answered calmly: "That in fact, those two offices were in the Vezir's pos-"session, or in that of his friends; and that nothing had been "withheld from them but the execution of the laborious part, "which, of course, devolved on Yticad-qhan, as Deputy to the "Vezir; but that, at any rate, his Deputyship would cease of itself "on the New Year's Day. That as to Djehi-sing, that Prince "had already received, so early as the 3rd of Reby, an order to "repair forthwith to his own country, and had quitted the court "accordingly."

So moderate an answer served only to embolden the two brothers, the more so as it became glaring every day, that Ferohsyur had not a grain of courage in his constitution; and although he detested the Sëids, and wished their destruction, and he was eternally exhorted by the boldest of his servants to put himself at their head and to fall at once upon those rebels, nevertheless, such was his pusillanimity, that he did not dare to put himself upon his defence, and still less to sally forth and attack his enemies. Against his own conviction and inclination he sent the consent requested by the Vezir, and on the 5th of the 2nd Rebi, that Minister repaired to the castle in the middle of a crowd of persons of distinction, devoted to his interest, amongst which Adjet-sing was the foremost. He dismissed the Emperor's troops and officers from all their posts and offices, and placed his own in their stead; so that of all that multitude of men of distinction, who attended daily on the Emperor's person, there remained no one but Yticad-khan, his favourite, Imtiaz-qhan, the Comptroller of the household, and Zaafer-qhan, the introductor, with a few others of which the

The Vezir in possession of the Imperial citadel and palace.

(113) There are two Halls of Audience, the public and private; the latter is in the Ghosl-qhana, or bathing place, that is, the private apartments. The Grand-mastership of the artillery is an important office, sometimes, but not always, designed by the expression of Mir-ateshi, or Lord of Fire. He has the right to post guards all round in the citadel of Dehli, in which is seated the Imperial Palace.

Vezir used to make no account at all, together with a few menial servants and eunuchs. A few hours after, the Viceroy surrounded by a pomp truly Imperial, put himself at the head of his troops, marched through the city in battle array, and having taken possession of the gates and ramparts about which his troops spread so as to fill several streets, he continued his march to the castle, where having alighted he paid a very short visit to the Emperor. It was remarked that very few words were exchanged between them; and although the Emperor presented him with a quantity of elephants, horses and jewels, he vouchsafed his acceptance only for a few, excused himself as to the rest, and, on his departure, made so careless a bow that it gave general offence. Even such a scene did not rouse Feroh-syur. He continued motionless, and passively saw himself divested of his dignity and patrimony in the middle of his palace. Two days after, the Vezir returned to the castle, dismissed the few persons that remained attached to the Emperor, placed his own creatures everywhere, and giving the charge of the gates to a trusty friend of his, he sent for the keys of the private stairs, the dormitory, and of all the Courts of Justice. As soon as the Viceroy was informed that all was quiet within the citadel, he set out in as much state and pomp as before, and taking his march along several streets which had been filling these two whole days with his troops, he repaired to his own palace, called Shahistah-qhan's Baradery,(114) which was close to the citadel. What is singular, he had with him the pretended son of Prince Ecber, but mounted upon an elephant in such a manner that his face could not be distinguished. The next morning the Vezir went to the castle, and after having again requested the offices he had once mentioned, he went on enumerating the many grievances which he, as well as his brother, had been suffering these many years. And history has conserved his very words. It was in these terms:—
"In return for the important services we have rendered you in
"your times of impotence and distress; in return for the blood
"we have shed in your service, as we had already done in that
"of your father and grandfather, such faithful servants as we

(114) This palace took its name from a pavillion, common in India, being built upon twelve columns, or being open by twelve porticoes, as the words import, for the purpose of receiving a fresh gale from wheresoever it might blow.

"have met with nothing but mistrust, suspicions, and a variety "of schemes against our lives and honour. For proof of which "assertion we want no more than this letter which you wrote to "that savage of Da8d-qhan-peni, to exhort him to arm himself for "the destruction of so meritorious and so innocent a servant as my "brother. Nor do we need any other vouchers than these repeat-"ed and pressing orders which you were continually sending to "all the great men of Decan, for the purpose of exciting them "to our ruin and destruction. Now, there remains but one expe-"dient capable of quieting the minds of us, your faithful ser-"vants; and that is to put us in possession of the two offices "which we have already requested, instead of leaving them still "in the hands of strangers, who make it a point to mislead your "mind. For unless we obtain those two favours, it will be un-"safe for us to come as subjects to the castle; and as servants, "impossible to serve our master with any peace of mind."

To this speech the Emperor, as uncautious and as thoughtless as ever, answered only by promising that shortly he would comply with all their requests, although he saw full enough that matters had come to such a crisis, that he had no other party left but that of acknowledging the Sëids for his masters. The conversation, meanwhile, being protracted to an unexpected length, degenerated into an altercation, in which high words and harsh expressions were exchanged. The Emperor, unable to contain himself, called both the Vezir and Yticad-qhan names, and made use of unbecoming language; and the latter foolishly endeavouring to pacify them, the Vezir stopped him short, by giving him the most opprobrious abuse, and commanding his being taken out of the castle immediately. Yticad-qhan, thunderstruck by so unexpected a command, lost all presence of mind, and hardly able to distinguish his feet from his head, he thought it high time to save his life. He retreated, and meeting his Mushreff or head-accomptant's paleky, he got into it, and fled as fast as his chairmen could fly. That very moment every part of the city was in an uproar; and this uproar which was occasioned by multitudes of people running to and fro through every street and every lane, gave the Emperor an insight into his real situation. He submitted to his fate, and retired into the sanctuary or women's apartment, where he took up his abode, unmindful all the while of the sentence of

Altercation between the Emperor and the Vezir.

the word of God: *Death shall find ye out, be ye shut up even in iron towers*—a dreadful sentence which then did not occur to his mind.

The Emperor gives up the Empire.

Amidst all this uproar and this sudden reverse of fortune, all enlightening Sol, putting dust upon his head, had descended like Foroh-syur's star below the horizon, and frightful night in her sable veil sliding gradually down from the battlements of heaven, had covered every thing with darkness and horror. Shut were the gates of the citadel, those once doors of security and peace of mind; shut were they, and barred for ever! The Vezir with Adjet-sing slept that night within the castle, whilst the Emperor's zealous servants were obliged to take their abodes without.

"Every one, confounded, remained motionless, anxious to see,
"What further scenes would bring forth the pregnant womb of time."

In that night of screams and confusion, which like that darkness which is to precede the Day of Judgment, covered with its sable veil the whole extent of the city, nothing was heard but confused noises; nor did any one know what might actually be doing within the castle. For the Vezir's troops having taken possession of every great street and market, as well as of every gate of the city, passed the whole night under arms, whilst the Marhatta officers with their whole cavalry remained on horseback, in expectation of being instantly called to action. But the moment the day commenced dawning, every one of the citizens rose in a state of incertitude, and with a mind that floated betwixt hope and fear; and whilst Sol was shedding his first rays on the golden standard of the Vezir's fortune, a report ran that he had been killed; and nothing was heard in the streets and markets but cries and screams. Just in that moment of suspense, some considerable Lords, incensed at the reverse of fortune of which they heard only from common report, thought it incumbent upon themselves to run to the Emperor's assistance, and, as they thought, to support his defenders. These were Saadet-qhan, his father-in-law; Ghazi-eddin-qhan, the goat's beard; and the brave Aghyr-qhan, the Turk. These three mounted, and advanced towards the castle, with what troops they could collect. But Nizam-el-mulk and Qhandô8ran thought it would be prudent to stay at home. On the other hand, Mahmed-aamin-qhan mounted likewise, but it was to go to the Vezir's assistance. But as a body called the Cammul-

Commotions all over the city.

poshes or blanket-wearers,(115) were going to join Qhandŏ8ran, their Commander, they fell in with a body of troops of Marhatta horses, who forbade their passing farther; and this threat having been received by the others with a shower of arrows, whilst Mahmed-aamin-qhan's standards were making their appearance on the opposite side, the Marhattas who took them all for so many enemies, and did not relish their finding themselves cooped within a city's walls, where they could not fight but in streets and lanes, took fright, and putting spur to their horses, they fled on all sides, without further inquiry, to the unspeakable satisfaction of those idlers and sharpers who thronged the streets, and especially to the great joy of the Moghuls and other disbanded soldiers of the Emperor's, who already incensed at the haughtiness of those infidels, rushed amongst them pell-mell, and commenced killing and stripping the runaways. The Marhattas confounded to find nothing but foes in every street and at every door, dispersed, and fled farther, as far as the camp, but not without leaving fifteen hundred of theirs upon the spot, who as well as the whole corps of one Sinta, and of two or three officers more, were hacked to pieces. They had also numbers of wounded. The horses of all these slain were laid hold of by the victors and by the mob, who on breaking some saddles by accident, were surprised to find the stuffing full of pieces of gold.

A body of Marhatta horse destroyed within the city by the mob.

It was at this very time that Mahmed-aamin-qhan arrived with his troops in the Viceroy's camp, where he was received with the highest applause for his readiness. Whilst all this was passing in the streets, Sadat-qhan, with his five sons, was arriving near the castle at the head of a body of troops, as did Ghazi-ed-din-qhan with another; and the opposite streets were filling by those brought by the favourite Yticad-qhan, and the late Grandmaster of artillery, Sëyd-qhan. These were followed by three thousand Hindoos in the Emperor's pay, under the command of Manhar, an officer of trust. All these were taking possession of posts in and about Saad-ollah-qhan's market, and preparing for an attack. These movements, being rumoured in the Viceroy's

(115) The word *Cammul*, which signifies a coarse woollen blanket, imports also a cuirass; and there are, in India, cuirasses of quilted cotton as well as wool, that will stand the stroke of a sabre. There are some ones stuffed with the refuse of raw silk, and these resist not only the sabre and lance, but also the bullet

camp, as well as the Vezir's pretended death, and the Marhattas confirming the account by their disorderly flight and their wounds, the whole of the Viceroy's army was in an uproar; and one rumour more, and it dispersed. Luckily for him that certain intelligence arrived at this critical moment of the Vezir's being alive and safe. This having revived the Viceroy's spirit, he dispatched a choice body of his best troops to drive those that had assembled in Saad-ollah-qhan's market. These troops pushing forwards with ardour, fell upon the enemy, and commenced a sharp engagement. In the midst of a hot firē, Ghazy-eddin-qhan's elephant being wounded in the trunk by a rocket, turned about, and ran away with his master, who was immediately followed by his whole corps. Sadat-qhan was wounded at the same time together with his five sons, and he quitted the field; and Yticad-qhan, after having given himself some motions, without any inclination to come to blows, retired to his house, and entrenched his quarter. His person was but of small moment; but here by his trepidation and flight it became a signal for falling upon several shops and streets about Saad-ollah qhan's market, which were all plundered and sacked. And as if no effort made in favour of Feroh-syur was to meet with success, the brave Aghyr-qhan, who now appeared from the suburbs at the head of a body of Moghuls and other foreigners, found the Lahor-gate shut up, and the walls lined with troops. Mortified at such a disappointment, he was obliged to return. Some firing and some fighting was still kept up in the streets and lanes, when proclamation was made by a number of public criers that Feroh-syur was confined, and that the Prince Refi-ed-derdjat had ascended the throne. The Imperial music striking up at the same time, and quarter being proclaimed everywhere, with injunctions to every one to retire to his home, the vanquished recovered from their despair, the citizens retired to their homes, and the tumult seemed to subside.

Several skirmishes in the streets between the two parties.

The Prince Refied-derdjat proclaimed Emperor.

We have left Feroh-syur within the apartment of the ladies; and the Vezir with the Gentoo Prince was waiting in expectation of his coming out to hear what further they had to say, and of his furnishing them with an opportunity to seize his person, as the tumults, that had apparently subsided, had commenced afresh, and pillage and slaughter were going on. But Feroh-syur did not come out; and the Viceroy sensible of the consequence of a

moment's delay, was sending message after message, representing to his brother, "That the tumults were increasing; that the "throngs of armed men were becoming more numerous; that a "general revolt was going to take place, and would not fail to "raise a great blaze; and that, therefore, the business was to be "put an end to some way or other, as a moment of delay might "prove irrecoverable." Whilst the last message was delivering, a body of Afghan soldiers mixed with some of the Vezir's slaves, had found means, from the top of the house of Nedjm-eddin-aaly-qhan, younger brother to the Vezir, to descend within the yard of the Imperial women's apartment, which was close to it, and which proved guarded by a number of Habeshinian, Georgian, and Calmuc women.(116) These being driven away, the soldiers penetrated within the gate, and fell arummaging every apartment in search of Feroh-syur. At last some women, too delicate to bear the tortures to which they were exposed, pointed to the place of his confinement, and the soldiers ran to him. At this sight the Emperor's mother, with his consort and daughter, unable to endure such a spectacle, ran to his assistance with a number of Princesses, and ladies of the first rank, who having enclosed him within a circle which they formed round his person, fell to prayers and entreaties. But of what avail could be those tears with a troop of soldiers? And in such a moment whose pity could they move? At last, after a deal of struggle, he was disengaged from those women, dragged upon the ground, and confined in a dark small room on the top of the Tinpößliah,(117) and all this with such outrages and such indignities as had never been offered to the Imperial person.

Terrible message of the Viceroy to his brother.

Feroh-syur dragged out of the Seraglio with enormous indignities and confined.

(116) This guard amounted to some hundreds of women, mostly armed with the sabre and the target, but several were so likewise with the spear or the musquet. As to the Georgian women, whose charms make so much noise all over Turkey and Persia, they are deemed in India too stout and too fleshy for beauties, small delicate women, with a beginning plumpness, being the peculiar taste of the Indians. This guard was composed partly of Calmuck or Tartar women, and of Gordjenies, and partly of Negroe and Habeshinian women, who promiscuously bear in India the appellation of Habeshies. Seradj-ed-dößla had in Bengal such a female guard in his Seraglio.

(117) This is a lofty building raised either in the middle of a market, or on the gate of a fortress or a palace. It is called Tinpoßliah, because always raised upon five bodies of masonry, making three porticoes; but the vulgar pronounces Tinpößliah. That building looks exactly like a triumphal arch.

His reign, without reckoning the time elapsed from Muez-zedin-djehander-shah's exaltation, lasted six years and four months. All the foregoing events have been collected from memoirs or memorandums written at that very time by persons of credit and distinction, who wrote either as witnesses or as transactors; and some of these being men of letters, and ingenious, have found in this sentence of the Holy Writ, *Take warning ye that have eyes*, the chronogram of this event.

The Vezir having disposed of Feroh-syur in this manner thought that, as the whole city was yet in an uproar, it was incumbent upon him to proclaim another Emperor; and he got him proclaimed, accordingly, under the names and titles of Shems-eddin-ab8-al-berecat-refi-ad-derdjat,(118) younger son to Refi-al-cadr, nephew to Bahadyr-shah, from a daughter of Prince Ecber, younger son of Aoreng-zib. It was on a Wednesday, about nine o'clock in the morning of the second Reby, in the year 1132 of the Hedjrah. The young Prince was then twenty years old; and as the screams all over the city did not allow any time sufficient to send him to the bath, or even to make him shift his clothes, he was drawn in all haste from the place of his confinement, and in all haste placed upon the throne, with only a chaplet of large pearl which the Vezir had just time to throw over his apparel, such as it was. The Imperial music having struck up immediately to announce this event to the people, the screams and uproars ceased at once, and in a little time more the tumults subsided everywhere.

The Vezir, after so critical and so perilous a day, thought proper to pass that night in the citadel, surrounded by a numerous body of his bravest and trustiest friends, having previously placed at the only gate left open, a guard on which he could depend. Not satisfied with all those precautions, when it became necessary to form a household to the young Emperor, he appointed the whole of it from his household and dependants, down to the eunuchs, chamberlains, menial servants, cooks, and water-carriers. As a further precaution, he placed his own guards everywhere, and filled all the avenues of the palace, and even of the private

(118) These words signify Refi-ed-derdjat, the son of religion and the father of blessings, and likewise the bringer of cheapness. Refi-ed-derdjat signifies of a sublime degree or dignity.

apartments, with his own dependants. The next day the new Emperor having according to the custom given a public general audience, Adjet-sing and Ratun-chund supplicated that the Hindoos all over the Empire might be released from the opprobrium of the capitation.(119) This favour was granted, and orders were at the same time dispatched everywhere for confirming all Governors, Commanders, Viceroys, and Crown-officers, in their respective commands. In the meantime, the famous Yticad-qhan was confined with a deal of contumely, his Djaghir resumed, and his palace, where he had amassed an immense treasure in gold and silver, costly jewels, and exquisite stuffs, was taken possession of. But what is singular, on rummaging for treasure, there was discovered another secret hoard of his, which consisted only of gems and jewels of an amazing value, all presents from Feroh syur, but which now served only to enhance his disgrace, and the many affronts put upon him. The whole was seized for the Vezir's use, without his taking the least notice of the outrages and contumelies, that had been offered to their late owner. At the same time were resumed all the Djaghirs and lands which Feroh-syur had bestowed on his sycophants, and none was spared but that which was enjoyed by the Rani, late consort of that dethroned Prince; and this was rather out of regard to Adjet-sing, her father. The Mansobdars, and officers of the bodyguards, called Vala-shahies, who enjoyed lands and Djaghirs, until they might be paid in ready money, were stripped in the same manner; and as to the common troopers they were given to understand that, if they wanted service, they must repair to the Viceroy's camp, where they would be enlisted at the rate of fifty rupees per month, ready money one with another. Mahmed-aamin-qhan, already second Paymaster, was confirmed in his office, and Zaafer-qhan was substituted to Sëif-ollah-qhan, third Paymaster. Nizam-el-mulk was appointed to the Viceroyalty of Malva, although he

The Palace of Yticad-qhan ransacked.

Great changes and resumptions.

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(119) The Capitation which rises in France from twenty Sols to two thousand Livres, this being what the Dauphin himself is taxed at, and which the clergy itself pays under the name of *convention*—the Capitation, which cuts so great a figure in Russia, and rises in Turkey from three half-crowns to eleven, is but a small object in India, where it is called Djeziat, and has never been of more than three half-crowns per head. It is now fallen in disuse all over India, where Hindoos or Gentoos continue still to be distinguished only by their Djama or coat folding upon the breast from right to left, whereas that of the Mussulmen folds from left to right.

was so far from liking the complexion of the times, that he had repeatedly refused that office. Ser-b8lend-qhan, who had been appointed Governor of Cab8l sometime before the Revolution, and on that account had stopped at fifteen cosses from the capital to see what would be the fate of the Empire, was sent for, and he received anew the patent and investiture of that Government; after which ceremony he was dismissed with honour and distinction. The rich Fodjdary of M8radabad was given to Seïf-eddin-qhan, one of the Vezir's younger brothers. One Mahmed-reza, a new man, was appointed Supreme Judge and Casuist of the Court, and Emir-qhan-aalemghiry, who had enjoyed the Government of Ecber-abad, was made Sadr-el-s8d8r.(120) Dianet-qhan was made Divan or Superintendent of the Revenue office, as was Radja Baqht-mul, of the Military Chest; but all these, together with every one of the officers of Finance and Administration, were held to be no more than so many Lieutenants of Ratan-chund's. Himmet-qhan, one of the Vezir's bosom-friends, was made Comptroller of the Privy Purse, and, moreover, tutor to the young Prince; and over and above all that, several lucrative offices were bestowed upon him. As to the offices and Governments, that proved at a distance from the capital, no change at all was attempted in them, for fear of losing all command over those distant parts. Only the Government of Mandö8 was taken from Merhamet-qhan, that officer of merit, who had slighted the Viceroy, when he passed by his district, and it was given to Qhadjem-c8li-qhan, a T8ranian or Tartar. But Radja Adjet-sing,(121) who to get rid of the eternal curses and hootings of the populace wanted to be gone to his Government of G8djrat, could not obtain leave, and was requested to remain in the city.

Manner of Feroh-syur's exit related by contemporaries in two different ways.

As to the dethroned Emperor, his exit being related in two different manners by two different men of distinction and credit, then upon the scene of action, we shall insert them both, resting the truth or the falsehood of either narrative on the respective

(120) The office of Sadr of Sedres answers to that of Grand-almoner in France, and more properly to that of the King's Confessor, inasmuch as he has the disposal of the ecclesiastical benefices and lands. The Sadr-el-s8d8r, in India, is the Superintendent of the charity-lands, that is, lands set apart for decayed families; and these lands cannot amount to less than several corors a year all over the Empire.

(121) He was father to the Rani or Gentoo Princess, consort of Feroh-syur, and the more odious on account of the part he had taken against his son-in-law.

merits of either author. For it has been reported to me by men of honour and veracity, that the two brothers had never entertained thoughts of attempting Feroh-syur's life,(122) or had ever intended to offer him any ill usage, their only view being to make sure of his person, and for that purpose they had put him under the care of a trusty Afghan officer, who was to have him under his care night and day. Nevertheless it happened, that Feroh-syur availed himself so well of a moment of absence, that he stole away unperceived in the dusk of the evening, and going from terrace to terrace, he wanted to jump down, being already at a distance from the place of his confinement, when the Afghan returned. On not finding his prisoner, and knowing that his life was at stake, he looked narrowly everywhere, and spying at a distance some one that was lurking under the shadow of a wall, he ran thither, and finding it was his prisoner, he threw himself upon him, and brought him back. That vile fellow had no sooner seen him in the place of confinement again, than making him sit on the floor, he, with that hardness of heart and that brutality which seem to make the basis of the character of an Afghan, fell a beating and a cuffing him unmercifully. Feroh-syur, unable to bear such vile usage, ran to the wall with all his might, and dashed his head with so much violence against it, that his skull was broke to pieces, and that very moment he departed to the mansions of eternity.

But Hashem-aaly-qhan-qhasi,(123) the historian, son to Qhadja-mir, the historian, refers Feroh-syur's death to an express order from the two brothers, betraying at the same time throughout his history the utmost detestation and enmity against them as well as against their family. As, on the other hand, it is possible that I, the poor man, should incur the imputation of some partiality for them, I have thought it best to refer his very text,

(122) This is what says a Sëid for another Sëid, and a Shyah for another Shyah. But we have just seen a few pages above, that Hossëin-aaly-qhan, the younger brother, had said the very reverse of that assertion, and we have seen that he had acted constantly up to that notion of his; nor had they ordered Feroh-syur to be dragged and beaten so outrageously, and then confined so unworthily, had they intended no more than to secure his person.

(123) That nobleman, who enjoyed the highest offices in Aoreng-zib's court, and lived with that Emperor on the footing of a friend, took the title of *Qhasi*, or timid and circumspect, or concealed, to design the style of his history.

without taking any liberties with it, save that of correcting some false constructions which had crept in it, either through the writer's inaccuracy or the copyist's ignorance. Let, then, the credibility of the following narrative rest entirely with the author. It is as follows:—

"Two months had already elapsed since that unfortunate "Prince had been confined in that narrow dark place, where he "experienced a variety of hardships, when a red-hot needle was "passed over his eyes, a cruel operation, which, however, did not "deprive him entirely of the light of the day. Tired of such re-"peated scenes of barbarity, that ill-fated Prince, in the simpli-"city of heart, natural to a man in distress, and in that love of "command, so capable of putting a man off his gurd, and of set-"ting at nought every other principle, betook himself to several "expedients for putting an end to his sufferings. At one time he "would send to his enemies excuses for his former conduct, promis-"ing to let them dispose of the Empire, if they would but place "him on the throne as before. At another, that unfortunate man "buried alive, would turn towards the Afghan, Abdollah-khan, "(for such was his keeper's name) and would tempt him with an "immense sum of money, if he could but carry him as far as the "dominions of Radja Djehi-sing-sivăi. All this did not fail to "be exactly reported to the two brothers, who being endlessly "instigated by their adulators, as well as prompted by their own "fears, thought it high time to put an end to so dangerous a life. "To effect their purpose, they got poison to be mixed at two dif-"ferent times in his victuals, and this had no effect, or very little; "but the third time, the dose operated, and as they went to see "how the unfortunate man's soul was wrung out of his body, he "lost all patience, and after having reproached them in severe "terms for their atrocious ingratitude, and that faithlessness of "theirs that had so often taken the sacred word of God to witness, "and had so often pledged the Holy Writ for their fidelity, he "apostropised that sacred volume itself, and wondered how it had "not worked a miracle instantly, for the punishment of so much "perfidy. He even vented reproaches against the Majesty of "Divine justice, which had supinely suffered, as he said, such "faithless men to be still alive; and as he continued to exhale "his feelings in that reproachful strain, the Vezir, impatient

"ordered a leathern thong to be strained round his neck, so as to "put an end to his talking. But the unfortunate Prince having "laid hold of it with both hands, so as to keep it asunder from "his neck, and having struggled hard with both hands and feet, "the two barbarians tired with so much resistance, ordered his "hands to be parted by dint of blows; and the Prince having "suffered for a length of time all the agonies of a lingering death, "at last departed this fragile world.

> "*Beware of stretching so easily thine hands towards that table spread by time,*
> "*For every morsel upon it is tainted with deadly poison.*

"It is true that a report ran then, and it runs so to this very "day, that the dying Prince proving too tardy, the two brothers "finished him with plunging their Qhandjars(124) in his bowels, "but nevertheless this report is contradicted by the very man who "superintended the execution, and who never could relate that "mournful event, without shedding abundance of tears, and with-"out bitterly lamenting the necessities of his situation. He has "been heard positively to say, that there had been no stabbing at "all. Be it as it may, the body remained for six-and-thirty hours "unattended to and unburied; and it was only after such an "interval of time, that it was thought of. Then only it was purified, "according to the rites of religion, put upon a bier, and carried "to the Emperor H8maï8n's sepulchre. On its being brought out, "two or three thousand needy men and women, who used to find "a resource in his liberality, tore their clothes, covered their heads "and faces with dust, and having surrounded the bier, they ac-"companied it the whole way, shedding abundance of tears, and "pouring forth all kinds of curses and execrations upon his "enemies, whom they loaded with opprobrious language. Two "persons of distinction, *to wit*, Dilaver-aaly-khan, and Sëyd-aaly-"khan, both Paymasters to the brothers, had been sent to attend "the body as chief mourners; and they were followed by a mul-"titude of the principal citizens, all melted in tears. But no sooner "had the procession quitted the suburbs, than the chief mourners "were hooted several times, and several times assaulted with "stones, brick-bats, and clods of earth. Nor would any one out

(124) The Qhandjar is a poignard with a bent blade, peculiar to the Turks, who carry it upright and on the right side; but it is occasionally worne by both Persians and Indians, the latter on the left side and inclined.

"of that multitude of needy people stoop to accept of the money "they had brought for distribution, or partake of that quantity of "victuals which they had prepared in conformity to the custom. "But on the third day after, a vast number of poor people and "beggars having assembled in an orderly manner at the place "where Feroh-syur's body had been washed and perfumed, made "a collection amongst themselves, and prepared with it a large "quantity of victuals which they distributed to others. They sent "likewise for several readers of the Coran, passed the whole night "with them in prayers and lamentations, and departed in an "orderly manner."

"Wonderful God! how thy Divine justice did manifest itself "in the several events of this Revolution! His enemies had so "many reasons for being expeditious with him, and so many "motives of hatred besides, that one would think it was incumbent "upon them to make him pass rapidly and at once from this little "fragile habitation into the other world. But no. Feroh-syur, in "his days of power, had strangled his brothers, yet in their tender "years, murdered numbers of innocent persons, and blinded some "others: and he must, therefore, savour the flavour of all these "cruelties, before he is permitted to make his exit. He must from "the hands of others experience all those agonies which others "had suffered at his hands. Nor did the two brothers escape the "day of retribution, or go themselves unpunished. In a little time "they met with that same usage which they had offered to others." Thus far Hashem-aaly-qhan-qhasi.

The two brothers take possession of the riches in the palace.

To return to our own narrative. The two brothers after having disposed of Feroh-syur, took possession of the Imperial stores and treasure. Elephants, horses, rich furniture, ready money, exquisite jewels, in a word, whatever they shewed a mind to, were carried away and mixed with their own stores, in what manner they thought proper, sharing the whole amongst themselves. It is even reported that Abdollah-qhan, who was exceedingly addicted to the sex, carried away some women of incomparable beauty from the Imperial Seraglio. But this God only knows.

Soon after this fatal event, it was remarked that all cordiality had ceased between the two brothers, and although that coolness did not appear in public, it was soon perceived by those friends of theirs who knew their respective tempers; and several matters

tending that way were successively, but silently, taken notice of by the by-standers. There was likewise some unequality in merit between the two brothers; and, indeed, it was universally acknowledged that Hossëin-aaly-khan, the younger brother, was far superior to his elder in discernment, bravery, and many other valuable qualifications which a bountiful Heaven had implanted in his constitution. In power he seemed superior to all the Princes of his time, nay, to several that bore a character in history for having bestowed kingdoms and crowns, and conquered Empires. Unfortunately neither his power nor his life lasted any length of time. If they had, it is highly probable, that the times which we have the mortification to behold, would not prove so humiliating and so deplorable, as they are; nor had the honour of Hindostan been thrown to the winds; nor had the Indian nobility and gentry been reduced to that deplorable condition to which we see it reduced. But as the morals of the whole nation required the iron hand of correction, it is not surprising that the person and power of that hero should have been only shewn to the world. Let us, therefore, submit to our fate. *For God ordains what He pleases, and acts as He pleases.*

Eulogium of Hossëin-aaly-qhan the younger brother.

Unfortunately for the two brothers, and for the dispositions they had made, the young Emperor, Refi-ed-derdjat, laboured under a consumption, and was subject to a spitting of blood, which soon put an end to his reign: in so much that three months and some days after he had submitted to the odium of ascending the throne, he departed his life on a Saturday, being the twenty-first of Redjeb. His younger brother, Refi-ed-döolah, was brought forth and seated in his stead; whilst the two Seids continued to dispose of every thing in the Empire, and with as great a sway as ever. As these two sickly young Princes may be said to have just made their appearance upon the theatre of the world with the bare title of Emperors, in order to be immediately withdrawn, and they may be compared to two travellers who just made a short pause on the throne, in order to continue their journey towards the regions of eternity, we hardly knew any thing of them. And the rise of Nico-syur, son to Prince Ecber, and grandson to Aöreng-zib, a young Prince, then confined at Echer-abad, having taken place in Refi-ed-döolah's life-time, we have thought it expedient to bring into one point of view whatever we have been able to

The young Emperor dies of a consumption, and is succeeded by his younger brother.

collect about those three persons of the Timurian family, in order to connect it with the body of our history, and to give to the whole an orderly appearance. For the reader may rest assured, that what little the younger Princes afford to this history, has been carefully ascertained, although their lives have been so obscure and so little an object of talk, that their very names are hardly known to this day. In short, it amounts only to this little.

A short time after Refi-ed-dö8lah had been brought from his prison to a throne, another young Prince of the Imperial family, but who was confined in the citadel of Ecber-abad, the second capital of the Empire, was proclaimed by the Governor and officers of the place, as well as by the militia of the villages dependent on that fortress, and the Mansobdars and cavalry dependent on the Governor of the province, all which soon formed a court about his person. His name was Nico-syur(125), a younger son of Prince Ecber's. They were assisted by the inhabitants of the city of Ecber-abad, who seeing the convulsions that desolated the Imperial family, willingly embraced his party. Such an event being likely to prove of a dangerous consequence, the two brothers resolved to stifle it in its very beginning. They quitted the capital, and taking with them both the young Prince Refi-ed-dö8lah, and the principal persons of the city and court, they marched to Ecber-abad, and laid siege to its castle. And although Nico-syur did not betray any want of valour or capacity in defending the place, nevertheless, the gates were soon laid open, and he was seized and confined. The garrison was changed, and a proper punishment inflicted on the officers of the castle, and the commanders of the militia, who had planned the whole revolution. But this little success did not much tranquillize the minds of the two brothers. A flux and a consumption were preying on the young Emperor, Refi-ed-dö8lah, and although the Vezir spared no pains in bringing together the ablest physicians of the Empire, his care and anxiety proved of no avail; and the Prince, after a nominal reign still shorter than that of his predecessors, gave evident signs of his drawing to his end, and of his being on the point of quitting the borrowed hospice of this

(125) Nico-syur, a name of the same import as Feroh-syur, signifies of a virtuous disposition.

world. In a short time his life was despaired of; and the two brothers, who needed a pageant upon the throne, sent two persons of note to fetch another Prince from the castle of Selimgur, which is a part of the citadel of Shah-djehan-abad. These were Nedjm-eddin-qhan, their younger brother, and Gholam-aaly-qhan; although others say that the first, as Governor of the province of Delhi, was alone entrusted with that commission, and that the other only did accompany that nobleman. The orders were to bring forth Roshen-aqhter,(126) son to Qhodjestah-aqhter, *alias* Djehan-shah, who was son to Bahadyr-shah. This young Prince was then in his eighteenth year, and so early as Muĕzzeddin's accession to the throne under the name of Djehander-shah, he had always lived in obscurity and confinement, in an apartment of Selimgur-castle(127). He was a youth of a charming aspect, a beard just budding, and a beautiful face in which shone so much acuteness of mind both in his air and forehead, as seemed to prognosticate all his future elevation. He was not yet arrived at Ecber-abad, nay, he was yet in the environs of the capital, when news arrived that Refi-ed-dŏ8lah was departing this fugitive world, and had already put off the garment of consciousness. His death was kept a secret for a whole week, others say, for ten days, until his successor could be at hand. On his arrival, the coffin of the deceased Prince was carried to the mausoleum of Qhadja-C8t8b-ed-din, and buried there in the same manner as had been his brother. This death left the throne open for Roshen-aqhter.

This young Prince conducted by his rising fortune arrived at Fatehp8r,(128) and on the fifteenth of the same month, in the year 1131 of the Messenger's retreat, at about four astronomical hours of the morning, he availed himself of a victorious hour and of the luckiest moment, to step forth on the theatre of the world, and to grace the throne with all the attractions of his beauteous person. It was then that the steps of that sublime place were dignified by the mention of his name, and then that the silver

Roshen-aqhter ascends the throne under the name of Mahmed-shah

(126) Roshen-aqhter signifies of a shining star, *i.e.*, of a bright destiny.

(127) Selimgur is a real castle and fortification at one corner of, and within, the citadel of Delhi.

(128) The author alludes to the name of that town, which imports as much as *Success-town* would in English.

and gold coin distributed on the occasion, received an accession of value from the honour of his stamp. He assumed the auspicious titles of the Succourer of Religion and the Father of Victory.(129) From that moment provisions that had risen to an immoderate price, commenced becoming cheaper, and once more plenty shewed its face in every market. It was remarked that the Navvab Cadeffiah,(130) his mother, a Princess of great keenness of mind and great wisdom, had taken care to nurse in the shade of obscurity and silence that fondling of the sun of glory. Fully sensible of the complexion of the times, and of the necessities of her situation, she made it a point to conform herself to the pleasure of the two brothers, who were now become the omnipotent disposers of the Empire; and her precaution went so far that, when she quitted the capital to pay a visit to her son, gone to Ecber-abad, she set out with so modest a retinue, and she appeared with so much reserve, that she declined the voluntary attendance of numbers of people of distinction, that had been in her husband, the late Djehan-shah's service. On hearing that they were preparing to follow her, and to augment her cortege, she requested them to forbear, and even forbade their coming to the gate of her apartment, and sending in their Nuzurs and offerings.

It being observed on her son's ascending the throne, that the three preceding reigns had been so momentary and so confused as to serve only to confound history, it was enacted that to prevent all confusion in the records, the seven or eight months that had elapsed under the short lived reigns of those three Princes, should be omitted entirely, and that they should be comprehended within Mahmed-shah's reign, which, of course, was made to commence immediately on Feroh-syur's demise. At the same time, to provide for some of the most urgent expenses of his mother's female household, a sum of fifteen thousand rupees was allotted for that purpose. But the command of the

(129) Abol-fetah-nassyr-eddin-mahmed-shah.

(130) The word *Cadeffiah* signifies *Saint*; and it appears by these words (Navvab Cadeffiah) that the word *Navvab*, which is no more than an Arabic plural of the word *Naïb*, Deputy, after having signified a Governor, has come to signify a King, so soon as these Governors came to assert or even to assume an independence from court. Some English have then rightly translated it by the word *King*; and we see here that it signifies also a Queen.

G8lal-para,(131) and the office of Nazur, or superintendent of that household, were conferred on trusty eunuchs of the Vezir's dependance, as it had been practised with the three preceding Princes; (on whom be mercy for ever!) and the Minister in providing eunuchs, guards, upholsterers, elephant-drivers, menial servants, cooks, and even water-carriers, took care to place none in that number but his own servants. It was on the same principle, that Himmet-qhan, one of the Vezir's intimates, a man who enjoyed already five or six offices, was preposed over the new monarch's person, as his tutor, and moreover entrusted with the privy purse, as well as with the treasury of the palace. All this was patiently submitted to by the young Emperor, who, sensible of the criticalness of his situation, formed no opposition to any of the Vezir's pleasures, and had besides the good sense to shew him every demonstration of deference and regard. But this did not produce the least abatement in the jealousy with which he was watched. For whenever he went abroad, which happened once or twice a month, for the purpose of taking an airing, he was encircled by a body of Sëids, who did not lose sight of him, nor ever carried him farther than the seats and gardens in the suburbs, which at most are at one or two cosses from the castle; and then it was always in order to come back before the dusk of the evening. But whilst the Vezir was busy in quieting the capital, troubles were rising in the neighbouring provinces.

The young Emperor is encircled day and night by the Vezir's dependants.

Chebilram-naagur, Governor of the province of Illahabad, refused to acknowledge his authority, and even thought it unsafe, on account of some improper behaviour of his to the two brothers. These in return took a resolution to make an example of him; and Hossëin-aaly-qhan had already sent his camp-equipage forwards, when news came that the obnoxious Governor had died suddenly. This piece of news could not but please the Viceroy; but, however, as it deprived him of an opportunity of signalising himself, he was heard to sob and to say: *Is it not a pity that we should be deprived of the pleasure of seeing that proud man's head on the point of a spear?* Immediately after that piece of intelligence, news came that Gurd-hur-bahadyr, son to

(131) G8lal-para is the name of that paling that surrounds the Imperial quarters in a camp; it is always at fifty yards from the canats, that is, the enclosure or wall-cloth, seven feet high, that forms a common enclosure to all the Emperor's tents.

The Governor of Illahabad rufuses to acknowledge his authority.

Dia-bahadyr, cousin to Chebilram, whose sword-bearer he had been, had seized on the Government after his uncle's demise, and was raising troops, as well as repairing the towers and fortifications of Illahabad. The Viceroy, on this intelligence, ordered a bridge of boats to be thrown on the Djumnah, and sending for Mahmed-shah to Ecber-abad, he published that he was going to take Illah-abad, ordering at the same time his vanguard to march instantly. It was at this conjuncture that Emir-djemlah thought proper to make again his appearance upon the stage of the world, in order to be invested with the office of Grand-almoner. But this did not hinder Ratan-chund from continuing to act in all matters relative to finance and government, and even in those relative to distributive justice and to ecclesiastical matters with so unbounded a sway, that the Moteseddies and Crown-officers were like so many ciphers in his presence; nor did they give any sign of life, but when any paper was to pass the seals in their custody. At last, even matters of distributive justice came to be of his resort; and it was impossible to become a Cazy of some city, or to have any judicial or ecclesiastical preferment, without his good-will being previously secured. One day he brought to the Vezir a person of whom he had made Cazy or Judge of a certain city. The Minister, at such a sight, turned towards a nobleman over against him, and said with a smile: "Our Ratan-chund, do you see, "can manufacture Cazies also, and he recommends likewise to "ecclesiastical preferments." The other answered: "True, my "Lord, the Lord Radja after having finished his worldly affairs, is "turning his attention to religious matters."

All this while the preparatives for the siege were going on with so much vigour, that Gurd-hur's Vekil or Agent thought it high time to come to camp, and to entreat the Viceroy's forgiveness for his master's misdeeds. He offered to submit, on condition of being suffered to remain in his Government, or of having it exchanged for some other, with the addition of some title of honour, as an atonement for his loss. The conditions having been accepted, Gurd-hur was to come out of the castle of Illahabad, to surrender his Government with the place, and to be transferred to that of A8d, with the title of Bahadyr or Valiant. But whilst this agreement was discussing, commotions and broils were rising in the country of Bundi, in consequence of certain disputes about an

hereditary principality, from which Radja Bihim-sing, one of the heirs, had been ejected by Bedha-sing, the other heir. The dispossessed Prince retired to the Viceroy's camp, to whom he paid his court assiduously, in hopes of being reinstated in his right; and, at last, he obtained a body of six thousand horse, all veteran troops, and all Sëids of Bar, who reckoned themselves to be so many countrymen, and so many kinsmen of the two brothers. They were commanded by his Paymaster-General, Sëid-dilaver-aaly-qhan, who had orders to reinstate the Gentoo Prince, and then to repair with him and with another Gentoo Prince, called Gudj-sing, as far as the frontiers of Malva, where he was to wait for fresh orders. On the other hand, as little reliance was reposed on all the promises made by Gurd-hur, a large body of good troops was sent under Häider-c8li-qhan, towards Illahabad, to enforce the execution of the treaty. Häider-c8li-qhan, who was a man of character and abilities, laid siege to that fortress, and pushed his works forward; but as he did not command alone, little progress was made in the siege, the Governor making it a practice to enter into a negotiation for surrendering the place, and then to stand again upon his defence, and to drive the besiegers from their works. The siege drawing to a length, Hossëin-aaly-khan crossed the Djumnah, and marched towards Illahabad; and the report of his march having intimidated the besieged, Gurd-hur, who now found no safety for himself in the plain, retired within his fortress, to which he conducted himself a great quantity of ammunition, and a variety of provisions. His family, at the same time, gave countenance to the refractory spirits of that province, and the holders of Djaghir-lands, in particular, laid hold of that opportunity to withhold their rents. Such a state of things having engaged the Viceroy's attention, he reflected on the natural strength of the place, which was at the confluence of two mighty rivers,(132) on the courage and personal abilities of Gurd-hur, and on the difficulties he would to all appearance have to encounter in a siege likely to be protracted to a length, and which

(132) The Ganga and Djumna. Nor must an European reader make cheap of the rivers of India. The Ganga, in particular, has a course of more than fourteen hundred miles within the limits of India alone; and it runs, especially in the rains, at the rate of ten miles per hour, upon six, seven, or ten fathoms in depth, and in numberless places, of several miles in breadth

would consume in that single operation a precious time, which was required in other parts of the Empire, where the enemies of his family might avail themselves of his absence to excite commotions, susceptible of blazing into a mighty flame. Sensible of all the difficulties of his situation, he was likewise discouraged by some sparks of disunion which then broke out between himself and his elder brother, the Vezir Abdollah-qhan. It was about the division of the jewels and treasure found at the castle of Ecber-abad; and messages full of discontent and peevishness were passing and repassing between them, but only in secret, Ratan-chund doing every thing in his power to conceal these dissensions from the public eye. Whilst the Viceroy was revolving in his mind how he might act, letters came from the Governor, Gurd-hur, which promised that he would submit, if Ratan-chund were sent to him with full power to grant what concerned his former demands, as well as the safety of his person. The two brothers pleased with so fair an opportunity of smothering a flame which might have risen to a great height, dismissed Ratan-chund, who setting out with a good body of troops about the end of the second Rebi, soon arrived at the city of Illahabad, where the Governor of the fortress paid him a visit, and a treaty was soon concluded between these two Gentoos, to which they both swore upon the waters of the Ganga, this being the most sacred oath amongst them. By this treaty, the Government of the province of A.8d was given to Gurd-hur, with all the Fodjdaries contained in it, as an atonement for his parting with the fortress of Illahabad; and this being evacuated accordingly, it received a new garrison, and came again within the power of the two brothers. It was the second year of Mahmed-shah's reign. Ratan-chund, after putting the finishing hand to this treaty, returned to his two masters, who received him with every demonstration of regard and honour.

The Governor of Illahabad submits.

Whilst they were shutting up a breach in the northern parts of the Empire, discontents and broils of a very threatening aspect were rising in the southern ones. We have already mentioned that Nizam-el-mulk had reluctantly accepted the Government of Malva. He found the province infested with whole troops of banditties, and its tranquillity disturbed by a number of refractory Zemindars; nor were all these brought to a thorough subjection, without a deal of trouble and perseverance. But the

subject which struck out a spark, and silently set on fire all that combustible matter heaped everywhere, was Merhamet-qhan, that Fodjdar and Governor of the fortress of Mandö8, who had been discarded by Hossëin-aaly-qhan for having so far slighted him when he passed close to the walls, as not even to pay him a visit. This neglect cost him his post; and Qhadjem-c8li-qhan, a T8ranian, had been appointed in his stead, but without being able to take possession, as Merhamet-qhan delayed the delivery of the fortress under a variety of pretences. He, therefore, wrote to court to complain of the affected delay, from whence he obtained an order to Nizam-el-mulk, Governor-General of the province, to see him righted. The General, who entertained an advantageous opinion of Merhamet-qhan, sent for him, and persuaded him to surrender the fortress quietly; and as he had observed talents with a deal of valour in that officer, he took him in his own service, where he always expressed for his person a sincere regard, seizing every opportunity to employ his abilities And as in the confusions that had prevailed in the province in consequence of the inattention of the court, the fortress of Rat-gur had been seized by a certain refractory Zemindar of the neighbourhood, whom Nizam-el-mulk, now honoured with the title of Fateh-djung, received orders to expel, he dispatched Merhamet-qhan thither at the head of a good body of troops. This service was performed by that officer with his usual vigour and dispatch; and he flattered himself that it would soften the minds of the two brothers in his favour. But they were irreconciliable; and Nizam-el-mulk, to make him some amends, gave him the office of clearing the whole province of the banditties that lurked in it, and of bringing its Zemindars to a thorough submission. This service also was successfully performed by that officer, who took care besides to bring under subjection certain difficult passes, and certain strongholds of the district of Chandiry, which served for a retreat to a number of freebooters.

Troubles in Decan followed by open rebellion.

As soon as Nizam-el-mulk saw everything settled in his Government, he turned his attention towards increasing the number of his troops, filling his magazines, exercising his officers and soldiers, and in making continually new acquisitions from the rebellious province of Chandiry.

Such warlike preparatives could not be concealed from Abdollah-qhan, who received daily intelligence from the Imperial

intelligencers, and the Crown-officers. But he had a nearer subject of inquietude. He was informed that Mahmed-aamin-qhan now and then made use of the Turkish language,(133) to enter into a close conversation with the Emperor, and he knew that he held a secret correspondence with Nizam-el-mulk, about whose person people could observe any more troops than he had occasion for, whilst he entertained a still more numerous body with the discontented officer, Merhamet-qhan. All these intelligences having given some inquietude to the two brothers, Hossëin-aaly-qhan, the younger, who was Viceroy of Decan, wrote to Nizam-el-mulk, that as both himself and his brother, with a view to put an end to the eternal troubles of Decan, wished to establish their residence in the province of Malva, which was midway betwixt the Decan and the capital, they both hoped that to accommodate them he would take his choice of the four governments of M8ltan, Qhandess, Ecberabad and Illahabad. This letter chanced to produce the very breach it was intended to prevent. Nizam-el-mulk, already discontented at Dilaver-aaly-qhan's being encamped upon the limits of his government with an army, and suspicious of his motives in effecting a junction with the Gentoo Princes, Radja Bihim-sing and Radja Gudj-sing, whose neighbourhood to a province but very lately quieted, had already excited commotions amongst the Zemindars of his frontier, answered the moderate letter of Hossëin-aaly-qhan's in a haughty taunting style; and to shew how little he was inclined to conceal his designs, he added with his own hand these two verses of his at the bottom of the letter:—

"I am not such a faithless false man as to swear to you—
"But as I am not like you, neither,—I now swear to you—

The two brothers having soon comprehended the meaning of these two verses, sent for his principal Agent at court, and they had a very brisk conversation with him, which ended in threats against

(133) The Turkish language having been the maternal language of Timur or Tamer-lang, (Timur the lame) there is nothing extraordinary in its being understood by the Hindostany Emperors, his successors and descendants. As to Mahmed-aamin-qhan, it was his vernacular language, he being born a Turk, that is, an Eusbbeg-Tarar, or Tartar. The Bizarery is, that to-day the Persian, and not the Turkish, should be the language of Government in Hindostan, whilst the Turkish, and not the Persian, has been for these several hundred years past the language of Government all over Iran or Persia, where likewise the Turkish is the vernacular of some northern provinces.

his master. And Nizam-el-mulk, having soon received intelligence of it, and knowing at the same time that Mahmed-aamin-qhan was endeavouring to kindle a spark of indignation in the young Emperor's breast, he concluded that the conservation of his honour, power and life, as well as that of all the Moghul Lords, and of an infinity of persons of distinction, depended on the downfall of the two brothers, whose pride wounded his feelings, and whose enormous power and pretensions left no safety for any one, but for their creatures. He was also excessively shocked at the insolent and overbearing behaviour of Ratan-chund, and of Adjet-sing. Full of these ideas, he held a consultation with his most discerning friends, and with the best of his Generals; and, on dismissing the assembly, he declared that he was resolved to commit his case to his own fortune, and to display full open the standard of resistance and opposition. His resolution being now taken, he wrote a short letter to the two brothers; and coming out of his palace with Abdol-rahim-qhan, Merhamet-qhan and Rahim-qhan, he put himself at the head of his army, which by comprising both his old troops and his new levies amounted to twelve thousand horse. It was about the middle of the second Djemady,(134) in the year 1132 of the Hedjrah, which answers to the second of Mahmed-shah's. He was then about the town of Seronj, where he had been encamped all this while to overawe into submission a number of refractory districts on that frontier. His purpose being now accomplished, he decamped on a sudden, and marched to the south.

Nizam-el-mulk revolts openly.

This intelligence arrived at Ecber-abad in a few days, and became public in a moment. The Vezir wrote immediately to Dilaver-aaly-qhan, and to the two Gentoo Princes, to follow Nizam-el-mulk step by step, recommending to them at the same time to omit nothing that could gain to their cause the numerous clans of Afghans settled throughout the Decan; after which their business would be to crush Nizam-el-mulk, before he should have time to make any further progress.

The confusion and disorders in the Empire being of such a nature, as to set open a bad example, it was very natural that the

(134) There are two Djemadys, and two Rebys in the Mahomedan year. These, as well as all the others, are Lunar months, from twenty-nine to thirty days, each.

meanest men should avail themselves of their very distance and obscurity to aspire at an independence.

One Hossëin-qhan, an Afghan Qhoïshky, who was head-man of the town of Cossor, in Pendjab, had these many years taken possession of the best districts about Cossor and Lahor, where he acted as an hereditary Lord of those territories. These troubles commenced, whilst Abdol-semed-qhan, the Viceroy, was occupied against the Syks; and the Afghan had commenced by turning away both the collectors and Crown-officers from his town. After this exertion he assembled troops; and hearing that C8t8b-eddin, an officer of character, was marching against him with a body of horse, he met him half-way, killed that commander, destroyed or dispersed his cavalry, and took possession of his baggage. This victory having raised his character, as well as enlarged his views, he soon found himself at the head of eight or nine thousand horse, with which he established his contributions far and near. So that the Viceroy himself, although with only seven or eight thousand horse about his person, found it worth his while to march against him; and the two armies met at Chäony, about thirty cosses from Lahor. Abdol-semed-qhan gave the command of his centre to Kerim-c8ly-qhan, his Paymaster, and at his right he placed Djany-qhan and Qhoadja-rahmet-ollah, two relations of his, and both men of tried valour, whom he put under the command of Hafyz-aaly-qhan, brother to Qhan-mirza, after having advanced before them a body of a thousand Rohilla Afghans, whom he knew to be personal enemies to the rebel. At his left he placed Aref-qhan, his own Lieutenant, with Aghyr-qhan, and took his own post in their front. On the opposite side Hossëin-qhan placed his own nephew, Mustepha-qhan, in his first line, together with Rahmet-qhan, Behlol-qhan, Seid-qhan, and some other Afghan commanders, all resolute men, all mounted upon elephants, and all men of tried valour. But no sooner had the combat commenced by a fire of musquetry, than Hossëin-qhan having advanced on a full gallop on the enemy's artillery, which he left behind, pushed on to Kerim-c8ly-qhan, whom he unhorsed at the first onset, making a great slaughter of his men. Continuing his blow, he fell on Aghyr-qhan, whose troops being mostly new levies, could not stand so furious an attack, and fled on all sides. So that Aghyr-qhan remained only with five or six

Troubles in Pendjab appeared with a great deal of difficulty.

hundred men of old troops, who were all T8ranians or Tartars, armed with bows; and these unwilling to forsake their commander, let fly such showers of arrows, as disordered the Afghans, and slackened their ardour. This was no sooner observed by Aghyr-qhan, than he rushed upon the enemy, bringing down a man at each time he shot an arrow, and encouraging his men with both his voice and example, he soon made so much havoc amongst the Afghans, that Mustepha-qhan was slain, with the best part of the three thousand men that had followed him. Hossëin-aaly-qhan without minding this loss, was pushing with ardour to Adbol-semed-qhan himself; and he fell upon him with so much vigour, that the Moghul General was upon the point of being borne down, having none but men wounded or slain round his elephant. At this critical moment arrived Aghyr-qhan, with his body of victorious Moghuls, and here again he changed the face of the day. Just at this moment the driver of Hossëin-aaly-qhan's elephant fell dead from his seat; and one Shah-bohshec, spiritual director to that General, who used always to carry him seated on his right hand, being also killed, that brave rebel himself was struck in the forehead by a musquet-ball shot by Hafyz-aaly-qhan, and fell down likewise; and from this moment a panic seized his troops, and the trappings and cushions of the elephant having taken fire at the same time, the Afghans who had lost almost all their officers, fell off their ranks, and at last fled openly on all sides. This flight having left a full victory to Abdol-semed-qhan, he rewarded his commanders upon the field of battle; and as Aghyr-qhan had so much contributed to the success of the day, he raised his military grade by five hundred horse, added two hundred more to the six hundred he commanded already, and made him a present of an elephant, a poniard and a sabre. The report of this victory having reached the court, the two brothers wrote letters of encomiums to the Viceroy, and added the title of Seïf-ed-dö8lah, or Sword of the Empire, to all those with which he was already decorated.

Whilst these events were taking place in Pendjab, the Decan was becoming a scene of most serious commotions. Nizam-el-mulk, resolved not to submit to the Sëids, had passed the Nerbedda, which is the northern boundary of that extensive Viceroyalty. His fortune, to which he had entirely committed

The strong fortress of Assîr surrenders to Nizam-el-mulk without a blow.

himself, had favoured him so early, that on his fording that river at Acbar-p8r, the fortress of Assîr, that had cost years of siege and labour to the victorious Soltan Ecber, surrendered to him without a blow. The officers and troops of the garrison assembled at the instigation of their Commander, Taalub-qhan, who owed both his appointment and fortune to the younger of the two brothers; and they delivered the keys to Nizam-el-mulk, who paid them instantly the twenty-four months' arrears which were their due, and besides that, conferred many favours on them. The citadel of B8rhanp8r fell in his hands in much the same manner; and to crown so happy a beginning, Ghō8ss-qhan, Governor of the province of Barar, who bore the character of a man of valour and talents, came to join Nizam-el-mulk, to whom he was nearly allied, and brought with him a good body of old troops and a train of artillery. Hardly was he in camp, when Simbha, a Marhatta officer, who was discontented with the Sah8 Radja, his master, quitted his service, and with two thousand horse, which he commanded, he joined Nizam-el-mulk. This example was followed by some Zemindars of those parts, and by some Afghan chieftains, settled this long while in that country. The defection becoming contagious, even Anver-qhan, Governor of the province of Qhandess, or B8rhanp8r, who owed every thing to Abdollah-qhan, one of the two brothers, came over likewise. What looks pretty singular is, that he was actutlly in Aalem-aaly-qhan's camp, who being a nephew to the two Sëids, had been appointed their Deputy all over the Decan. There hearing of the progresses and motives of Nizam-el-mulk's, he at once forgot all the obligations he owed to the two brothers, and under pretence of providing for the city of B8rhanp8r, he went over to his benefactor's enemy. The approach of so successful a General as Nizam-el-mulk (and he was now called Assef-dja),(135) struck a terror throughout all that tract of ground, insomuch that numbers of Marhatta commanders, who at the head of their troops were collecting the Chō8t everywhere for their master, the Sah8 Radja, fell off from their stations, and gradually retired to Satara. Whilst Nizam-el-mulk was advancing southward, an adventure happened that set that man's character in a very advantageous light. A lady of

As does the citadel of B8rhanp8r.

Fortune sides with Nizam-el-mulk.

(135) Like Assef, Minister to Solomon.

the highest distinction, who knew nothing of the revolution which was actually taking place, was advancing towards the north. It was the mother of Sëif-eddin-aaly-qhan, and, of course, a sister of the two Sëids. She was going to the capital to pay a visit to her son, and she carried with her his consort and several small children. On reaching B8rhanp8r she was amazed to hear of her being upon an enemy's ground, and that Nizam-el-mulk was advancing that way. Struck with the difficulties of her situation, she sent him a man of distinction, with an offer of whatever money and jewels she might have at her disposal, in humble hopes, that he would be contented with such a sacrifice, and would suffer her to proceed on her voyage with honour and safety. Nizam-el-mulk smiled on perusing the letter, and sending for a dress of honour, he ordered his introductor to put it on the lady's Agent, whom he requested to take care of some fruit which he was sending for the children; and calling at the some time for one of his officers who commanded two hundred horse, he bid him wait on the lady with his corps, and gave him strict instructions not to lose sight of her, until he had seen her safe in the camp of Dilaver-aaly-qhan, who commanded the Vezir's army which was marching to attack him. This General, who was provided with everything necessary, had orders to fight and demolish Nizam-el-mulk; and Hossëin-aaly-qhan waited only for letters from him, in order to set out himself for Decan. Ratan-chund, indeed, had more than once proposed to get rid of Nizam-el-mulk by relinquishing to him the Viceroyalty of Decan; but such a proposal shocked all the feelings of his masters, although the northern parts of the Empire seemed convulsed as much as the southern ones. For violent commotions and bloody troubles had arisen in Cashmir.

One Abdol-nebi, a Cashmiriam, better known by the appellation of Muhtevi-qhan, a man, who was this long while infested with the folly of hating all the Gentoos, availed himself of the confusion of the times, to give vent to his aversion. He assembled a number of idle, disorderly, inconsiderate people from amongst the Mussulmen, and went at their head to Mir-ahmed, the Deputy-Governor, and to the Cazy, or Supreme Judge of the Province, to whom he proposed, that henceforward, Hind8s of all sorts should be forbidden the use of horses, djamas, green-

turbands, and arms ;(136) and also that they should be forbidden to go at their stated hours to gardens and bathing places.(137) The Governor and Supreme Magistrate answered calmly : "That "whatever regulations His Majesty should think proper to "promulgate by the advice of the learned Divines of his Court "on those matters, as a standing rule for all the Hind8s of his "dominions, would of course find their way into Cashmir, where "it would be their business, as his special servants, to put them "in execution." This answer having not proved satisfactory to Muhtevi-qhan, that man henceforward made it a practice to attack every Hind8 he chanced to meet, and to use him according to his own wild notions. One day as Sahab-raï, a Gentoo

(136) The green turban and colour, about which the Turks make so much noise, was not the colour of the Messenger's dress; for his surcoat, which had been presented him from the Governor of Damascus, was painted red and white, and his cloak was black ; nor was it of his main standard, neither this was red : and in India, the green is a colour of mourning, as well as the black ; nor do the Hindoos or any others care to wear such a colour, which is difficult to catch, and is never of any duration. The Djama folds upon the breast, which a Nima does not, and in order to have a tolerable idea of either, the European reader must suppose a short dress reaching to the navel, and fitting so close to the body, as well as the arms, as to look like another skin; at the navel is sewn to it a petticoat that reaches to the ancles, or lower, so ample as to be seven or eight, or ten and fifteen times ampler than any European woman's petticoat. Dost-mahmed-qhan had at Calcutta a Djama of an hundred and one breadths of Mulmul.

(137) This was a great hardship; for besides being invited to the bathing places by the heat of the climate, the Hindoos, either man or woman, are enjoined very frequent ablutions by their religion ; nor can they take their meat, or proceed on their devotions without a previous ablution. But what seems very singular is that although both sexes in general bathe pell-mell, with hardly any distance between the individuals, (and this is done several times in the day time) there is no example of the least immodesty, although the men bathe with their bodies naked down to the navel, and the women wear such thin clothes, and in so small a quantity, that they might be easily seen throughout. The wonder is how they contrive in your very presence to come ashore in their wet clothes, and to put on dry ones, without it being possible to the eye, most expert at travelling over a woman's body, to make the smallest discovery. As to what the author calls the gardens, it must be observed that although there are not in India such public gardens as those in London and Paris, for the beau-monde, yet nothing is more common for companies of men, and companies of women, and sometimes for mixed ones, to repair to any gardens or seats that chance throws in their way in the suburbs or elsewhere; a garden, an orchard and a seat being time out of mind, as free to all the world all over India, as is a well, or a pond ; and nothing amazes and disgusts the Hindostanies more, when they come to Calcutta, than to see so many seats, and gardens, *all shut up*.

of distinction, was giving an entertainment at a garden in the suburbs, that satellite of the devil, instigated by his master, fell unexpectedly on these innocent people, and killed, and wounded, and mangled as many as he could come at. Sahab-raï finding himself aimed at, fled to Mir-ahmed-qhan the Governor's lodgings; and whilst he was concealed there, his house in town was set upon by Muhtevi-qhan and his followers, who plundered and sacked it leisurely. They likewise plundered that whole Gentoo quarter, after which they set it on fire, killing and dispersing not only as many Gentoos as came out to entreat their mercy, but as many Mussulmen besides as attempted to intercede for the latter. Heated with this performance, they marched down to the Governor's lodgings, which they attacked at first with stones and brick-bats, and at last with arrows and musquet-balls; and whoever came out of it, or fell otherwise in their hands, was sure of being insulted and plundered, if not killed and stripped upon the spot. The Deputy-Governor remained besieged for a whole day and night; nor would it have been possible for him to escape, had he not risked several contrivances, and exposed himself to the most imminent peril. The next day he assembled some soldiers, and some other people, mounted his horse, and being supported by his Paymaster, Shah-yor-qhan, and by several Mansubdars and Crown-servants, he advanced towards the seditious wretch. But that infernal man, who had received advice of his design, had assembled a vast number of men of his own stamp, with intention to stand his ground; and on observing that the Deputy-Governor had advanced on this side of a bridge, then full in view, he sent some of his satellites who set it on fire, and who following their blow, set on fire all the streets in his flank and rear, whilst some others of his people getting amongst the ruins, as well as on the tops of the houses, made incessant discharges of musquetry, arrows, stones, and brick-bats; and their wives and children were striving to outdo them, by tossing basketfuls of human-dung and other immondices, and by throwing every missile they could think of; and a furious combat was going on. In a little time Sëid-veli, nephew to the Deputy-Governor, and Zulficar-beg, the Cotval's Lieutenant, were slain, with a number of others; and many more being grievously wounded, or disabled, Mir-ahmed-qhan saw himself almost alone. Unable

Furious commotions in Cashmir.

to go back, and afraid of advancing, as well as of stopping, he had recourse to entreaties and supplications; and after undergoing every sort of opprobrium and outrage, short of death, he was suffered to escape. Muhtevi-qhan, now fiercer than ever, returned to the Governor's house, where Sahab-raï had taken shelter, with a multitude of Gentoos of all sorts; and having forced it in a twinkle, he seized every one of them, killed some, cut the nose of others, and circumcised all those he thought proper to conserve, but all this with so unfeeling a precipitation, that some had their penis cut off. The next day, he repaired at the head of a great throng to the Cathedral Mosque, where, of his own authority, he deposed the Deputy-Governor, proclaimed himself in his stead by the style and title of Dindar-qhan,(138) Supreme Ruler of the Mussulmen, and ordered that, until the arrival of another Deputy-Governor, the Cazy should hear and determine all matters relative to distributive justice; insomuch that for five months together, Mir-ahmed remained a private man in his own capital, Muhtevi-qhan sitting every day in state in the cathedral, and hearing and determining all contentions about matters of finance and government, or even about whatever concerned the distributive justice.

These disturbances having been taken notice of at court, Moommin-qhan was sent to Cashmir, as Deputy on the part Ynaïet-ollah-qhan, who had the government of the province. This intelligence intimidated Muhtevi-qhan, who by this time had very much cooled, so as to become sensible of all the consequences of what he had done. In the first emotion which he felt, he took two small children of his by the hand, and went with them to Qhadja-Abdollah, one of the principal Religious of the city, with whom he had an acquaintance; and as he had heard that he intended to go out to meet the new Deputy-Governor at the head of the principal Religious and the principal citizens, he wished to be of his company in such a day. The holy man answered that he had no objections; but that he thought he would act with more propriety, were he to go to the Paymaster, Mir-shah-yor, first whose forgiveness he ought to ask for what had passed. Muhtevi-qhan being of the same opinion, went to the Paymaster's lodgings, where the latter had, by the Qhadja's

(138) The Lord endowed with faith.

advice, concealed a number of men from the Djud-bell, that much injured quarter of the city. On his entering the room, a few words were exchanged with him, when the Paymaster feeling some urgent necessity within his body, excused himself and went away; and this being the signal agreed upon, the concealed men rushed from their corners, and first of all ripped open, in his face, *the two children's bellies, and then falling upon him, they put him to death with* all that variety of tortures which resentment could contrive. Hardly had this execution taken place, when his followers resolved to revenge his death; and running to the Djud-bell, they commenced killing, wounding, beating, and mangling the inhabitants, after which they set the houses on fire. About three thousand men were hacked to pieces by these scelerats, and these proved to be mostly Moghuls, merchants, and other strangers come for the purpose of trade. An infinity of women and children were likewise seized on, and carried away as fair booty. Property to the amount of several lacs was carried away, likewise, or spoiled utterly; nor is there describing the usage offered to those defenceless people that were carried away by those miscreants. These infernal men, after having finished what they called the first volume of their religious war, proceeded to the second, that is, they marched in a body to the lodgings of the Cazi, and of the Paymaster. The latter found means to remain concealed; the Cazi changed his dress and slunk away; and the scelerats incensed at his escape, tore up his house from the foundation, and handing the materials about, they left not a brick on the spot. It was some days after this execution that Moommin-qhan, the new commandant, arrived. His first care was to send Mir-ahmed-qhan to a place of safety His second, to re-establish order and subordination; a difficult task this in a country known for a disposition to turbulency, and for being inhabited by a wicked race of men with whom a man in power must make a shift to live sometimes by yielding and as often by stiffening.

Whilst the northern parts of the Empire were recovering from a state of convulsion, the southern ones were becoming the theatre of a very dangerous war, that struck at the very being of the two brother Sëids. We have left Dilaver-aaly-qhan in full march for B8rhanp8r. Nizam-el-mulk, informed of his motions, sent against him some of his best Generals with his best troops, to whom he

soon joined Ghö8ss-qhan's cavalry, with a train of artillery and a camp-equipage, the whole under command of his trusty friend, Ynaiët-qhan. Himself mounting his elephant, came out of the city with Ghö8ss-qhan, his kinsman, and the rest of his army, and he encamped in the neighbourhood, so as to be at hand to succour Ynaiët-qhan. As soon as the enemy was discovered, Ynaiët-qhan drew up his army, and pursuing Nizam-el-mulk's instructions, he placed the greatest part of his light and heavy artillery behind a bushy ground, where it remained loaded with that small ball called *churra* in India. It was along a brook whose shady banks seemed calculated for concealing it from sight; and such was its commander's intention, who had under his orders a numerous body of men, whose valour had been tried, and which Nizam-el-mulk knew to be capable of conserving their presence of mind in a moment of trepidation and danger. On the other hand, Dilaver-aaly-qhan, with that fiery courage peculiar to him, and that obtuseness of understanding become proverbial for the men of Barr, advanced armed and mounted, in company with Dost-mahmed-qhan, an Afghan commander; and he ranged his army in this manner:—He was himself at the head of eleven thousand horse, and the two Gentoo Princes, Behim-sing and Gudj-sing followed with a compact body of Radjp8ts. On the back of these were his artillery, and behind all, were his war-elephants. It was with such an order of battle he was advancing in a frantic manner against the enemy who waited steadily for him. Ynaiët-qhan, on the contrary, was watching the motions of his enemy. The battle commenced by discharges of musquetry and rockets, when Dilaver-aaly-qhan, inflamed by the sight of his foes, and unable to contain himself, advanced farther and farther on the retiring enemy, without ever suspecting anything of the ambuscade which lay in wait for him, until he found himself upon very unequal ground, which necessarily obliged his troops to break and discompose their ranks. Unmindful of this disorder, he was pushing on, until he arrived over against that bushy ground which concealed the ambuscade, and where he was expected by a steady body of men, who taking aim leisurely, let fly a general discharge of musquetry, cannon, and rockets, which brought down almost the whole of those that followed him so eagerly. Those behind, terrified by that terrible execution, availed themselves of the smoke which had covered the

Battle of B8rhanp8r.

plain, to quit the combat and to retreat; insomuch that Dilaver-aaly-qhan was left almost alone, and with no one about his person, but the two Radjas, and about four or five hundred men. As the ground was too uneven for either a horse or an elephant to move with ease, and the greatest part of the cavalry with the Radjp8ts were lying dead or wounded on the field of battle, whilst the rest were flying on all sides, Dost-mahmed-qhan, that Afgan of so much courage and so great a character, thought proper to retire likewise, the sense of honour having been superceded in him by a sense of fear; for fortune had already turned her back on the two brothers, and nothing that concerned them could be brought to take a favourable issue. Dilaver-aaly-qhan, in despair to see the discomfiture of his whole army, still pushed on with the two Radjahs and his brave troops, resolved not to survive his shame; and these being shot at like so many marks, were all slain to a man. This victory which had almost destroyed the enemy's army, cost hardly anything to Nizam-el-mulk; and it is agreed on all hands that he did not lose a single officer. The enemy flying everywhere, a shout of victory arose in the victorious army; and Dilaver-aaly-qhan's military-chest, baggage, artillery, and equipage, with every thing that could escape a general pillage, was taken possession of for Nizam-el-mulk's use. This General, now in full possession of victory, returned in triumph to B8rhanp8r, where he spent his time in cherishing the inhabitants, and in rewarding his troops with elephants, dresses of honour, rich arms, and other favours, whilst he took care to relieve the wounded by giving them money and medicines.

The report of this victory having soon reached the capital, gave a secret but sincere satisfaction to the Emperor, as well as to Mahmed-amin-qhan, and to all those who professed an attachment to that Prince; but it struck the two brothers with fear and anxiety. They were holding consultations every day. Sometimes they proposed to march against Nizam-el-mulk together; and sometimes they thought it better to carry the Emperor to the capital, where he should be left under the care of the elder brother, whilst Hossëin-aaly-qhan, the younger, should march against the dangerous rival that had risen in Decan. At one time, they had a mind to carry the Emperor in the middle of the theatre of war, so as to make him partake their own danger; and

at another, they thought it more decent first of all to send for Hossëin-aaly-qhan's consort and children, and then only to think of marching against Nizam-el-mulk. Another object of debate amongst them was Mahmed-amin-qhan, who did not doubt himself of his giving them very great umbrage, insomuch that the public report was one day, that he had been put to death by the Sëids, or, at least, arrested; and another, that a reconciliation had taken place, and that every subject of animosity was buried in oblivion. They say, that the younger brother voted for his being put to death; but that the elder, who objected that oaths and promises had intervened between himself and the T8ranian Lord, objected that such a death would be ungenerous, and, at any rate, dishonourable, and even inexpedient. The dispute grew warm on that single subject; and the elder brother was heard to say: "*My life is a pendant of his; if you be bent on killing him, then kill me also, or let me kill myself.*" It was after such debates that his life was spared at last; and, indeed, as he was predestinated to kill Hossëin-aaly-qhan himself, how could he come to be killed by him?

Great debates between the two brothers.

The mighty events with which the womb of time was evidently pregnant, seemed to have been prognosticated by the convulsions which all the elements underwent at this time. On the twenty-second of the blessed month of Ramazan,(139) in the year 1233, as the people were assembled at the cathedral at a little past twelve, to say their noon-prayers, and to assist at the Qothba, on a sudden the whole building was shaken by a violent earthquake, and bricks fell from the cupola to the great terror of the congregation, who thought that something mighty and unusual was presaged by such an event, or that it reminded them of some past one. Most of the houses in Shah-djehan-abad and in old Delhi fell down, or were shaken to the very foundations. Numbers of inhabitants were crushed under the ruins, and numbers

The capital of the Empire almost destroyed by an earthquake.

(139) The Ramazan is the lent-time of the Mahometans, who say that the gates of Paradise remain at that time full open. But an European reader would be egregiously mistaken, who should think that this lent has any thing similar to that of the Christians, who abstain from flesh, to fare luxuriously on fish. A Mahometan cannot touch any food or drink from sunrise to sunset. Touching a woman, touching one's self voluptuously, looking at a woman luxuriously, smoking, taking snuff, smelling to perfumes or flowers, looking at anything with pleasure, renders the fast void, and of no merit.

were wounded and maimed, and the rumbling noise underground was so frightful and repeated that it spread dismay and consternation in every heart. There were that day no less than nine such *successive shocks, and they overturned most of the houses in the city*. The earth continued shaking violently for forty days and forty nights together, producing every day some new damage to the shattered buildings. Noises, voices, and groans were now and then heard from underground; and the affrighted inhabitants were in such a dismay, that no man in his senses had the daringness to sleep in a place shut up, or under a roof. After these forty days of continual shaking, the earth seemed to have settled indeed, but not without undergoing now and then some slighter commotions during the four or five months that followed. And commotions were yet felt, when on the first of Zilcad, it was determined in a grand council, that the Emperor's camp-equipage, with that of the Vezir's, should quit the environs of Ecber-abad, in order to march to the capital; and that the younger brother, Hossëin-aaly-qhan, who was fond of war, should with a number of noblemen accustomed to a camp-life, set out at the head of a numerous army, for an expedition into Decan.

Whilst the preparatives for such a campaign were making, the tale-tellers were so busy, and the suspicions entertained of all the T8ranians were so rooted, that Mahmed-amin-qhan's life and death came again to be an object of debate. Disputes arose about his fate, and the differences in opinion having transpired abroad, became a general topic all overt he city. Matters became so critical that, expecting every moment an attack upon his person, he used to sleep in armour, and to be surrounded day and night by a body of T8ranians devoted to his interests. At last, and whilst extremities of the most fatal kind were expected, both parties came to an accommodation; and mutual promises, and solemn and tremendous oaths were interchanged with solemn asseverations of a sincerity quite distant from disguise and treason. How far all these protestations were sincere on the part of one of the two parties, we shall soon have occasion to see, and meanwhile we shall resume our narrative of the projected campaign in Decan. .

As the vanquished army had been almost destroyed, the very few that had escaped from that field of slaughter, but which

did not amount to more than two or three thousand men, made the best of their way to Aalem-aaly-qhan's army in the most wretched condition imaginable, whilst Nizam-el-mulk employed that time of respite in repairing his artillery and camp-equipage, in providing ammunition, and in distributing medicines to his wounded, as well as in quieting the minds of the citizens, and in recruiting his troops, whose hearts he was gaining by every means in his power. But his main business, although in secret, was how to debauch and entice away Aalem-aaly-qhan's soldiers and officers; the more so, as while he was busy in debauching the other's soldiers, he was losing some of his own. Anver-qhan, that ungrateful man who had so far forgot all the obligations he owed to the two brothers, as to go over to Nizam-el-mulk's party, now turned again to the other side, as if a single treason could not have answered his turn. He wrote to Aalem-aaly-qhan: "That Nizam-el-mulk was not grown so powerful, as "that he might not be crushed by a timely diligence and a rapid "march, whilst he spent his time in making up medicines, and "in establishing contributions, an inaction which afforded a pre-"cious opportunity which men of genius would not let slip out "of their hands." This letter having been intercepted, served only to render the writer despicable, and to bring so much the nearer the punition which he deserved.

Aalem-aaly-qhan, who had no need of such an incitement, set out in the beginning of Ramazan, with an army of twenty-five thousand horse, amongst which were ten or twelve thousand Marhattas of the Sah8 Radjah's, under the command of Cand8-behary and Sancradj-malhar. He was likewise attended by some commanders of character, who remembering how they had shed their blood more than once under Hossëin-aaly-qhan's command, were attached to his cause, and devoted to his person Several other officers and persons of distinction were in his army; some out of sincere zeal, and some by a principle of time-serving. With these troops Aalem-aaly-qhan thought himself a match for the enemy; and having with some difficulty carried his army through the difficult pass of Feridap8r, which is midway betwixt the Qhandess and the Aorengabad, he encamped in the neighbourhood of the latter city, where his Marhatta horse, faithful to their wonted custom, spread all over the plain and plundered all the villages.

These ravages engaged Nizam-el-mulk to send his family and heavy baggage within the fortress of Assîr, and then to meet his enemy in the field. But the river P8rna, which flows at about seventeen cosses from B8rhanp8r, being then swollen by the rains, was likely to occasion much delay, had he not been extricated by Ghŏ8ss-qhan. This General, who was acquainted with the country, proposed to march about eighteen cosses higher by the left, towards a spot which he knew to have a ford; and to this they arrived sooner than expected by by-ways, which were pointed out by the Zemindars of the country. So that Nizam-el-mulk, having forded over, was already in full march towards the enemy, before the latter knew any thing of his approach. At last he received intelligence, and marched up to his antagonist, whilst the latter's Marhatta horse, to be beforehand with what booty might be had, ran forwards, and by scouring the country occasioned a dearth and a scarcity in Nizam-el-mulk's army. Especially as the heavy rains which were falling daily, had spoiled the roads, and the Marhatta horse were perpetually harassing him on all sides; insomuch that it became difficult to move; and here again Ghŏ8ss-qhan was of great service. At the head of some thousands of those Marhatta horse that served in Nizam-el-mulk's army, he cut his way through the other freebooters, and was followed by that General, who found himself obliged to advance through perpetual skirmishes; his intention being to avoid a general action, until he might find a field of battle to his mind. Having found it at last about the town of Balap8r, he prepared for a battle. So soon as the two armies had got sight of each other, Aalem-aaly-qhan prepared to attack the enemy: and this was the fifth of Shevval. He put his first line under the command of Munevver-qhan, and Ghalub-aaly-qhan, the Decanian, and supported their right by several corps commanded by Aamin-qhan, brother to Qhan-aalem, by Umer-qhan, cousin to the late Da8d-qhan-peni, and by Shimshir-qhan, Eshref-qhan, and Fidvi-qhan, which last was Divan to Muntehi-qhan. That officer, as well as Mahmedi-beg, his brother, were two commanders of consequence, renowned for their valour and military talents. His left he filled with the several corps, commanded by Refaïet-taaleb-qhan, and Qhadja-rahmet-qhan, and by some other officers of character, to whom he added all the Marhatta cavalry,

Destructive battle of Balap8r, where the army of the two Sëids is almost destroyed.

with strict injunction not to mix their ranks. Aalem-aaly-qhan himself took his post in the centre, where he shared his elephant with Ghăiass-qhan. His artillery marched in front surrounded by ten or twelve thousand musqueteers of the Carnatec, supported themselves by a number of war-elephants, that looked like so many mountains cased in iron. The General having reviewed his order of battle, seemed easy in his mind, and he was advancing with a cheerful countenance, pleased to find he was going to an engagement likely to prove decisive. But he was but freshly arrived in those parts, unacquainted with the nature of the country, and totally unexperienced; and although he was informed that Dilaver-aaly-qhan had lost both his life and army by giving way to the ardour of his temper, which had carried him headlong into an ambuscade, of which, with a little more precaution, he might have got timely intelligence, nevertheless, he fell himself headlong in the same snare, where, after exhibiting prodigies of valour and activity, he saw his sweet life cropped up in the very flower of his youth. The truth of the matter is, that he was under the actual impulse of fate, and that

> " By no scheme and by no contrivance is one's destiny to be escaped,
> " Be it by a hoary old man or by an unexperienced youth."

On the morning of the sixth of the month, Aalem-aaly-qhan, surrounded by thirty or forty commanders, all mounted on elephants, marched to the enemy with a blind security, which history can neither conceal nor dissemble.

Nizam-el-mulk, on his side, gave the command of his first line to the brave Merhamet-qhan, and to make a trial of his son, Ghazi-eddin-qhan's fortune, he joined him to that renowned officer. Abdol-rahim-qhan, Raïet-qhan, Saad-eddin-qhan, Darab-qhan, and Camïab-qhan, and Ynaïet-qhan, all at the head of their troops, were distributed in his right and left wings, together with those corps commanded by Cadyr-dad-qhan, Ahtisass-qhan, and Rohollah-qhan, and Dilir-qhan, and Anver-qhan. To those troops he added all the Radjp8ts commanded by some Radjahs, and all those brought by some commanders, highly discontented with the two brothers, as well as fond of war and battle. Himself took his post in the centre, with Ghö8ss-qhan at his side. As to the troops brought by some Zemindars, as well as some thousands of Marhatta cavalry, he thought it better to leave them in his camp under

Renbah, their General, with orders to secure his camp against the enemy's Marhatta horse. He had a numerous artillery, which had been vastly augmented by what he drew from the fortress of Assir and B8rhanp8r, but especially by that whole train which he had found after his late victory. All this he placed in his front, in full view of the enemy; but as soon as it became dark, he sent great part of it to the left and right, where it was concealed by a bushy ground from the enemy's sight, and ranged with skill by men of tried valour and abilities. All these were loaded with *churrah* or small ball, and intermixed with swivels, wall-pieces and rockets, stationed by his own particular direction. He had hardly done, when Aalem-aaly-qhan's army was seen in motion; and the action commenced by the forlorn hope, consisting of ten or twelve thousand horse, which under the command of Munevver-qhan pushed for the enemy's artillery. But upon the first discharge he was slain together with some of the bravest of his men, who were all from Barr, or from Decan. On sight of this, the first line of Nizam-el-mulk's, which was mostly composed of Moghuls, charged the enemy's line, which they threw instantly into confusion; and this being reported to Aalem-aaly-qhan, he took a number of choice troops, and marched in haste to repair the disorder which he now perceived in his centre; and here the battle growing warm, Aalem-aaly-qhan, who was the foremost in every attack, overthrew the enemy, confounded their ranks, and made them lose ground. Flushed with this success, he pushed on with ardour, but without the least caution. The enemy was falling back, Aalem-aaly-qhan was pursuing, and both parties were drawing nearer and nearer to that fatal spot, where such an infinity of fire-mouths were concealed. All this artillery was under the management of a body of tried men, personally inimical to the two Seids; and fire being given to it, all those guns loaded with grape, and all those swivels and rockets, went off at once and the same time, and gave an image of the Day of Judgment. The sun's light was darkened by the smoke, and the day was turned into night. When it cleared up a little, Munevver-qhan, the commander of the van, with Ghalub-qhan, and Shimshir-qhan, and Ashref-qhan, and Qhadja-rahmet-qhan, and Muntehi-qhan, and Mahmedi-beg, with a vast number of the bravest commanders and soldiers were seen dead, or sprawling in their own blood.

The best and greatest part of the cavalry was destroyed or disabled. But this did not discourage Aalem-aaly-qhan ; although wounded, he made a stand, and rallied round his person a number of veteran soldiers, all accustomed to battle, all ready to part with their blood in his cause, and all capable to face so many lions in a wilderness. With these he kept on advancing, when he was stopped by Yqhtisass-qhan, and by Ynaïet-qhan, who had just been wounded in the eye by an arrow, as well as by numbers who could not help admiring the valour of that young hero. And here commenced a long and bloody contest, which could not be ended but by Yqhtisass-qhan's joining Aalem-aaly-qhan, and cutting off one of his arms at one blow. This wound having disabled him, he was overpowered by some of the bravest of the enemies, and slain on the spot, together with nineteen other commanders of character, and the greatest part of that brave body that had kept pace with him. The young Sëid cheerfully parted with all his blood, and with a face glowing with victory, he went to join his holy and valiant ancestors.(140) Sancradji, the Marhatta commander, who followed next to Aalem-aaly-qhan with a number of the bravest of his nation, was wounded and taken prisoner, as was his brave troops.

Whilst such a scene of slaughter occupied every one, Omer-qhan, brother to the late Da8d-qhan-peni, and Aamin-qhan, brother to Qhan-aalem, two commanders who had treacherously taken service with Aalem-aaly-qhan, availing themselves of the general confusion, seized on three or four elephants, and on three or four lacs of rupees, and slyly parted with the field of battle, as they thought, but as they really did, with their own honour, and character. Wheeling round with a number of troops as treacherous as themselves, they went to surrender to Nizam-el-mulk. That General ordered the enemy's artillery, military chest, camp-equipage, and whatever belonged to the commanders slain in

Aalem-aaly-qhan is slain fighting valiantly.

(140) He was a Sëid, and, of course, descended from Aaly, surnamed by the Shyahs, the King of Braves. But in general, all the saints of ancient date amongst the Mahometan, were to a man very pious as well as intrepid warriors. Nor would unwarlike saints be liked by the Mussulmen. So that a certain Christian saint, who having scooped to himself a cloak of free-stone, with which he used to run about in the sun, would not make a fortune amongst them even to-day; no more than he who perched on the top of a lofty column, as well as he who suffered himself to be eaten up by vermin, in order, as he said, to gain heaven.

battle, to be seized on for his use, as much of it at least as could escape a general plunder. It was observed in this second battle, as had been already in the former, that the victor's troops suffered so little, that not a man of character was slain amongst them, and that he had hardly any wounded. Some citizens and some officers who were of the number, were soon cured with the unguent of his liberality, and the cerate of his encomiums and favours.

When intelligence of this disaster was brought to the two brothers, it threw them into a state which it would be difficult to describe; especially the younger, who from his deep sense of such a reverse of fortune, was consuming inwardly by grief and impatience; and he really suffered the agonies of death, whenever he reflected that his consort and family were yet in Decan. Fortunately for him, in a few days more, he received intelligence that, before Nizam-el-mulk's approach to Aorengabad, the Governor of Dŏ8let-abad,(141) although ill used by the two Sëids, and very dissatisfied with their proceedings, had had the generousity to receive that forlorn family with all their dependants and effects within that strong fortress. What is singular in that Governor is, that he was actually upon ill terms with the very man to whose consort and children he was affording all the assistance and all the conveniencies in his power. In a word, he took an ample revenge of the two Sëids, by conferring upon them an important benefit at a most critical time.

Generous action of the Governor of Dŏ8let-abad.

"To return evil for evil is sometimes a very easy matter;
"Return good for evil, if thou be a man."

Hossëin-aaly-qhan, on hearing such a comforting piece of news, recollected his wonted firmness, and became easy in his mind; although he heard at the same time that Mubaruz-qhan, Governor of the kingdom of Haïderabad, as well as Dilaver-aaly-qhan,

(141) Dŏ8let-abad, like G8aliar, and Gandi-cotta, and so many other fortresses in India, has the same advantage which have Gibralter and Malta all over the world. They are inattackable. Dŏ8let-abad occupies a mountain divided in three enceintes one above another, to none of which there is any access but by a subterraneous passage cut in the rock, which by a ladder and a grate of iron enables a man to get into the story or enceinte above. The lower one is within, level with the rock, and without, it is escarped to the height of a hundred feet; and this frightful rampart is defended by a frightful fosse, sixty or a hundred feet deep, full as much in breadth, and teeming with alligators. The whole mountain is cut into subterraneous apartments for the garrison, and for immense stores of water and provision, and all that is bomb-proof as well as mine-proof.

his brother-in-law, had both quitted his party, and gone over to Nizam-el-mulk, to whom they carried a body of seven or eight thousand horse.

The news from Decan becoming every day more serious, the two brothers held frequent councils together on the subject; and after much examination and debate, it was at last determined that Abdollah-qhan, who was the Emperor's deputy by his office, should march to the capital, in order to overawe it into submission and quietness; but that Hossëin-aaly-qhan should march with that Prince in Decan at the head of a numerous army. This resolution having been several times examined and confirmed, the Viceroy turned his whole attention towards making great additions to his army and to his artillery. With that view he dispatched Sëid-mahmed-qhan with money and letters of array to the brave inhabitants of Barr, and to the Afghans who lived beyond them, whose bravest commanders he invited over to his service; and he was so well served, that in a little time he saw himself at the head of fifty thousand horse. He had the Imperial guards besides, and a number of Radjas with their Radjp8ts; and he was followed by an infinity of persons of distinction, who went as volunteers, desirous to signalise themselves under such a commander. His train of artillery was composed of such large cannon, that it seemed intended for shaking the earth on its foundations; and it was under the care of a numerous body of musqueteers formed by himself, whose unerring balls seemed to be so many expresses dispatched by fate. All this army having been reviewed about the end of Shevval, Hossëin-aaly-qhan sent his equipage upon the high road of Decan, and that same day he advanced with the Emperor at two cosses distance from Ecber-abad. But as the last hour which was allowed him by his destiny was at hand, he became guilty of several improper proceedings, which cannot be ascribed to any thing else, but to the imperiousness of fate. He took from Sëid-qhan-djehan the office of Grandmaster of the artillery, and gave it to Haïder-c8ly-qhan, an office of the utmost importance, and which always involved the disposal of the Emperor's household, family, and even person. Several days more having been spent in that encampment, it was the ninth of the next month of Zilcaad, when the Emperor, quitting the Imperial residence of Ecber-abad, advanced three cosses on the road of

Hossëin-aaly-qhan, after many consultations, resolves on marching to Decan in person.

Decan,(142) on a spot of ground which he ennobled by his presence. He was attended by the Vezir Abdollah-qhan, who waited only for a proper opportunity to take his leave, and to commence his journey towards the capital; for as the anniversary of the Emperor's coronation was at hand, and fell on the fifteenth, he wanted to assist at the ceremonies and rejoicings usual on that occasion, and then only to commence his journey.(143) Hossëin-aaly-qhan objected to so much delay, and he engaged the Emperor to dismiss the Vezir more early, after which he decamped himself with the Emperor; and on the fourteenth, he had marched one full stage more, to stop at Fateh-poor, at which town he spent three or four days in rejoicings for the anniversary of the Emperor's coronation. These being over, he thought only of marching by long stages to Decan. But his brother, Abdollah-qhan, remained in the same spot two or three days more with Hamed-qhan, uncle to Nizam-el-mulk, and some other lords that had neither wings nor feathers, such as, Ghazi-eddin-qhan, Ghalub-qhan, and many others. After this stay, the reason of which no one could guess, he set out for the capital, and in the road was met by Mahmed-qhan-bangash, the Afghan; who not satisfied with some lacks of rupees which he had touched from Hossëin-aaly-qhan, under promise of following him with his body of national troops, protested a want of money, and got fifty thousand rupees more from the Vezir. The latter continued his march to the capital, whilst his brother was intent on marching into Decan.

The Vezir continuing to advance, was at two short journeys from the capital, when he received intelligence that his brother

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(142) This slowness of motion and the smallness of these stages are in the notions of the Indians a part of the state that must attend a great man, together with an immense retinue, that keeps the master involved in a perpetual cloud of dust. But all these notions have been overturned by the English conquerors, who, travelling by land with no retinue at all, and with all the expedition possible, have taught the Indians to enjoy an atmosphere free from dust, and even to travel in post.

(143) One of these ceremonies consists in weighing the Emperor's person in a pair of golden scales against a quantity of articles, which being so dissimilar to each other, must have some meaning or some intention concealed under these appearances. These articles are gold, quicksilver, artificial perfumes, musk, vitriol of sorts, intoxicating drugs, (such as opium, bang, &c., &c.) several kinds of grain, namely, wheat, barley, rice, badjraw, dal, &c., &c., salt, boiled butter, iron, &c.

had been killed, together with his younger brother, N8r-eddin-aaly-qhan, and his nephew, Ghaïret-qhan. This intelligence was contained in a short note brought by a dromedary courier, which Ratan-chund had hurried away on the first tumult. And here is a detail of this event.

As the Emperor was a mere cipher in his own dominions, his situation set daggers in the hearts of some nobles and lords of the old court of A8reng-zib's, such as, Nizam-el-mulk, Mahmed-aamin-qhan, and several others, who beheld with indignation the enormous power of the two brothers, and were perpetually revolving in their minds the various means by which they might be delivered from a boundless influence, so injurious to the Imperial family, and so capable to eclipse them with every one of their party. Mahmed-aamin-qhan, although narrowly watched, had found means to say a few words of Turkish to the Emperor, both to obtain his consent, and to put him upon his guard; and this consent having been imparted to Nizam-el-mulk, it put him upon asserting his own independence and upon wresting all the Decan from the two brothers; and it is to these intrigues at court, and to that General's exertions in the field, that Dilaver-aaly-qhan and Aalem-aaly-qhan owed their misfortune, although after all, it cannot be denied but that the whole did happen by the immediate impulse of an unavoidable destiny. For Mahmed-aamin-qhan, who saw that the Viceroy was bent on the destruction of of his confederate, Nizam-el-mulk, and who suspected that the latter was not a match for his adversary, concluded that his ruin would be followed by his own downfall and that of all the T8-ranians. Impressed with such ideas, he was watching day and night with his confederates for a favourable opportunity of falling at once upon Hossëin-aaly-qhan, and of making an end of him. But it must not be believed that they would have raised their views so high, had they not been assured of a vigorous support by a powerful party; and this they were augmenting every day. The first person they thought of acquiring, was Sëid-mahmed-aamin, better known under the name of Saadet-qhan, an Iranian, born at Nishap8r, in Qhorassan. This man's first rise in the world was by appearing as Colonel or Hezary in that corps of of Musqueteer guards called Vala-shahies. It was in Feroh-syur's time. Some time after, he was promoted to the Fojdary of

Conspiracy against Hossëin-aaly-qhan.

Hendon-biana, one of the principal and most refractory districts of the province of Ecber-abad. It was here he first gave a specimen of his valour and abilities. With a few troops which he obtained from the Vezir Abdollah, and a few more which he added of his own, he found means to bring that whole country under order and control; and this service having produced him an augmentation of five hundred horse to his military grade, he henceforward became known at Court, where he bore the character of a resolute man and an able commander; and he was now come to camp to carry some points of his own. Mahmed-aamin-qhan, finding by his looks that he was exactly cut out for his purpose, insinuated himself so artfully into his mind, that he became henceforward his bosom companion, and the depositary of all his secrets; and as this association had been greatly facilitated by their being both Moghuls,(144) they cast their eyes upon a third Moghul, a man altogether fit for their purpose. This was Mir-haïder-qhan, a Djagatäi Calmuc,(145) of Cashghar, in T8ran, whose family enjoying these many years the office of sword-bearer, or Mir-shimshir, to the Prince of that northern country, had assumed the appellation of Mirs or Miranies. He was sounded by the two confederates; and Mir-haïder, who was a man of an intrepid daring temper, whom no danger could appal, accepted the proposal, not only out of a principle of ambition, but also out of a religious zeal, he being as zealous a Sunny, as the Viceroy was a zealous Shyah. He even took upon himself the task of dispatching him with his own hand, a desperate attempt that had never entered the head of a man in his sober senses. These three resolute men being closely knit together by a conformity of characters and a similarity of views, were examining amongst

(144) It has been already observed that all strangers of a fair complexion are called Moghuls in India: a mistake arising from that infinity of Iranians or Persians which were in the Moghul-army, that invaded India under Djenghis-qhan and under Tamer-lang; so that the Indians, who till then had no other name for all the northern people but that of Turk which they pronounced T8rk, took them to be all of the same race, and have since given them the appellation of Moghuls, sometimes distinguishing them into Moghuls, T8ranian and Iranian. The Turks that inhabit to-day that part of the Roman Empire known to the Asiatics, are called R8mis or Romis: an appellaton which the Turks themselves give to those inhabiting Romania and Anatoly. The Europeans are all called Frenghis or French.

(145) Tamer-lang as well as Djengis-qhan were of the Djag8ti tribe.

themselves who should give the first blow, and in what manner; and having for this purpose applied to the Coran, the sort fell on Mir-haïder, that man unworthy of living either in this world or the other. This man without suspecting how near he was to his own end, framed a petition full of complaints against Mahmed-aamin-qhan; and to present it, he took for his partner a countryman of his, who was his particular friend, and whom he knew to be as stout and as daring as himself. It was on a Tuesday, which fell on the sixth of Zilhidj, in the year 1132 of the Hejrah. The army was encamped at fifty cosses south of Ecber-abad, and the Emperor was just alighting to get into his quarters. This moment having been seized by Mahmed-aamin-qhan, to drop a few Turkish words, by which he advised him to be ready and upon his guard, he made his bow, and retired to the quarters of Haïder-c8ly-qhan, who was one of the principal conspirators. As he was retiring, the Viceroy advanced, and having accompanied the Emperor as far as the first entrance of the Ladies enclosure, where he saw him enter, he withdrew, and took the road of his own quarters, which being in the vanguard, could not be at less than one cosse distance. As he was approaching the outlet of the Imperial paling, called Calal-para, Mir-haïder, who had availed himself of a rising ground to shew himself from afar, and to make his bow, raised his petition as high as he could; but the chopdars, and slave-guards having forbidden his approaching nearer, fate, unavoidable fate, put it into the Viceroy's mind to becon to the man, and to command his people to let him draw nearer. Mir-haïder having augured well of this extraordinary condescendence, drew close, presented his petition, and as the Viceroy's paleki was going on, he went on likewise, holding, as it is usual on those occasions, the foot of that carriage with one hand,(146) whilst he gesticulated with the other, in explaining the objects of his complaints. But the moment he saw his attention engaged by the contents of the petition, he drew his poniard, and gave that valorous innocent Sëid such a violent stab, as threw him on the opposite side of the paleki, where he expired without a groan, and in an instant put on the crown of martyrdom. But even in falling on the opposite side, he gave his murderer a violent kick

Hossein-aaly-qhan is assassinated.

(146) The paleki being a kind of bed, reposes upon four or eight feet, about eight inches in height.

in the breast which overset the paleki, but the body fell motionless on the ground. N8r-ollah-qhan, a relation of the Viceroy's, was likewise marching on foot, and holding the paleki likewise; but on seeing the blow, he drew his sabre, and felled the murderer to the ground, and was himself felled down by the Moghul, or second partner, who was himself collared and killed by Mir-mushref, who although grievously wounded in the scuffle, found means to escape alive. From that moment a promiscuous slaughter took place round the paleki; but numbers of Moghuls arriving one after another, the ground was cleared, and both the heads of Hossëin-aally-qhan, and N8r-ollah-qhan, being severed from their bodies, were carried to the Emperor's quarters. This sight made so deep an impression on the eunuch Macb8l, superintendent of the Viceroy's seraglio, that assuming courage from his very despair, he drew his sabre, attacked the Moghuls vigorously, and received several wounds of which he died three or four days after. Whilst so much noble blood was streaming round Hossëin-aaly-qhan's body, his head-water bearer and head-scavenger, taking to their sabres and buclers, ran with all their might towards the Imperial paling; and throwing themselves headlong amongst the bodyguards, they cut their way towards the Emperor as far as the part called Tesbigh-qhana, where they were hacked to pieces, or, as some others say, hewed down by Saadet-qhan, who barred the passage with his body. A troop of resolute men, attached to Mohcum-sing, Divan of the murdered Viceroy, having, on the very first tumult, run with drawn sabres as far as the Calal-para, through which many of them cut their way as far as the main tent of audience, fought valiantly; and although they were mostly wounded, they cut their way back on hearing that their master could not recover. As for Hossëin-aaly-qhan's musqueteers, who had already commenced firing, they were soon silenced, or they dispersed of themselves, on hearing that all was over.

A furious combat about his body.

The news of Hossëin-aaly-qhan's death was directly carried to Ghaïret-qhan, his nephew, who was actually in camp. That valorous young man, without calling up his troops, or bringing up his artillery, or even giving himself time to assemble his friends about his person, without sending word, or waiting until they should come, directly quitted the meal he was taking, and having

wiped his mouth and hands with a handkerchief,(147) he mounted his elephant, and without uttering a word, he advanced to fight himself against the Emperor and all the murderers of his uncle. With about three thousand horse and foot that joined him troop by troop by the way, he rushed on the enemy with a fury which can be compared to nothing but to the rapidity of lightning, or to the fury of a storm. Whilst he was advancing, Saadet-qhan, and Mahmed-aamin-qhan with Haïder-c8ly-qhan, sensible of the Emperor's danger, had rushed headlong amongst a number of enemies that had penetrated as far as the women's enceinte, and were thronging and barring the very entrance; and having cleared the passage by mere bodily strength and a vigorous execution, they called on the Emperor to shew himself. But the Emperor was actually held body to body by his mother, and entangled amongst a crowd of women that had seized on his person. Saadet-qhan, sensible of the importance of the moment, and how little rules of etiquette deserved then his attention, had the boldness to rush beyond the door, and having entreated the Emperor to shew himself at the head of a number of faithful servants ready to shed their blood in his cause, seized his hand, and having by mere strength of body disengaged him from the women, he brought him out to Mahmed-aamin-qhan, who mounted him upon his elephant, and took his post in the qhavvas behind, to protect his person. As it was customary for the Emperor's guards and for some other corps to assemble early at the entrance of the Imperial enceinte; and they had hastened thither that day earlier than usual, whilst some troops of Moghuls were hastening towards Saadet-qhan, and some others were joining Mahmed-aamin-qhan by detached bands; the Emperor at once appeared surrounded by a respectable body of men. But still his danger had been great, but for Haïder-c8li-qhan's activity, who sensible that some such emergency was at hand, had had the foresight to exercise every day the troops of the artillery, whose hearts he had been gaining

(147) Amongst the Asiatics, the Turks wash their hands before sitting at table. They have a towel, and wash again with soap after their meal. But the Indians, and Persians wash before meal—have no towel—and wash again after meal, but with some flour made of pulse, which answers all the purposes of soap. Ghaïret-qhan's eagerness was such, that he did not give himself time to call for water and flour, but laid hold of a white handkerchief, where lay his penknife, and his watch, or some such thing, and wiped his mouth with it.

all this while by his liberality; insomuch that on the first report of the tumult, he had marched up to the Emperor's quarters; and whilst Ghaïret-qhan was advncing on one hand with a confused disorderly body of men, he was marching up on the other with a steady pace, and a numerous troop marshalled in order, with which he surrounded the Emperor's person, forming without his own circle another circle of field-pieces and war-elephants. This once done, he went up to a body of his own horse, and advanced to the charge, himself the foremost. It was high time. A battle, as terrible as the Day of Judgment, had already commenced. Ghaïret-qhan, who had come with all the fury of a hungry lion, or a famished tiger, was broiling like incense upon the fire of impatience. His eagerness did not give him time to take breath, so little was he apprehensive that all his eagerness would only serve to precipitate him into the abyss of eternity. He had resigned his own life, and was ready to part with it, if he could but revenge his uncle's murder, and close with the Emperor's person, or those of Mahmed-aamin-qhan, and Haïder-c8li-qhan. The cannon and musquetry of this General accustomed long ago to order, were already firing with a steady hand, and already balls were raining as thick as it had been a storm of hail. The two adverse parties were engaging with so much fury, that nothing was heard but the groans of the dying, and the cries of—*have at you*. For by this time the Lords of the Emperor's party were flocking from all parts round his person; and Ghaïret-qhan's troops were likewise hastening to their Lord's assistance. So that the two parties, which had now assumed the appearance of complete armies, were already come to hand-blows, and engaging body to body. In a little time Ghaïret-qhan had advanced so near Haïder-c8li-qhan that he had shot an arrow at him, which sunk with so much violence in the latter's bow, that it required afterwards a great force to extract it. This was no sooner seen by Saadet-qhan, and Camer-eddin-qhan, than they ran to his assistance, and performed exploits worthy of their attachment to the Emperor. This Prince himself was incessantly filling his bow, and shooting arrows on all sides. Whilst the two parties were solely intent on each other's destruction, the sharpers and robbers of both sides, availing themselves of the confusion, fell on Hossëin-aaly-qhan's quarters, set them on fire as well as all the tents of his

A bloody battle betwixt the Emperor's party and that of the Vice-roy's, in which Ghaïret, who commanded for the latter, loses his life with the victory.

body of Sëids; and whilst the servants were busy in putting out the fire, they plundered out of the Viceroy's tents, money, and jewels to the amount of several corores. It was at such a time that Qhandö8ran arrived to the Emperor's assistance. The action seemed then inclining to one side. Ghaïret-qhan, enfeebled already by two wounds, now received a third. He was shot dead with a musquet-ball by an Habeshinian who sat in the qhavvas behind Haïder-c8li-qhan; and the young Sëid, without uttering a groan, went to sit close to, and to wait upon, his glorious ancestor, the Doctor Aaly, the Prince of the pious, (on whom be grace and mercy for ever!) All this while the Viceroy's baggage had been plundered leisurely, and there remained but little of it to be secured for the Emperor's use.

The victory being now secured, Haïder-c8li-qhan sent word to Mohcum-sing, Prime Minister or Divan to Hossëin-aaly-qhan, that he advised him to pay his homage to the Emperor, as that Prince had ordered that his life and property should be spared. He came, and on his making his bow, the Emperor forgave the errors of his past conduct, and augmented his military grade to six thousand horse. Word was also sent to Ratan-chund, but as from that General himself, that he might come and be safe. But Ratan-chund, who knew how much he was detested, made haste to dispatch a dromedary courier to Abdollah-qhan, as we have already said, and getting into his paleki, he was hastening to his own quarters. But he was soon stopped by some Moghuls as well as by crowds of mob, who, incensed this long while at his violent behaviour and at his oppressions, flew at him, and having torn him from his paleki, they gave him a severe beating, and dragged him stark naked to Mahmed-aamin-qhan's quarters, who immediately ordered him some clothes, but sent him into confinement with a chain at his feet. Raï-seromendass, agent-general to Abdollah-qhan, was more lucky. Observing how matters went, he shaved his beard and whiskers, changed his apparel, and whilst his baggage was pillaging, he went like a thief into his own tent, took some jewels, and retired successively to the quarters of some trusty friends, who successively found means to conceal him. At last he made his escape good to Abdollah-qhan, his master. But Mir-aaly-qhan did not meet with so much good luck. He was a servant attached this long while to Hossëin-aaly-qhan, who set so

much value upon his services, that he had raised him to some offices equally lucrative and honourable, such as that of Dagh-tessuya;(148) and he in acknowledgment for those favours had now approved himself a worthy brave companion of Ghaïret-qhan's. He was now plundered as well as others, and sent into confinement, after having been respected for three days together by that same populace, that had proved so licentious with others. Mir-mushreff who had cut so conspicuous a figure, when Hossëin-aaly-qhan was murdered, was now offered offices, and even money. But he thought it incumbent upon him to decline both, and he retired to his house; where he lived for a long while unthought of and in obscurity; when the Emperor, of his own motion, sent for him and took him in his own service.

As to the three corpses of Hossëin-aaly-qhan, N8r-eddin-aaly-qhan, and Ghaïret-qhan, they were wrapped up in cloth of gold by Mahmed-aamin-qhan's order, and decently put into coffins, that nobleman intending thereby to screen himself from the reproaches of the public. He even went to the place where they lay in state, made his devotions at the foot of them, performed the usual rites, and said aloud: *Here lies three valorous Lions asleep.* After this he ordered the three coffins to be taken up and carried to the family monument at Adjmir, where lies buried the great Abdollah-qhan, *alias* Mïa-qhan, the founder of that family. Doubtless, the intention of the gold cloth and other costly ornaments was to excite by the way the cupidity of the banditti and highwaymen, who by plundering the whole, and committing a variety of indecencies, might render the procession ridiculous; but if such was his idea, he was disappointed. Wherever the coffins were descried from afar, people of all ranks would flock to them, and out of a respectful regard, would accompany them a great way; and it was with such a cortege they arrived at Adjmir, where they were deposed in the family monument.

" The world, O my son, is no permanent property:
" Never expect that it can abide for ever in the same place.

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(148) The horses of the cavalry being numbered, described, and registered, are also marked with a hot iron upon the thigh (for the trooper finds himself in horse, as well as clothes, accoutrements, arms, and victuals) for fear of counterfeits. Hence the necessity and importance of such a register, and of such a mark; the latter being called a Dagh-tessuya, produces a great perquisite.

"Have you not seen the morning and evening of all Soleïman's power (on whom be peace!) (149)
"And has not his Empire gone to wreck as well as so many others?
"Did you not see that he went to wreck himself at last?
"Happy! that he could carry with him the merits of his wisdom and justice!"

Thanks be to God Almighty, that these two qualifications have confessedly shined in Hossëin-aaly-qhan's character; and it appears from authentic memoirs and unquestionable testimonies that what befell Feroh-syur and some others of his enemies, was of his and their own seeking, and had never taken place but in his own defence. And, indeed, where is the man that would not strive for the conservation of his life and honour? It is unheard of to this day that any man of the world should have ever parted with either, whilst he had power to defend them. It may even be said that few men have been found of a standard so free from alloy, as to have laid down their lives and honour in the cause of God and of his Messenger, although a total dereliction of either or of both is in such a mighty case, of divine obligation, and never fails to produce in the other world the highest degree of happiness and glory. Whereas the like dereliction in the cause of our own species, is far from producing such a glorious return. And how shall it be believed that it can whilst the many important services rendered Feroh-syur by these two brothers at the expense of so much blood and property, were no better rewarded than by his perpetually endeavouring to make them fall a sacrifice to such vile reprobate men as an Emir-djemlah and an Yticad-qhan—the most contemptible and most profligate wretches that ever disgraced a Court.

The Emperor's lenity to the vanquished.

The victor's lenity was never so conspicuous as in his condescendence towards those persons attached to the Sëids. Assed-ullah-qhan, better known under the name of Navvab Eviiah, a son to Hossëin-ally-qhan's aunt, having lost all his effects in this general confusion, as well as his credit and influence, obtained leave to quit the Court, and he went in pilgrimage to the house of God in the glorious Mecca. Gholam-aaly-qhan, who had the merit of having been one of those that went to fetch the young Emperor from Selimgur-castle, and on that account had been spared both in his honour and property, no sooner saw himself at

(149) Soleïman, Ebn Dāūd. Solomon, son of David.

full liberty, than he made his escape to Abdollah-qhan. Nusret-yar-qhan, one of the principal Sëids of Barr, who although much dissatisfied with Abdollah-qhan, had had the generosity to march to his brother's assistance at the head of his body of horse, and was already at three cosses distance, finding on his arrival that all was over, applied to Qhandö8ran with whom he had an intercourse of friendship and civilities; and he was sent for by that nobleman who presented him to the Emperor. On his paying his obeisance, he was raised to the grade of five thousand horse, with an addition of two thousand more, to his command. This favour seemed to serve as a signal for bringing forwards a variety of promotion. Mahmed-aamin-qhan, who enjoyed already the grade of eight thousand horse, was complimented with the effectual command of so many troopers at two horses each, presented with a donative of two corors and-a-half of Dams,(150) and decorated with the dignity of Supreme Minister, under the title and style of Vezir-el-memalic, Zaafer-djung.(151) The office of Paymaster-General was given to Qhandö8ran, together with the grade of eight thousand horse, and the title of Emir-ul-umera, that is, Prince of Princes. Camer-eddin-khan, son to the actual Vezir, was invested with the second Paymastership, and the superintendence of the Bathing-place, which implies the private apartments. He was also complimented with some other offices, and promoted to the command of five thousand horse, with the grade of seven. Haïder-c8ly-qhan, who had cut so conspicuous a figure, was promoted to the same grade, with the effectual command of six thousand troopers at one and two horses each; and he received besides the title of Nasser-djung, that is, Succourer in battles. Saadet-qhan was promoted to the grade and command of five thousand horse, and complimented with the title of Bahadyr or Valiant, and with a nagarah or a large kettle-drum of command. Zaafer-qhan had also a share in the Imperial favour. In one word, no one of the Emperor's friends, ancient or recent, were forgotten, and every one was rewarded in offices, dignities, and employments, as his merits pointed out, or as he had interest at Court.

(150) A Dam or Peissa has a variety of values in the market, being a very thick copper coin; but in the Exchequer accounts, it is always the fortieth part of a rupee.

(151) Victorious in battles.

Abdollah-qhan had advanced about forty cosses, and he was already at two short journeys from the capital, when he received that note which Ratan-chund had hurried away on the very first tumult—that mournful note which darkened the light of the day for him, blinded his eye-balls, and rendered his existence a burthen. With eyes brimful with tears, and a mountain-load of grief on his breast, he thought it unsafe to stop, and was for marching on to the capital. Some of his friends objected to this notion, and were of opinion that, as the Emperor was not yet joined by the troops of the provinces, and had not had time to practise upon the inclinations of many thousands of old soldiers attached to his late brother, it was expedient to return to Ecber-abad, and to fall at once upon the Emperor, before he should find leisure to fortify his party. This advice did not please Abdollah-qhan, who observed: "That there was no success to be expected by "attacking with dispirited, diminished troops, on a Prince firmly "seated upon the throne, and surrounded by an infinity of Lords "and Generals closely linked together. That for his part, he firmly "believed that in such a case the match would prove too unequal, "and quite inauspicious, unless he shewed to his party a Prince "of Aoreng-zib's blood, whose person might attract the eyes of "the multitude, and conciliate the hearts of so many Lords of the "old court, who were now living in the capital, and who by form-"ing a court to the new Prince might afford him time to assemble "troops and artillery." This advice of the Vezir's having been approved, he continued his journey to the capital. But matters were already much altered in that territory.

For as soon as the news of the revolution had spread far and near, the peasants had joined the highwaymen and banditties, and made it a practice to plunder every one of those that chanced to lag behind, or even any baggage that happened to be at some distance from the main; and although they were more than once chastised, there was no weaning them from such practices. One day a body of foot, with their officers at their head, was cut off near Abdollah-qhan's quarters, and almost within his sight. Another day they surrounded a convoy that came from the capital with a vast quantity of effects for Hossëin-aaly-qhan; and plundered it entirely, stripping all those that composed it; and this at only two cosses from Abdollah-qhan's camp. On the other hand,

all the lands, and Djaghirs, that belonged to the two brothers, or to their adherents, had been laid hold of by the Zemindars, who took possession of the revenues, until, said they, they might know to whom they were to remain. All these, however, being but inconsiderable objects, Abdollah-qhan dispatched Shudjahat-ollah-qhan and M8rteza-qhan, two noblemen of importance, to the capital, with orders to bring from thence one of the Princes of the Imperial blood; and he wrote to his younger brother, Nedjm-eddin-aaly-qhan, Governor-General of the province of Delhi, in which the capital is seated, to raise as many men as he could, and to provide a camp-equipage with every thing requisite for taking the field.

The letter arrived in the evening of the eighth of Zilhidj, that is, sometime before any certain intelligence could arrive at the city. But as some rumour had already found its way thither, the Governor had sent a number of armed men, with the city Cutval at their head,(152) to take possession of Mahmed-aamin-qhan's palace, which they had kept encircled for the greatest part of the night, whilst the people within shewed a resolution to defend themselves; but in the morning the Governor, whether from his own notion, or in consequence of an order from Abdollah-qhan, recalled the Cutval, and desisted from a proceeding so hazarded. His attention was besides so diverted to objects of much greater importance; for two days after, that is, on the tenth of Zilhidj, which is always the day of Corban or sacrifice, he went out of the city to make his devotions in the fields, as is the custom, with a vast multitude of people, and on returning to town, he repaired directly to the castle, where are guarded the Princes of the Imperial blood. He was accompanied by Abdollah-qhan's two envoys, and it was with them he presented himself at the door of the apartment where lived the Princes, sons of Muëzzeddin-djehandar-shah, whom he requested to come out. But so far were they from complying with such a request, that they all refused to a

(152) The cutval is an officer partly civil and partly military, a kind of General Justice of Peace, but with much more extensive power, which brings his office to a par with that of the Lieutenant de Police at Paris. It must be observed that the palaces in Delhi, being built of stone, to the very roof, beams and joisters, and being terraced with stone and surrounded by walls and battlements, shut up by doors fortified like so many dungeons, they are all capable of defence.

man, and even one of them, Nico-syur by name, stole away, and hid himself. The envoys confounded at such a refuse, repaired to Soltan Hibrahim's apartment, a young Prince, who was son to Refi-al-cadr, and cousin-german to Bahadyr-shah, and having prevailed upon him to accept their proffer, they brought him out; and on the next day, they placed him on the throne under the name and style of Abdol-fetuh—Zehir-eddin—Mahmed-hebrahim.(153) Abdollah-qhan being arrived two days after, went immediately to pay his homage to the new Prince, from whom he obtained for Ghazi-eddin-qhan the office of first Paymaster-General, with the grade of eight thousand horse, and the title of Emir-ul-umerah. Nedjmeddin-ally-qhan was made second Paymaster; Selabet-qhan, third; and Bäyram-qhan, fourth. Favours and promotions were likewise granted to their relations and friends; and then the Minister turned his attention towards many ancient Lords, who having been of the court of Refi-ed-derdjat, now lived at home, without office and without employment, utterly neglected and forgotten. These were now sent for, received with respect, accommodated with offices and employments, and assisted with sums of money, adequate to all their wants, from fifty thousand down to a lac each. Some who had served with distinction, were proposed to the command of several new bodies of horse, which they were to raise at the rate of eighty rupees per month for each trooper. Hamed-qhan, uncle to Nizam-el-mulk, but upon bad terms with him, was complimented with a new Djaghir over and above that which he enjoyed already, and with a large sum of money. Several Nobles and Lords attached to Feroh-syur, such, for instance, as Yticad-qhan, Shahista-qhan, Seif-qhan, and Islam-qhan, with many others more, who lived neglected this long while, and moreover uncertain of their fate, were now requested to attend, and promised honours and dignities, if they would attach themselves to the young Prince. Some of them, like Islam-qhan, and Mahmed-yar-qhan, and Sefi qhan, who did not like the complexion of the times, excused themselves upon their bad health, and absolutely refused to meddle with honours, or dignities, or offices. But Yticad-qhan and Sëif-qhan agreed to the proposals, and accepted a sum of money for their necessities, but without having really any sincere intention; for both these

Abdollah-qhan places on the throne a rival to Mahmed-shah

(153) Mahmed-hibrahim, the visitor of religion, and the father of success.

Lords, as well as several others that had commanded in the guards called Vala-shahies, returned home after having followed Abdollah-qhan for form's sake during one or two days march. The dignitaries or Mansobdars, of lesser note, such as those from five hundred to a thousand horse, proved more sincere in their attachment, and were therefore preferred according to their merits. As to the common troopers, their pay was carried from fifty rupees a month to full eighty. But as men and horses were promiscuously admitted, without giving a due preference to old soldiers, these as well as those that were advantageously mounted and armed, took offence at an undistinguishing inattention, that confounded them with inadequate new levies, and they became discontented. Nevertheless, the necessities of the times not allowing the rulers to pay to their discontent all the attention it deserved, the levies went on without much minding the distinctions of old or new soldiers, and still less that of the tribe and race; insomuch that whoever brought a horse, was enlisted, of course, without much inquiry about what nation or tribe he might be. In this manner an army of ninety thousand horse was in a little time levied in the capital, at the expense of one coror of rupees for levy-money.(154)

The Vezir acquires partisans, and in a little time raises within the city an incredible army.

The seventeenth of Zilhidj, that is, five days after the coronation, Abdollah-qhan brought the new Emperor out of the citadel, in the middle of as much cortege and as much royal pomp as could be put together on so short notice, and he marched with him to the Yid-gah,(155) out of the city, where he encamped, and where

(154) We may guess at the size and populousness of Delhi by the rapidity and success of these levies. Ninety thousand horse is a force which no kingdom of Europe can afford at even ten years' warning, and yet these ninety thousand troopers were exclusive of two hundred thousand men more, which every one knows must have attended them, exclusive of two hundred thousand men more that had come out of the city with the Emperor and the two brothers, and exclusive of those multitudes more that remained neutral; and all this is only military men, exclusively to that infinity of other sorts of men that must have swarmed in that immense city, and exclusively to the women and children. Those, therefore, that have said that Delhi contained about two millions of men, were not wide of the mark; and this is the population, which the Jesuits, the most intelligent travellers that ever wrote, gave to Peking and Nanking, the two capitals of China, as well as to Delhi and Agra in 1750.

(155) The *Yid-gah* or feast-place is a wall with a niche facing Mecca, but erected in the open fields, for the purpose of celebrating there the prayers and rites usual on the day of Corban or sacrifice. There the whole congregation prays in the open air.

he was joined by several persons of consequence, who quitted the Imperial army and joined him with their troops. At the same time Gh8lam-aaly-qhan and Nedjabet-aaly-qhan (the latter was cousin-german to Abdollah-qhan and only fourteen years old) were sent back to the city, with commission to keep it quiet and free from tumults. And as the news he now received assured him that Mahmed-shah was advancing by the Djatt country, he took to the road of Saint Cö8t8b-eddin's Monument in order to be on his passage; but on being better informed, he struck to the left and encamped at Ferid-p8r, whilst Mahmed-shah was coming through Ecber-abad. There he made some stay, in expectation of being joined by his younger brothers, Sëif-eddin-aaly-qhan, and Sëid-mahmed-qhan, as well as by some other Lords and Commanders, who were to bring a body of Sëids of Barr with their own troops. This short stay proved of service to him, as every day he was joined by some body of troops, as well as by the bravest amongst the Afghans; besides several considerable Zemindars who flocked amongst the Afghans; besides several considerable Zemindars, who flocked to him from the environs at the head of their men. Shoals of Hossëin-aaly-qhan's veteran soldiers, who had been prevailed upon to enlist with Mahmed-shah, and to touch one month of his pay, now made it a practice to steal away, and to come by hundreds and two hundreds at a time, all mounted and armed. Abdollah-qhan thus strengthened, moved to Pel8l, where he was joined by his two brothers, and by some other commanders, who besides their own troops, had brought one hundred and sixty cart-loads of Sëids of Barr, every one of whom thought himself equal to a Rustem and an Afrassiab. These were ordered to form a circle round Abdollah-qhan's elephant, a post for which they had shewn much eagerness, not only in hopes of preferment, but also to exhibit their regard for that Minister with whom, as Sëids, they claimed the rights of kindred and brotherhood. As to the veterans brought by his two brothers, they amounted at least to ten thousand effective troopers, and hardly were they in camp, when they were followed by Churamon the Djatt, (father to Bedun-sing and grandfather to Barchund) a powerful Zemindar of the province of Ecber-abad, and owner of the very ground whereon Mahmed-shah was treading. Immediately after, arrived Radja Mocum-sing, late Divan to Hossëin-aaly-qhan, the same

who had been so kindly used by Mahmed-shah. But his inclination overbalancing those new ties, he fled from that camp and came to Abdollah-qhan, bringing with him a good body of troops with several veteran officers and commanders. All these several successive bodies were in addition to that numerous army brought out of the capital, and they formed so immense a surface, that the soil undertrodden by so much cavalry and infantry disappeared at once, and could not be seen, but after some search. All these forces were in such high spirits, that Churamon having gone a skirmishing the very day of his arrival, he brought away three or four elephants and a large number of camels, belonging to the enemy, all which he presented to Abdollah-qhan, as an auspicious beginning; but which that General requested him to accept at his hand, as an earnest of future victory. The two adverse armies had advanced so near, that Mahmed-shah was encamped in the neighbourhood of Shah-p8r, and the distance would have been reduced to nothing, had not that Prince stopped there, to wait for the famous Abdol-semed-qhan, Governor of M8ltan, and the Radja Dehiradj-djehi-sing, who, however, did not appear, either through the badness of the roads, or for some other reason. It was then the ninth of Moharrem; but in that interval Mahmed-qhan-bangash joined him with three thousand horse, as did Ghaïret qhan the Rohilah, and Bayazid-qhan the Mevati, with their respective corps; and in a little time more, four thousand effective troopers arrived from Radja Djehi-sing's country.

The Vezir's army is almost doubled by the succours that flock to his camp.

Meanwhile the neighbourhood of the two armies had occasioned several skirmishes, in which the two parties were essaying each other; and at one time Churamon, directed by Abdollah-qhan, had been very near setting fire to the park of the enemy's artillery; and at another he had been very near decoying and bringing away all the bullocks belonging to their train. Nevertheless it was the tenth of Moharrem before the armies could face each other, and they were ranged in battle immediately. Hăider-c8li-qhan, Grandmaster of the artillery, who had been so instrumental in saving it from Churamon's attack, was put at the head of the first line; Saadet-qhan, with Mahmed-qhan-bangash, commanded the right wing; and Qhandŏ8ran with Nusret-yar-qhan and some other commanders of distinction, commanded at the left, in the centre of which appeared Azzem-qhan

with a body of veteran troops. Mahmed-aamin-qhan, the Vezir, with Haddy-qhan, and Cammer-eddin-qhan, and Aazim-ollah-qhan, and some other commanders of the first rank, were in the centre of the whole, where Mahmed-shah took his post, surrounded by the troops commanded by Shir-esken-qhan and Terbiet-qhan, besides a numerous troop of persons of the highest rank, who fought as volunteers, being personally attached to the Imperial person. Mir-djemlah, and some other commanders, amongst which were Radja Gopal-sing-bohd8dia, were ordered to cover the flanks; and Assed-ollah-qhan with Sëif-qhan and Radja Dehiradj, were placed so as to serve as a *corps de reserve,* and to watch over the Emperor's female household. The war elephants, like so many mountains, cased in iron, were stationed in front of all, but behind the artillery, and mixed with a number of light horse, that fought singly, on in detached parties.

Abdollah-qhan, on his side, who on the twelfth of Moharrem was arrived at Hossëin-p8r, three cosses short of the enemy's encampment, ranged his army in battle array. But the troops as well as officer of the Barr, who on account of the kindred which they claimed, pretended to a kind of equality with him, proved exceedingly troublesome, and unruly; and they took up so much time in being brought to some order, that it became necessary to marshal them three several times. At last they were prevailed upon to remain in front of Abdollah-qhan's elephant, under command of their three Generals, Sëif-eddin-aaly-qhan, Sëid-Mahmed-qhan, and Shahamet-qhan, every one of whom proved full as headstrong as any of their men, which as well as they were Sëids of Barr, but all so full of themselves as to pretend to an equality with the Rostems and the Afrassiabs of old.(156) Hamed-qhan and Sëif-qhan, and Bäyram-qhan and Yqhlass-qhan the Rohilah, with Omer-qhan the Afghan, and several other commanders of Afghan and Rohilahs, amongst which were Shudjah-qhan-peloly and Abdollah-qhan-tirin, all of them Zemindars, and all of them mounted on elephants, to the number of seventy, were placed with their troops in the right and left wings. But Abol-mohsen-qhan, the Paymaster-General, and Sëid-aaly-qhan, Paymaster to the regular corps, and Hiramon, Paymaster of the troops from Barr, with twenty-five thousand horse, all in Abdollah-qhan's

(156) Two heroes of Persian antiquity.

private pay, and all his veteran troops, were placed before his elephant, which was already encircled by a body of men, all Sëids of Barr, and all infantry, who considered themselves rather as the countrymen and kinsmen of Abdollah-qhan's than as soldiers in his pay. The army being marshalled in that order, passed that whole night, which was that of the thirteenth, under arms. That very night Radja Mohcum-sing, who although Divan to the late Hossëin-aaly-qhan, had been used with so much lenity by Mahmed-shah, and even taken into favour, and promoted to the grade of five thousand horse, having found a favourable opportunity, came over and presented himself to Abdollah-qhan, to whom he brought a body of eight hundred horse with Qhoda-dad-mirza and Qhan-mirza, two officers of distinction, at their head. At the dawn of the day, as soon as the trumpets sounded, and the heralds had published three times, as usual, *That courage was always safer than cowardice,* the foremost on both sides saluted each other,(157) and made use of the whistling of arrows and the whizzing of musquet-balls to compliment each other, and to ask about each other's health. This was the moment which Mahmed-shah, then in the centre of his army, had appointed for Ratan-chund's supplice. The head of that odious man was presented to him, and fastened to the foot of his elephant, on which he sat in his Imperial attire. Upon this, as upon a signal, that numerous army which moved like the waves of a sea, or like an inundation that has covered the whole plain, advanced shouting, and with a firm resolution, to wring the souls of its enemies out of their inimical bodies; and those that beheld the animosity of the combatants, and heard the confused noise of trumpets and kettle-drums, concluded that no quarter would be asked or given that day by either party. The artillery was already sweeping whole ranks; and so many fire-mouths opening their jaws at once, carried terror into the heart of the bravest, like so many messengers dispatched by inevitable fate; whilst the incessant flashing of rockets in fire put an end to the boasts of the most courageous. Nor can it be denied but that the artillery directed by so active a man as Haïder-c8li-qhan, who had under his orders a body of expert men

Battle of Shah-poor which lasts thirty hours.

(157) This circumstance which has never been seen in Europe but at the battle of Fontenoy, where the French and then the English saluted each other, is not uncommon in India.

accustomed to fire with steadiness, performed wonders that day. But this did hardly intimidate the opposite army, where thousands of brave men, animated by a spirit of party, and carrying the hearts of so many dragons, threw themselves fearlessly before those infernal mouths that vomited fire and death; and although numbers were swept away every moment, thousands were pressing forward, and were advancing with a steady step. So that the faint-hearted of Mahmed-shah's artillery were loosing ground, and at last had betaken to an open flight, especially after Nedjmeddin-aaly-qhan had given a turn to the day by a manœuvre judiciously conceived and as bravely executed. With twelve thousand horse and foot he had detached himself from his main, to take possession of a grove that lined a village; and from such a cover he made so hot and so incessant a fire, that imagination itself had its wings and feathers burned. If his ambition was to give a turn to the fortune of the day, his wish was accomplished; for his fire proved so galling, that the field became too dangerous for the Imperial troops. The roses on the cheeks of the bravest lost their hue; even a sense of shame disappeared; and their trepidation being such that they could no more distinguish their feet from their heads, they confounded their ranks, and were ready for an open flight. Such a state of things having been observed by Häider-c8ly-qhan and Qhandö8ran, they took with them Nusret-yar-qhan and Sabut-qhan with some other valorous commanders, and detatching themselves from the main, they advanced boldly on that breast-work from which Nedjmeddin-aaly-qhan was pouring so much destruction. By dint of canon-balls they made a breach, and rushing upon it with shouts as to an assault, they carried every thing before them, reducing the enemies to a skulking fire from behind broken walls and fallen trees, from which they were finally driven; insomuch that Haïder-c8ly-qhan remained master of that important post. In this state of things, and the two parties remaining on their field of battle after a bloody, undecisive day, Abdollah-qhan, at sunset, ordered a small tent to be pitched for him on the spot where he was; but on recollecting his loss, he sobbed, observed that no rest remained for him now in this world, and countermanded the tent.

As soon as it grew dark, Haïder-c8ly-qhan who commanded the Imperial artillery, found means to put it in motion. He

advanced firing and gaining ground, until he hȃd taken an advantageous post, from whence he kept such an incessant firing the whole night, as killed and wounded an infinity of men. No heart could stand so destructive a cannonade; and whole bodies not being able to bear its violence, returned to camp, where being still exposed to a rain of balls, they fled farther. So that most of those valiant commanders, that had cut such a conspicuous figure on their elephants in the day-time, now sought their safety in a shameful flight; but were intercepted, in their retreat from camp, by armed bodies of peasants who stripped them of every thing. About the dawn of the day, a ball of a canon having broke the hăodah on which sat Mohcum-sing, he jumped down in a fright, and took horse, and fled with so much earnestness, that a long time elapsed before any tidings could be had of his being dead or alive. The day broke out by this time, which was the fourteenth of Moharrem, 1133; and it appeared that out of fifteen or sixteen thousand horse that had stood during the night that terrible cannonade, not one had eaten any thing these twenty-four hours, or even drank any water, that element being too far off, and moeover in the possession of a body of Djatts. Such was the sense of honour, and such the sense of zeal amongst them, that not one of that whole multitude shrunk from his post. They were mostly Sëids of Barr, commanded by their own countrymen, and equally with them jealous of their honour, as well as zealously attached to Abdollah-qhan's person.

Equal steadiness was exhibited on the opposite side. Mahmed-shah, mounted on his favourite elephant, called Shah-pesend,(158) was gracing by his person all that host of officers, commanders, and illustrious volunteers that surrounded his throne. It was remarked that he had remained sitting the whole night as well as the whole preceding day. At day-break the enemy was already in motion; and Nedjmeddin-aaly-qhan, at the head of a body of Sëids of Barr, and another body of trusty soldiers, advanced again to the charge with the resolution of one resolved to carry the day, or to perish in the attempt. Setting at nought the thundering of that destructive artillery that had done so much havoc the whole night, he made a furious attack, that gave an image of the Day of Judgment, being resolved to recover

(158) The King's favourite.

that important post. He was opposed by Haïder-c8ly-khan and Qhandō8ran, who, sensible of the importance of example in such circumstances, came out of their breast-work to encounter the enemy; and they were supported by valorous troops and valiant commanders, amongst which last was Nusret-yar-qhan, a Sëid of Barr, who although priding himself in his being related to both Nedjmeddin-aaly-qhan and Abdollah-qhan, wished to signalise himself against them. And here again the contest became bloody and obstinate. The valorous commanders on both sides, having made so many targets of their breasts, exerted themselves heroically, as if emulous only of washing away with the waves,(159) flowing from their sabres, the doubts which might have remained in their minds about each other's bravery. Both sides were rushing forward like so many crocodiles emerging from out of an inundation, or like famished lions from out a howling wilderness; and such screams and such an uproar rose everywhere as would have drowned those at the Day of Judgment. From the repeated conflict of so many steely sabres against the flinty firmness of so many intrepid commanders, a fire was struck out which, blazing like lightning, consumed those brave men by shoals, and ruined their forlorn families by thousands.

Saadet-qhan, who saw this dangerous conflict, and wished to acquire honour, advanced several times like an elephant in rut, to the assistance of those that were shedding their blood in the Emperor's cause, and he made several vigorous charges; and Shir-eken-qhan, who marched to their assistance by the Emperor's express commands, threw himself on the enemy's pointed spears and threatening lances, like a famished tiger that sets the hunters at nought. Nevertheless, the Imperialists seemed to lose ground; and Dervish-aaly-qhan, commander of Qhand38ran's artillery, Abdol-ghani-qhan, who commanded that of Haïder-c8li-qhan's, with Meïaram, his secretary, and Mahmed-djaafer, nephew to Hossëin-qhan, with an infinity of others, were already slain, and lay stretched on the ground. Nusret-yar-qhan had two arrows fixed in his body; and Dost-aaly-qhan, with a multitude of others, was wounded and disabled. On the part of Abdollah-qhan,

(159) This is again an oriental allusion to those undulations which, being much closer than the waters of an English Taby, seem to pour plentifully from the hilt of a Persian or Indian sabre down to the point.

Shahamet-qhan, a commander of great renown, with one of his sons, was slain, together with Abdol-cadyr-qhan, brother to the Cazi, Mir Bahadyr-shahi, and his brother Fateh-yar-qhan, and Tahover-aaly-qhan; and this was the fate of Abdol-ghani-qhan, son to Abdol-rahim-qhan Aoreng-zebi,(160) and Gholam-muhi-eddin-qhan, and Sabqhat-ollah-qhan, surnamed Sheika, and Gholam-aaly-qhan, the illustrious warrior, all three brothers and all three commanders of importance in Abdollah-qhan's army, as well as Shudjah-qhan, son to Beloli. They were all slain in that trying occasion, where none but the bravest could shew their faces. All of them, after exhibiting feats of prowess and attachment that astonished the beholders, submitted cheerfully to their fate, and without hesitation drank to the dregs the bitter potion presented them by death, after they had exerted themselves to their last breath in wrenching out the souls of their enemies. Vast numbers of their men, who had gamed away the capital of their lives in that scene of slaughter and blood-drinking match, quitted the world in haste, and like so many bankrupts that had lost their all, they plunged at one dip into the abyss of eternity. The valorous Nedjmeddin-aaly-qhan, who had hitherto been the highest bidder in that market of death and slaughter, after having received several wounds by hand-blows, was at last hitted by an arrow, which sticking into his eye, deprived him of the delightful garment of sight, to the unspeakable sorrow of his brother, Abdollah-qhan; who observing how matters went, marched up to his assistance with all the braves of Barr that remained about his person. At this very time, and whilst every one's attention was taken up with the critical situation of things, Churamon the Djatt, who was the best partisan in Abdollah-qhan's service, wheeled round and fell upon the Emperor's rear which he filled with confusion and screams. He seized on a thousand spare bullocks belonging to the Imperial artillery, with a number of camels laden with the chancellery and kitchen offices, all which were grazing on the banks of the Djumna, and pushing his point, he went as far as the Imperial camp, where he found at last people ready to receive him. The Emperor himself shot an arrow at him; and Mahmed-aamin-qhan and Haddi-qhan marched

(160) These epithets of Bahadyr-shahi and Aoreng-zebi, design their having long served under the Princes.

against him with the infantry which was round the Imperial elephant. Abdollah-qhan occupied only with what was passing on his front, was marching to the assistance of his people, when his flank was attacked by Saâdet-qhan, Haïder-c8li-qhan, and Mahmed-qhan-bangash; and this motion being observed by Abdollah-qhan, he wheeled round and marched up to them. But his people were exceedingly galled by Haïder-c8li-qhan who had always his bow in action, and by that body of expert musqueteers whom he had trained himself. Abdollah-qhan lost two officers of merit by this attack—Sheh-habilah, commander of his artillery, and Sëid-aaly-qhan, brother to his Paymaster-General, Abol-mohsen-qhan. This attack having somewhat disordered the ranks of Haïder-c8li-qhan's men, he formed them again, and being joined by a good body brought by Qhandö8ran, he renewed his attack with so much vigour, that Abdollah-qhan lost his usual presence of mind. It had been a standing rule with him in the many battles which he had seen, and in which he had often been reduced to extremities, never to be guilty of the thoughtlessness of the Hindostany Generals, who on a moment of danger, used to quit their elephant, and to combat on feet, mixed with the crowd. Abdollah-qhan, on the contrary, had always conserved his presence of mind on such occasions, and had made it a point to oppose firmness and steadiness to forwardness and impetuosity. Like a lion lying in wait for the moment of falling on his prey, he kept displayed the standard of ascendant and superiority, (which, after all, ought to be the intent of prowess) and looked upon firmness and perseverance as more instrumental in the gain of a battle than ardour and impetuosity. Nevertheless, his store of good luck being now spent by this time, and fortune having turned her back upon him, he forgot his own maxims, and jumping without any necessity down his elephant, he took to his sabre and bucler, and mixed with the crowd, without once minding that he had stillt hree thousand Sëids of Barr about his person, who seemed likely to stand by him to the very last. But as fortune, after having quitted his party, seemed now bent on counteracting all his schemes, he was hardly down, when most of his officers and men, taking it for granted that he was slain or disabled, or that he had despaired of victory, abandoned their posts, far and near, and betook themselves to flight. Some other

accounts say that Sëif-eddin-aaly-qhan, his very nephew, and one of his best Generals, had already quitted his station, before Abdollah-qhan had thought of jumping down; and that his example had been followed by all the others. Be it as it will, Abdollah-qhan, although astonished at his desertion, kept his footing vigorously; but being now surrounded on all sides, and the weight of his armour obstructing his activity, he received an arrow in his forehead, and then two successive cuts on his neck and hand; and being pressed close and overcome with fatigue, he was seized on by the claws of fate, and made a prisoner. It was at the very moment his younger brother, Nedjmeddin-aaly-qhan, was closing with him, resolved to share his fare; and they were both going to be slain, when Abdollah-qhan was recollected by Haïder-c8li-qhan, who rescued them both from the hands of the soldiery. The destiny of those two noble persons affected the feelings of an infinity of men, and people thought they saw them designed in these verses which were then handed about:—

Abdollah-qhan totally defeated and then taken prisoner.

"I am he who in an attack could run the point of my spear through a golden ring,
"But being now forsaken by my good star and rejected by fortune,
"I have been in my turn surrounded by a ring and taken.
"Of what avail could be my helmet and my cuirass,
"After my good fortune had already turned her back upon me?
"When the key of Victory ceases to be in a hand,
"To no purpose will the arm attempt to break open the door of success."

Haïder-c8li-qhan, having mounted the two wounded noblemen upon the same elephant, carried them to the Emperor; and this Prince, who had a great deal of benignity in his nature, cast a look of compassion at them, and then consigned them both to Haïder-c8li-qhan's custody; after which he ordered the Imperial music to strike up for so signal a victory. As to the vanquished army, some bodies of it fled; some mixed with the victorious; and Ghazi-eddin-qhan availing himself of this moment of suspense, returned to camp, and packing up as much of Abdollah-qhan's baggage as had not been yet plundered, he fled towards Delhi, at the very time when the commanders and officers of the victorious party were presenting their Nuzurs, and congratulating each other, and returning thanks to God for so important a victory. As to the enemy's camp, and his baggage, immense, whatever was of a nature to escape a general pillage, was secured for the Emperor's use.

A singular prediction on the fate of the war.

A singular anecdote, which then became a general topic, is reported by men of authority and credit. On the very beginning of the divisions between the Sëids and the T8ranian party, a person attached to Abdollah-qhan repaired to the lodgings of a learned man, renowned for his skill in astrological predictions, and put to him a variety of questions about the future event of these dissensions, as well as about the success of the expedition. The philosopher without erecting any scheme, extracted his answer from the very words made use of by the propounder, and they proved to be these letters:—*Ghain, Lam, Be, Aïn, Dal, Vow* and *Caf*; which on being assembled in the usual manner, formed the Arabic words: *Ghalub Ad8ca,* that is, *Thine enemy shall prevail;* and on being inverted, signified, *Thine end is come.* And, in fact, these words were not belied by the succeeding event, and few predictions have proved so fortunate. For Soltan Hibrahim who had fled from the field of battle, had been pursued, and sent back to his former apartment; and a complete victory had been gained after a bloody contest of thirty hours.

The news of so decisive an engagement reached the capital in the evening of the fourteenth of Moharrem, being a Friday, and they transported an infinity of people with joy, whilst they afflicted an infinity of others with all the pangs of surprise and consternation. Those that were attached to the throne, ordered the Imperial music of the citadel to announce that happy event to the public; but the family and household of the three Sëids slain, recommenced their mournful rites.(161) The women especially belonging personally to Abdolloh-qhan's three brothers, exhibited the most affecting picture of dismay and unutterable woe; whilst some of them, but of the inferior sort, availed themselves of the confusion and opportunity so far, as to lay their hands upon whatever precious came in their way, and stole away under the disguise of dirty clothes and the cover of homely veils. They disappeared sometime before the Police thought of taking

(161) Those mournful rites ought to be over the seventh night of Moharrem, which is called *Shibi-catl* or the night of the occision, at which time the death of Hossëin, the first of Sëids, is represented in a theatrical manner and with theatrical scenery. But two days more being taken by the devotees in lamentations, and in carrying the coffins or rather the catafalcoes to the grave, and three days more by the hyper-devotees in distributing dressed victuals to each other and to the poor, the whole makes up twelve or thirteen days.

possession of the house. Some of these women fell with their booty in the hands of the Police officers; but some made good their escape. As to the ladies of Abdollah-qhan's race or bed, so far from stirring out of the house, they retreated within their own chastity; and covering themselves from head to foot with the veil of decency and modesty, they sat weeping in a circle, without any one offering to move, or to avail herself of the dismal scene which now was taking place. For Abdollah-qhan-cashy, whom Abdollah-qhan, his old friend and benevolent master, had entrusted with the care of his consorts, ladies and seraglio, no sooner heard of the disaster that had befallen his benefactor, than forgetful of all that was expected from him, even as an honest man and a gentleman, he carried the daringness so far as to put a sacrilegious foot within those sacred precincts, and *to give vent at one and the same time both to his infamous lust* and to his treacherous cupidity. He soon came to an understanding with the Hindoo who commanded the guard,(162) and getting within the sanctuary of the women, those two wretches seized and carried away whatever persons and effects they could fix their claws upon. So that this villain has ever been from that moment pointed out with the finger of detestation, as a renegade to his God, a traitor to his master and friend, and an invader of the most sacred rights of mankind. Fortune that had now turned her back on that forlorn family, seemed bent on rendering abortive every attempt made by any of its members, and Gholam-aaly-qhan and Nedjabet-aaly-qhan, two nephews of Abdollah-qhan's, who by changing their apparel, and altering their faces, had endeavoured to make good their retreat to Djansita, a town where they were born as well as himself, were intercepted by the way and carried to the Emperor.

Abominable treachery of Abdollah-qhan-cashi to his master and friend.

This Prince, now fixed irrevocably on his throne, and freed from all anxiety and solicitude, turned his thoughts towards the means of rewarding that number of Generals and Lords, who had so well deserved of his cause. Those whose golden nature and

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(162) The great men in India prefer for their women an Hindoo guard to any other, as Hindoos cannot defile themselves with women different from their tribe, without incurring damnation in the other world, and being interdicted fire and water in this. They cannot so much as touch their water, or their water-pot, or their knife, or make use of any thing that has served to them.

undebased fidelity had been tried in the fiery crucible of the late bloody battle, and found to be of a pure standard, were now exposed to the sunshine of distinction and favour, honoured with a variety of titles and offices, and rewarded with high preferment. The sixteenth of Moharrem having been fixed on for the Emperor's auspicious departure from that memorable spot, he mounted the palfry of achievement and victory, and turned its reins towards the capital of his Empire, shortening his distance and hastening his march with so much expedition, that on the nineteenth, he was already at the Monument of Saint Nizam-eddin-evliah, in which venerable spot he performed his devotions, and bestowed favours and liberalities on every one of the attendants. Here he spent two days in expectation of a lucky moment; in which time he raised Haïder-c8ly-qhan's grade by a thousand horse, so as to make him a Mansobdar of eight thousand troopers, with the effectual command of seven. Saadet-qhan was honoured with the title of Bahadyr-djung or Valiant in battle, and decorated with the insignia of the *Mahi* or fish,(163) whilst a variety of favours and offices were pouring on every one of their friends and dependants; but Nedjabet-aaly-qhan having been brought in whilst the Emperor was bestowing preferments and distinctions, that nobleman was received with a look of compassion, and consigned over to Haïder-c8ly-qhan's custody.

All these matters being over, and the ceremonial of the Emperor's entry into his capital being adjusted, he now thought it high time to shew himself to his people. This auspicious event happened on a Saturday, being the twenty-second of Moharrem, in the year 1133 of the Hedjrah, in the middle of a pomp and an eclat that dazzled the eyes of all the beholders in the very sunshine of a fine day, whilst the regions of the air were rent, as high as the sphere of the moon and sun, with the mingled sounds of an infinity of trumpets and kettle-drums. The Emperor's

Pompous entry of Mahmed-shah's in the capital

cortege was followed and preceded by lofty elephants, resplendent with gold and silver trappings; by beautiful slave-boys and young men in gold-cloth; by thrones and Imperial chairs of gold and

(163) This ensign, which is so uncommon in Hindostan, is more common in Decan. It is a fish of copper, gilt, four feet in length, carried horizontally upon the point of a spear; and this ensign is always joined to another which is a human head, also of copper, gilt, carried horizontally, likewise, upon the point of a spear.

by sedans of jewel-work; by embroidered ensigns and streamers equally superb and elegant; and by crowds of servants shining in gold and silver tissue, that shed such a lustre, as rendered the sun's rays of small value in comparison. All these were interspersed amongst bodies of troops that marched in battle array, and in ranks differenced by rows of commanders and noblemen, all advantageously mounted, and all conspicuous by the brightness of their arms, as well as by the richness of their apparel. Already a number of the most beautiful horses with enamelled saddles of gold and jewel-work, were announcing from afar the Emperor's approach; and now this Prince, adorned by all the graces of youth and beauty, was making his appearance mounted on a mountain-like elephant, and seated upon a throne that blazed with a profusion of jewels and elegant ornaments. He directed his march through the Adjmir-gate, sprinkling his way with handfuls of gold, and enriching by such a long forgotten liberality, a multitude of needy people, that had this long while fixed the eyes of expectation on such an auspicious moment. In the victorious moment of the fifth hour of the day, he arrived at the Imperial castle, and landed at his august habitation, where the Empress Cadessiah, his mother, with a cortege of chaste Princesses and Ladies of the highest distinction, was waiting for him at the inner door of the sacred apartment. The Empress-mother holding a large plate of gold and silver, filled with gold and silver coins of several denominations, as well as with a variety of gems and precious jewels, poured the whole as a libation over his head, and after wishing him a long and prosperous reign, she introduced him by the hand within the Imperial sanctuary.

Singular ceremony at his introduction into the Imperial seraglio.

SECTION III.

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A LITTLE after this ceremony Abdol-semed-qhan, Viceroy of Lahor, who had set out early with his son, Zeckariah-qhan, his General and Deputy, Aghyr-qhan, and some other noble personages, but could not arrive in time, was admitted to the honour of paying his obeisance, and distinguished by a dress of honour, a circlet of jewels, a poniard, and several other noble presents. Zeckariah-qhan had his grade raised by a thousand horse, and now his command became of full five thousand. Radja Dejhi-sing, and Radja Gurd-hur, not being arrived in time, were on the commencement of Sefer, admitted to the happiness of kissing the ground of the Imperial presence, and they were tranquillized with a remission of their transgressions and past errors. An order was issued a little after to put in force the capitation-tax upon the Gentoos, but it was remitted on an elegant apology which Djehi-sing made for them. Nizam-el-mulk's petition, congratulating the Emperor on his victory, and wishing him a length of days and prosperous reign, was honoured with a glance of the Imperial eye; as did another supplique from Moorshood-cooly-qhan, Viceroy of Bengal, Promotions at Court.

which was fraught with congratulations on the victory, and a prayer for length of days and dominion; it announced likewise the arrival of the revenue from that province, with another large sum by way of Nuzur. Honours and dignities were bestowed that day on a number of nobles. Haïder-c8ly-qhan was decorated with the title of(164) Muëz-ed-dö8lah over and above that of Nassyr-djung, which he had already; as was Zafer-qhan with that of Roshan-ed-dö8lah. The superintendence of the bodyguards was conferred on Saadet-qhan; and Zeckariah-qhan received the Government of Cashmir in lieu of Ynaïet-ollah-qhan, dismissed. But on a Tuesday, being the twenty-second of the first Reby, the Emperor being gone out with a hunting party, an harcara messenger informed him that his Vezir, Mahmed-aamin-qhan, had been seized with so sudden and so excruciating a pain in his bowels, as would deprive him of the honour of holding the Imperial stirrup. The next day his distemper increasing in violence, a total alteration was perceived in that Minister's person; and his *cholic* augmenting from moment to moment, rose to such a height that the remedies of physicians and skilful men produced no effect. A terrible vomiting took place, and he threw towards nothingness the garment of his existence; insomuch that on the twenty-ninth of that same month he departed towards the regions of eternity, after a short lived ministry of three months and twenty-two days. His estate, mightily swollen by his confiscation of Hossëin-aaly-qhan's fortune, and the seizure of his baggage, and by several savings and benefits, was so amazingly great as to be reckoned only by corors, and yet it was left entirely to his heirs; but by his death the people of God were released from the oppression they were likely to suffer. They say that intending to enlarge his palace, and to enclose more ground within its yard, he with a single command of his had dispossessed seven hundred housekeepers of his neighbournood,(165) who all quitted their homes

(164) *Muëz-ed-dö8la* signifies the honoured of the Empire, as *Nassyr-djung* signifies the succourer in battles.

(165) This to an European ear cannot sound but very harsh, but it is not so with an Indian, who knows that nothing is more common than to build small thatched tenements on rented grounds, where it is always explained, and as often subunderstood, that the landlord at so many day's warning can recover his land; sometimes the term is fixed, oftener it is indefinite. And such things happen every day in great towns; nor would the author himself have been scandalised at all, had he

and delivered their keys to his officers. Nevertheless, after his death, all these were returned to their owners by Camer-eddin-qhan, his son, who on his being acknowledged his heir, renounced the invidious acquisition, and exchanged it for the applause of mankind and the blessing of God. It is on such an occasion that one may observe of Mahmed-shah, who was generally taxed with tenacity and parsimony, that he does not appear to have really had such a character, since on Mahmed-aamin-qhan's demise, the Imperial treasury was pretty much drained; for the mighty sums drawn from all parts of the Empire by the two brother Sëids, having been very much thinned by their immense levies and preparatives, the Emperor had been very little benefited by what remained in their coffers, the whole having been made away by the pillagers of the army and by his own generals. So that the ornaments of gold and silver which decorated the public and private halls of audience, and which in those days of calamity had been torn away and turned into stamped coin, remained unreplaced to that day; and the halls themselves with the other apartments, wanted a thorough repair immediately. Nevertheless when the list of the deceased Minister's property came to be presented to the Emperor, (and it amounted to several corors, reckoning only the gold, silver, gems and precious stuffs) he paid no attention to it, and ordered the whole to be left to the natural heirs; and yet it was an established custom with all the Emperors of the Babrian family, nay, with all those of the Timurian race,(166) to take possession of the estates and wealth of their deceased Ministers and servants, to the exclusion of the natural heirs, to whom they were pleased to vouchsafe as a favour such a share as they thought

The Vezir Mahmed-aamin-qhan dies.

The Emperor refuses to accept the reversion of his estate.

not conceived as much antipathy against that Minister, as that Minister had conceived against the Sëids, of which tribe the author himself was a most bigoted member.

(166) This remark of our author's as well as the last is to be understood with a *Grano Salis*. What if the Emperors of the Babrian family should have promoted their household slaves to the highest posts of the state? And what if the confiscation being always expected, those slaves become Ministers of state, always took care of their families beforehand? And what if these families, sensible of the approaching storm, always managed so, as that the Imperial officers should not find at home but so much as had been left there on purpose? Nor are all these many suppositions wholly groundless. They are no more than what the author himself mentions with regard to the confiscation of a Viceroy of Möltan, reputed immensely rich.

they deserved, or it was their pleasure to allow. But, indeed, it was such a custom, and such a law, as no man, no religion, no justice could approve or admit. That a man after having served them his whole life at the expense of his sweat and blood, nay, after having lost his life at their feet and in their cause; after having spent the best of his days, and even the whole of them, in toiling and undergoing every hardship to execute their commands; that such a man should, after his death, have all his labourious savings carried away and confiscated, and should leave his children, consorts, heirs, dependants and friends, engrossed by the thoughts of an approaching distress, and much more solicitous how to subsist the next day, than how to lament his death, is so atrocious an injustice as will revolt the most ignorant mind. It was observed of Aazem-shah, that with so many precedents before his eyes, he was the first of that race, who totally abandoned that custom, and even expressed a detestation of it. One of his richest Ministers being deceased, a list or estimate was, according to the established custom, presented to him of his estate, which in jewels and money alone amounted to an immense sum. The Emperor seemed shocked at the sight of the paper, turned his head from it with strong marks of emotion, expressed his detestation of both the custom, and the reader, and forbade any one under pain of his indignation from presenting to him such papers and such reports for the future. After having been so much taken up with wars and bloodshed, our attention is diverted at once by some events less shocking, but of as interesting a nature.

One Mir-mahmed-hossëin, a native of the holy city of Mesh-hed in Iran,(167) who, for ought I know to the contrary, may have possibly been, as he pretended, a descendant of one of those Sëids called there Ruzuvies, (on whom be peace!) hearing of the extreme generosity and unbounded munificence which Umdet-el-mulk-emir-qhan, Governor of Cab8l, used to exercise towards his countrymen, the Iranians, (generosity spoken of to this day

(167) T8ss is the name of that capital of Qhorassan; but as Shah-abbass, King of Persia, built there a monument for M8ssa-reza, one of the twelve Imams or Pontiffs, which monument is called Mesh-hed in Arabic, and this has in time become an object of pilgimage, hence the city itself is called Mesh-hed. It is the fourth in bigness and riches of all Persia.

with admiration and wonder) quitted his native city, in hopes of preferment, and a more liberal way of life, and came to Cab8l. As he was learned in the Arabic, and in philosophy, as well as some other branches of knowledge; his merit came soon to be spoken of; insomuch that the son of Emir-qhan's moonshy or secretary, having wished to benefit by his instructions, very naturally gave him some celebrity, and thus the instructor's name came often to be mentioned with encomiums in Emir-qhan's presence, who thereby became desirous of seeing such a man, and mentioned his name to Sahab-dji, his consort, daughter of the late Aly-merdan-qhan.(168) The reason of which mention was this:—Sahab-dji had no children of her own; and to console herself of such a privation, she had adopted the daughter of a Sëid who had long been in her husband's service, which girl she educated with a deal of care and solicitude. Her views were to marry her to some virtuous gentleman of her own country of Iran, whenever any such should happen to come from thence, and it was agreed between herself and her husband, that whenever either of the two should discover any such man, notice of the discovery should be imparted to the other. Sahab-dji desired her husband to examine himself the matter; and that nobleman having sent several times for the man, and weighed his worth in the scales of keen penetration, he conceived such an affection for his person, that he mentioned his name with encomiums to his consort. Sahab-dji pleased with this report, ordered preparatives to be made immediately for the wedding, and in a few days she bestowed her daughter on that shrewd man, who by this event was introduced into Emir-qhan's family, made acquaintances with the principal men of his court, and got together some money, and even obtained an office. For in a few years after, the superintendence of the perfumery office for the Imperial household was sent him from court on Emir-qhan's recommendation; and he on his side made friends of several of Emir-qhan's children

A Persian adventurer sets up a new whimsical sect.

(168) Aaly-merdan-qhan, Governor of Candahar, under Shah-abbass, having availed himself of his master's wars against the Turks, to revolt, gave his person and fortress to Shah-djehan, Emperor of India. He was immensely rich, and reputed master of the Philosophical stone; and, in fact, by making the canal of Delhi, and affording water to a parched tract of eighty miles in length that had no sufficiency of it, he found it to all intents and purposes.

born from ladies different to Sahab-dji. His ambition being equal to his artificial turn of mind, he came at last to be considered as an extraordinary personage, on whose sanctity and miracles many persons settled their belief. Hady-aaly-qhan, eldest son of Emir-qhan, with some others, was of the number, and he even seemed the most attached to him. Emir-qhan dying about this time, was received in the arms of divine mercy, and his consorts and family repaired to court; but Mir-mahmed-hossëin, attached by his office to the city of Cab8l, remained there, and after a certain time he prepared a quantity of essence of roses of Pishaver,(169) as well as much rose-water and other perfumes for the Emperor's use, and that of the principal Lords and Grandees of the court. With such a provision he set out for the capital, in hopes of making himself known to the Emperor, and pushing his fortune at court. Having confirmed himself in his resolution, he set out from Cab8l, and arrived at Lahor, where he learned that the Emperor Aoreng-zib was no more. His hopes of preferment on that side being blasted by that unexpected intelligence, he sold his perfumery in that very city at a high price, and having thereby acquired so large a sum of money as sixty or seventy thousand rupees, he thought it sufficient for the remainder of his life; and putting on a fakir's garb, and a grave sanctified air, he conceived the design of setting up a new religion of his own; and first of all he associated to his mission that very secretary's son mentioned above, in whom he had discovered much ingenuity and many talents. He observed to him: "That should they join "their talents together to contrive a new sect, the consequences "of such an undertaking would prove of manifold benefit to them-"selves. That it would be necessary, first of all, to invent a new "language, which might strike by its singularity, and also enable "them to receive revelations from above, and messages from "heaven in a new set of expressions. That by raising their "characters in that manner they would come to be accounted

(169) The roses of Pishavar, a city in Cab8l, being renowned for their quality all over India, the *Atur* or essence which is prepared from them, that is, from rose-water by insolation, is so very precious, that when genuine, which is very seldom the case, it sells at Delhi for three times its weight in gold, and in Calcutta, when to be had, at five times its weight in gold. That which comes from Cashmir is very nearly as dear, and even that of Agra or Ecber-abad sells on the spot for five or six times its weight in silver.

"beings of a middling nature and dignity between the Prophets "and the Pontiffs sent in times of yore from heaven. That revela-"tions standing as proofs of their mission, they might hencefor-"ward raise themselves to so many honours, and to so much credit "and power as would prove beyond conception. And that once "they had gained the admiration of the multitude, and the staring "of the vulgar, and had brought the mob always to throng about "their persons, the learned ones and the people of higher nations "would in time come to be swayed by the multitude's belief at "last, and would believe themselves, and would be coming in "crowds after them; in which case their credit and influence "over both, and over both the high and low, would know no "bounds."

As the turn of both their minds was alike, the master's insinuations took root in the disciple's heart; and these two men joining their endeavours together, invented a new language, established its rules, wrote a book in it, full fraught with a number of strange expressions and odd imaginations of their own; and by correcting and mending the text alternately, they completed a treatise, which they called Acoza-mucaddess,(170) or the Holy Acoza. As the master was not without learning, he brought forwards a number of words of ancient Persian, and many other expressions which seldom are heard of amongst moderns, and having either translated them or given them a particular termination, he sprinkled them throughout his compositions, which he little by little put into verses. He clothed the whole in a new garb, and gave this his farrago a very extraordinary appearance. But his pretensions were still more strange, and they are of so high a nature, that it is hardly possible to give an intelligible account of them. In one word, he pretended to a Becö8kiet or Becö8kiety, which novel word he explained by saying: "That it was expressive "of the middle dignity and nature betwixt Prophecy and Pontifi-"cate; adding with all that all Prophets had not been Becö8cs; "but that the last and seal of Prophets had been both, and "moreover that the first Becö8c, simply speaking, had been the "Prince of the heirs, the King of Saints, that is, His Majesty "Saint-aaly, the son of Aab8-taaleb; that Imam-reza had been

(170) Acoza may be an ancient Persian word, but Mucaddess, which signifies holy or sanctified, is Arabic.

"the eighth; and that down to the Imam the eighth and securer, "both the Pontificate and Becö8kiëty had been joined in one and "the same person, until the two natures being split asunder, "Becö8kiëty descended to himself (Mahmed Hossëin) in one "hand, and the Pontificate to His Majesty, the Imam Mahamed-"taky on the other, from whom it would be continued to the "Lord of Command,(171) (upon whom be peace!) *and I Mahmed "Hossëin,"* added he, "*am the last of the Becö8cs.*" This manner of counting those gifted with the Becö8kiëty, was that which he used when in company with the Imamians; (172) but when he found himself amongst the people of tradition and assembly,(173) he commenced his account by the four first Qhalifs, and then added four persons more of the Ommiah and Abbass families (that is, those few amongst them that had some(174) little good in their compositions and were distinguished from their kindred by a better character than the rest); after which he reckoned himself the ninth Becö8c. And after such an account he used to say: *Gentlemen, I have no business with any man's religion; but I am come, like a blazing flambeau to illuminate every nation, and every sect. My character, therefore, is of the highest nature, for I am the ninth Becö8c who is to be the seal and last of the Becö8kiety, and to whom it has been recommended to write a book, to invite all nations to his belief, and to promulgate the rites of that new law, the intent whereof is to renew and to refresh some customs and particular tenets. So that I am myself under the immediate influence of inspiration from above, and*

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(171) Imam Mehdi is the Lord of Command, (all this is according to the Shyah doctrine) and he is to resuscitate at the end of the world to convert all mankind to the true faith, that is, to the Shyah tenets.

(172) The Shyahs style themselves *Imamies* or Pontificals, from their admitting only twelve Pontiffs, and also *M8mminins*, from their being true believers.

(173) This is the translate of the words *Ahl-i-sunnet-8-djemaat*. The Sunnies are styled so by the Shyahs from their admitting a body of traditions, and from their praying in congregations as much as they can, in opposition of the Shyahs, who admit no traditions, and pray singly.

(174) None but a cankered Shyah could speak so. The Emperors of those two houses have been not only the greatest conquerors, but also the greatest men of letters the Arabs ever had. And as to the Fatemite Qhalifs, or Emperors descended from Hossëin, and of course Sëids, history informs us that they were as bad as the very worse of the two families above; nor is that assertion belied by what we see every day of those Fatemite butchers, called the Emperors of Morocco.

under an obligation to publish those tenets infused in me from above.

After having set up such pretensions, he used at some of those solemn festivals of the Islamisme, (celebrated by the illustrious Religionists,(175) and held in veneration by the Mohommedans) to assemble his followers, whom he called his Ferb8ds, to whom he then exposed his precepts, and with whom he celebrated certain anniversaries he had set up; and as it is written in the Meäsir-nébévi,(176) that the revelations that descended upon the Prophet were of two sorts, this man to acquire the merit of a resemblance, used to say: That he was in the same predicament; at one time receiving the inspiration in such a manner as that there appeared in heaven a luminous globe or discus, not unlike the sun, in which the words he was to say appeared delineated, and that at last the luminous discus having surrounded him with lights, deprived him of his senses, in which state he was so pained by its presence, and he suffered so much from its operation, that he firmly believed no other man would be able to endure the like. That at another time the revelation would manifest itself by a voice that pronounced those ridiculous mystical words of his(177) *Qhyf-shan-nom8d-b8d-it* · words which he immediately would mouth out to his followers. The rites he had instituted were no less singular. His Ferb8ds in their assemblies after having saluted each other, as it is customary amongst Mussulmen, by the word Selam-aaleïkum,(178) used to add in a lower tone of voice, the sacred words of their sect, to wit, *Qhyfshan-nom8d-b8d-it*. The day in which he said the revelation had descended upon him for

(175) Islam is the name which the Mahometans give to their religion, as being no other than that practised by Abraham or Hibrahim, and as transmitted to the Arabs, his posterity, by Ismaïl, his eldest son. They style themselves *Dindars* or or Religionists in opposition to the Gabres or Parsis, and to the Hind8s whom they are pleased to suppose destitute of religion.

(176) *Meäsir-nébévi* traces of the Prophet. It is a famous book containing an historical account of Mahomet's expeditions, and of his sayings, customs, &c.

(177) These words form no sense, and bear no signification, but at any rate they might be translated by the words: *Concealed, appeared, shewn, was.*

(178) The words *Selam-aalëic,* and in the plural, *Selam-aaleikum,* signify in Arabic, *Peace be to thee or to ye,* and is the salutation which all comers owe to other Mussulmen, and which they answer by the words *Aaleikum-esselam*, and to *ye also be peace*. The salutation is never used for, nor by any, but Mussulmen. As for the Shyas it is those sitting that salute all comers with the words *Selam-aaleikum.*

the first time, he had denominated the day luminous; and he in on the anniversary of it, used to assemble a multitude of people, to whom he distributed a perfume of Amber with which they rubbed each other's faces, after which they sung and made rejoicings; and when they were heated with these preparatives, he used to display two standards, and putting upon his head a cap not unlike that used by the Armenians,(179) but a little loftier, he marched at the head of his Ferb8ds towards those mountains about Lahor, where there are to be seen those ancient buildings of Divel Rani's, which go by the name of the Divel-baqhtiari's quarters. This journey he always performed in the night time. He reported that he had received his first revelation in a spot like the cavern of Herra;(180) and he used to fast the six days that preceded his rejoicings for the anniversary of the luminous day, in which six days he remained silent, as it was in this nanner, he said, that he recollected any other anniversary or day that had escaped his memory, for which he would order a congregation of his followers to be held accordingly.

Over and above the five stated times of prayer that are of divine obligation every day, he assembled his Ferb8ds three times more, for the same purpose,(181) and his times were first, at

(179) If it was loftier than the cap used by the Armenians at Calcutta, it must have been of more than twenty inches in height. This cap is of stiffened velvet, and has been set up in India by the Armenians for themselves; for in Iran or Persia they wear it a great deal lower, but both resemble a Roman Priest's four-cornered cap.

(180) The cavern of Herra, where the Prophet used to retire, is a recess in the rock near Mecca, just big enough to receive three or four men. It is of blue and white granite; and incredible as it is, this stone although a granite, has been in the course of twelve centuries so much touched by the hands of the pilgrims, that the place where the Messenger's head did touch the roof, by being endlessly rubbed, has now an excavation of two or three inches in depth.

(181) At this rate, these people must have very nearly excluded themselves from society; for as the five stated times of the Mahometan law cannot, if performed with due composure, take up less than two hours and-a-half, and their own three new stated times of prayer take up (and I have seen some of them at the Cadem-ress8l of Moorshoodabad) at least an hour and-a-half it follows, that these people lost full four hours out of the twelve of the day; and indeed, the five stated prayers consist altogether of thirty-four Recaats or *couples* of chapters of the Coran (and these either are of divine or of ecclesiastical precept or of both) to which must be added the Niyet, the Attayat, the Viter-vadjeb, with some other legal prayers, besides one's own particular prayers or requests, and besides an infinity of genu-flexions, inclinations, and prosternations.

sunrising after the Mussulman morning prayer; secondly, at full noon, when the sun is in the middle of heaven; thirdly, at sunset, when the horizon conserves still some redness towards the west. The rites of these his new fangled assemblies were these:— Himself, or his successor, or representative, stood in the middle, his Ferb8ds forming round him four ranks in a perfect square, like the four walls of a house, each rank standing with the face to the quarter of the horizon, then in front, and each of them, at one and the same time, after having pronounced the new fangled words he had learned from his master, inclined his head very low, and turned his body to his left side, in such a manner as that those fronting the north, should turn to the north-west; and those fronting the west, to the south-west; and those fronting the south, should turn to the east; and those fronting the east to the north. After having in this manner exchanged places, they cast their eyes upon the ground, after which raising their heads upwards, they looked at the heavens, and repeated at each time those particular words of theirs. After these six evolutions the congregation, or as they termed it the Did, was over, at which time he assembled a circle about his person, and would say: *I am that beneficent being* (Good God, what a blasphemy!) *that dropped in the world*(182) *when the younger Fatemah (on whom be peace!) suffered an abortion.* He had some other blasphemies and impieties in his mouth besides, which I do not remember positively. But what I know is from what I have collected myself immediately from his two sons, *Shah-feghar-ollah, and Shah-did,* with whom I have conversed several times, as well as with his principal followers, when I went first to Shah-djehan-abad, which was about the end of Mahmed-shah's reign, and the beginning of Ahmed-shah's. This Impostor had

(182) This is a very obscure article of history. After Mahomet's demise, the Arabian Generals having had violent disputes about giving him a successor, they all went to Fatemah, daughter to the Messenger, for the purpose of inquiring of her, whether before his death he had not dropped any hint to that purpose; and Fatemah having, as was very natural, given an answer favourable to her own husband, Aaly, cousin to Mahomet, Osman who became impatient, and did not know of her being so near, pushed the door violently in order to enter, and it unfortunately struck Fatemah, who miscarried the next day of a male child, to which his mother had already given the name of *Mohsen* or beneficent. It was this Mohsen that Qhyfshan-nom8d pretended to be.

appointed four successors to himself in imitation of the four Qhalifs, so famous in the Mohammedan history. The first of those was Narshid, that confidant of his, for whom he had coined in his new fangled language the new name of *Vedji-bar*. The second was Mir-Bakyr, son-in-law to Emir-qhan. There were two more for whom he coined out the two names of *Nom8dd-ollah*, and *Nom8da-nom8d*; and in the same manner he imposed new names to his children and to his followers, all of which were drawn from his new-invented language. For whoever presented himself for admission, was sure to receive a new name, which he called a sign; nor was admittance given on any other terms. He had three sons, to the first of whom he gave the name or sign of *Nema-nom8d*; to the second, that of *Feghar*; to the third, that of *Did*. His two daughters were called *Nemana* the elder, and *Nemana* the younger; and to his relations from his wife's side, (whose name he chahged into that of *Hac-nema*) he gave the names of *Nema-yar*, *Nom8d-yar*, and *Fer-nom8d*. To his son *Feghar* he gave a second name, *to wit*, that of *Nom8d-did*,(183) and so of others. In short, that worthless liar quitting Lahor, his residence, came sometimes after to Shah-djehan-abad, where he took up his abode, and as Bhadyr-shah resided at a distance in the former city, his circle of idiots increased daily; so that he drew to his net every ignorant sot whom he could bring within his reach. As he had provided wherewith to subsist, he made a parade of his disinterestedness, nor ever would ask or accept any thing; insomuch that the multitude amazed, and mightily pleased to find he subsisted by such invisible means, gave him the more credit for what he said of himself, and they did not understand. Little by little his followers swelled into such numbers, and those numbers proved so zealous in alluring others to the net, that at last, they formed a mighty multitude. Bahadyr-shah dying about this time, there arose divisions amongst the Princes of the blood, which occasioned dissensions in every city and every town; so that the impostor

(183) It would be to no purpose to endeavour to gratify the readers' curiosity about the real signification of those names. Possibly they had one in the ancient Persian language. In the modern one, *Vedji-bar* and *Feghar* would have none, although at any rate the others might be assimilated to something. Nom8da-nom8d, as well as *Nema-nom8d* might signify *appeared,-appëared, appearing-shewed*; *Nom8d-did, appeared-saw*. *Nemana* is the feminine of *Nema* or of *Nom8d*.

availing himself of the opportunity, spread his net the wider; and now growing bold and daring, he dropped the veil entirely, brought forth his new book and new language to the light of broad day, gave himself in spectacle to the staring multitude, and fearlessly exchanged the obscurity of his proceedings and assemblies for the broad sunshine of publicity. His skill in argumentation rendered him a formidable adversary; so that whenever any one amongst the gaping multitude attempted at any time to raise objections against either his pretensions or tenets, he was soon outwitted and overmatched by his antagonist, who never failed to overpower his man, over whom he always had the advantage of more expertness at controversies, and a greater knack at syllogisms and sophisms. Hence the multitude confounded at what they were seeing and hearing, flocked to him in shoals; and this was the case during all those dissensions that ended by bringing Ferohsyur to the throne, a Prince exceedingly idiotic and ignorant himself, whilst his two Ministers, eternally busy upon matters of their own, minded nothing else; Hossëin-aaly-qhan being mostly engaged in wars and expeditions, and the other brother, Abdollah-qhan, being eternally engrossed by his pleasures and his insatiable love for women, unless indeed his attention was now and then awakened by the Emperor's machinations against him, at which time he had too much business of his own upon his hands, to think of the impostures and lies of that worthless man. The new sect therefore continued to spread, and Haddy-qhan, son to Emir-qhan, and a man of the first rank and distinction, became one amongst many others of that impostor's converts; and his conversion produced so imposing an effect, that the mob took the belief and sincerity of such great men to be an unanswerable argument for yielding implicitly their own acquiescence, and even for going a little farther. But that noble lord's attachment, as well as that of some others, full as ignorant, whimsical, and sanatic as himself, added so much splendour and credit to that impostor's person, that in a little time he came to count five-and-twenty thousand men in his assemblies at one time. The Emperor Ferohsyur himself, instigated by some of his lords, men lost to all religion, went once to see that impostor. It was in the night time, and as it were by stealth and incognito, being accompanied only by some eunuchs, without any retinue and without imparting

The Impostor is visited by the Emperor.

his design to any others. The impostor *Nom8d* having got notice of a visit from a Prince equally idiotic and ignorant, had the assurance and craftiness to shut up the door of his own room from within, and to make difficulty to open it, whilst the Emperor descended to entreaties and supplications, and was supported by the impostor's children and disciples, who redoubled their importunities. At last he was prevailed upon to open the door. The Emperor on seeing him, inclined his body, made a bow, and went forwards. Nom8d drawing out a stag's hide, spread it for the Prince, and said: *Here is what will do both for Kings and beggars. Choose which you please.* Feroh-syur, who was narrow-minded, and had none but homely conceptions, charmed with his resignation and poverty, conceived from thence a higher opinion of the man's sanctity; and at his departure, he presented him with a bag containing a thousand rupees and eshreffies mixed, and with a quilted carpet or mimber. The man refused them both; nor was it but after a thousand refusals, that he could be prevailed upon to compliment the Prince with a Coran of his own writing, for which he deducted seventy rupees out of the bag for his own pains (this being his stated price for Corans of his own writing) and returned the rest. The Prince having stood up out of respect to receive the Coran, carried it to his forehead, and making his bow, he returned home. Nom8d, without reconducting the Prince, came out of the room, and finding the bag and money on the ground, he ordered the whole of it to be distributed immediately to his starers-at, an affected piece of self-denial by which he raised his character so high in their opinion, that nothing henceforward could shake it. So that it became of a solidity not to be reasoned against; whilst so much eclat rendered the man intrepid and above all consideration. He now thought it beneath his dignity to make a secret of the festivals and fasts which he had appointed; nor had he the least scruple about displaying full open his standard within the city, and marching in state to his rendezvous; and this he always did at the head of multitudes of his disciples, with whom he resolutely crossed the whole city in parade, without either fear or precaution. So far was he from it, that after having performed there those ridiculous rites of his, he used to return in triumph amongst vast crowds of his followers, who repeated in a loud singing tone of voice those mystical words which he had trumped up.

The reign of Feroh-syur being over, as well as the power and prevalence of the two brothers, the throne fell to the lot of Mahmed-shah, and the vezirship to that of his favourite Mahmed-aamin-qhan, whose ministry lasted only three or four months and some days. But that Minister who died of execruciating pains in his bowels, having chanced some days before his death, to hear for the first time of that impostor, he ordered some of the soldiers, then at his gate, to set out immediately, and to seize and bring that Pimp away (for such was his expression on that occasion), and they had orders to kill him instantly, if he made the least resistance. As it was already past noon when the order was given, and the Vezir had dismissed his people, there were but few men at the gate, and only part of those went to the impostor's, where they signified the order they had received. At that moment Qhyfshan-nom8d (for so he styled himself) was taking his meal within his room; and hearing the soldiers talk without, he lost his wits, and remained stupified with fear. But having had time to recollect himself, and being a man fertile in expedients, he sent out *Did,* his youngest son, who was extremely handsome; and putting in his hands a few cakes of mixed wheat and barley, with some dishes of pulse and greens, which he had before him, he added this message: *Friends, as you are come to a fakir's house partake of his fare for a while, until he comes himself.* The soldiers equally surprised and struck with the singularity of the message, and the beauty and tender age of the messenger, waited awhile. In the meanwhile Mahmed-aamin-qhan, whose distemper was a violent cholic, being actually seized with a paroxysm of his evil, the news in an instant spread everywhere, and reaching the soldiers, they all left Nom8d, and repaired to their quarters at their master's gate, being anxious about the arrears due to them. The Vezir, who was actually attacked and overpowered by the worst species of that distemper, had lost his senses and was speechless; but as soon as he could open his eyes, he asked where was that man? It was represented to him that his accident had so much affected all his servants, that their attention had been entirely engrossed by their master's situation, on which account the seizing and bringing the man had suffered a small delay. The Minister, displeased with the apology, ordered him to be brought without fail to-morrow morning. But in

the evening the Minister himself being seized with another violent fit of his distemper, seemed to be so near his end, that his life was despaired of; and Nom8d, who was thinking how to make his escape, but to whom Haddi-aly-qhan and some others of his friends and followers were from moment to moment conveying intelligence of the Minister's despaired state, at once plucked up courage, and sending for a number of his followers who flocked in shoals to him, he gave broad hints of the Vezier's being at the agonies of death, an intelligence that was now brought to him explicitly. On this notice he came out of his house with a serene air of satisfaction, and took up his seat in the mosque close to his door; upon which his followers, relations, and friends, immediately filled the mosque and street. But at this very time Camer-eddin-qhan, son to the dying Minister, having been overcome by the fears of the old women of the seraglio, and by the apprehensions of men as weak as the women themselves, he sent at day-break his own Divan with a bag of five thousand rupees to that impostor as an atonement for his father's misbehaviour, and a price for some Amulets of his own writing, which were requested as a favour. The man who had already received a short note with intelligence of the Minister's death, now spreading his wings full open, and taking a lofty soar, he was discoursing in a high tone of voice, and saying these very words:—*I have shot such an arrow into that Pagan's heart as will never let him recover. Nevertheless, in imitation of my ancestor, who was martyrized in a mosque,*(184) *I am come to receive martyrdom in this mosque, although, indeed,* would he add after a pause, *I cannot receive it since I have been already martyrised once* (an expression by which he alluded to the abortion suffered by the younger Fatema). He was yet speaking, when Camer-eddin-qhan's Divan came in, and laid the money at his feet, as a price for his writing a Taaviz or Amulet, adding at the same time an humble message from the son, expressive of a hope that he would forgive Mahmed-aamin's transgressions (for such was his expression). The inspired man's answer was: *That an arrow once shot,*

(184) Aaly strongly suspected of having been underhand the cause of Osman his predecessor's death, was assassinated by three of the deceased's followers, and this was in the Mosque of *C8fah*, called *Nedjef* by the Shyah, once the capital of the Arabian Empire, and now a small town of the territory of Basrah, known only by Aaly's sepulchre.

and a water once spilt, could not come back. This answer having produced a fresh effusion of prayers and supplications, he turned towards his future successor, and bid him write these Arabic words of the Coran:—*We have sent the Coran down for the benefit of the believers, nor is there in it any thing for tyrants but loss and disadvantage.* The paper being written, he put it in the Divan's hands, and bade him carry it quickly, *although,* added he, *I know it will avail nothing, as by the time thou shalt be arrived, the man will already have ceased to live.* The Divan humbly insisted on his accepting the money, but he refused it constantly, saying: *That for his part he would not so much as touch it; but that the poor people present might take it, if they pleased.* Hardly had these words come out of his mouth, when those Indian beggars, accustomed to overrun a whole city for the sake of a few pieces of copper, getting up at once, in a moment made away with the whole sum. The Devan, on his return, heard by the way that the Vezir was gone to the place he had deserved; and the intelligence being then publicly conveyed to Nom8d, he got up, dismissed the congregation, and went home with an air of satisfaction and triumph. But meanwhile this miracle of his being rumoured abroad, and exaggerated all over the city, did not fail to produce a plentiful crop of sots and idiots.

Three years after this miracle, Nom8d himself with all his whimsies and artifices died, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Nema-nom8d, who fell out with his brothers, and with several of his father's followers, on account of the shares of a family estate which he had been presented with by his disciple, Hadi-qhan, and which the father had assigned to Vedji-bar and to his other confidants, in his life time, as an acknowledgment for their faithful services. These disputes did not please Vedji-bar, who more than once observed to Nema-nom8d, that he had better sit quiet and be silent, than to fall out with one, who by his age was not likely to be his guest many years longer. But as Nema-nom8d was already in his father's lifetime accustomed to bear a sway, and to govern his followers, and he could not suspect that they could alter or change their notions of his son's importance, he paid no attention to Vedji-bar's clamours, a conduct which could not fail to incense the latter, who thought himself equal to his master in every artifice and every imposture, and had, moreover, always

His imposture set open by one of his associates.

acted as the other's right-hand-man. These dissensions rose so high that, when the congregation of Ferb8ds proved more numerous than usual, he appeared in the middle of them, and with a deal of deliberateness, he delivered himself in these words :—*Friends,* said he, *do you know my handwriting from that of the late Nomo8d's.* He was answered in the affirmative by numbers, who really knew both hands. Upon which he went into a closet, and brought out from thence the flap of his cloak full of a quantity of writings, containing the rough draughts and original minutes of the law book, which the impostor had published. The text appeared evidently written by both hands alternately, with plenty of alterations, interlineations, in either hand, and plenty of erasures. These being handed about for some time amongst the by-standers, most of whom could readily distinguish one hand from the other, the man still standing added these very words: *Friends! let me tell you that this new religion and sect have been contrived by Nom8d with your humble servant's assistance. Had it come from God, it would have come at one stroke,* (185) *without needing so much erasing, and so many alterations and corrections.* These words struck the whole assembly. The writings and evidence being acknowledged on all hands, many who had still some common sense left, smiled at their own credulity, and went away pretty much altered in their belief; and the matter being rumoured abroad, the desertion increased, and those mixed assemblies of impostors and idiots, and knaves and sects, were very much thinned. Nema-nom8d, confounded at such a reverse, made up matters with Vedji-bar. But it was too late, the matter had got abroad; and Nema-nom8d finding how matters went to wreck, retired to

(185) Were we to judge by such a rule certain religion of very great pretensions in this world, and still greater ones in the other would have a great deal to lose; for that religion has been making these sixteen hundred years, and that too so early as twenty years after its birth, and it may be said with truth that if all this making has been over these one hundred years past, it is barely and solely because men after having cut each other's throats for thousands of years about all these makings, are now grown so cold and so indifferent about these matters, that were any new making to be set up now, it would be received with contempt and derision. But there is another religion in the world that may be said with great truth to have come out of the hands of God at one single stroke. That stroke is over now these twelve hundred years; nor has there the least innovation been admitted in its tenets, rites, and ceremonies, throughout all that long series of ages.

an estate in the Döab, with which Hady-aaly-qhan had complimented the family, and it was there he took up his abode, by styling himself Shah-feghar or *Saint Feghar*, successor to his father's carpet.

This Shah-feghar or *Saint Feghar* was a man of a pleasant aspect, and very sensible conversation; nor was he destitute of learning. I, the poor man, knew both him and his brother, *Did*. as well as Vedji-bar, as well as Mir-bakyr, who all became his successors, each in their turn. I have seen them all, known them all personally, spoken often to them; and what has been delivered in these sheets, are the result of either what I have heard from their mouths, or of what was said by those who conversed with them these many years past. Shah-feghar lived mostly under Mahmed-shah, and he even saw some years of the beginning of Ahmed-shah's reign. This monarch, who, after Nadyr-shah's departure, was observed often to amuse himself with fakirs and other religious persons, had given him free access to his person. But after that Prince's decease, he found means to introduce himself to the Navvab D8javid-qhan, another inspired personage, whose revelations called D8javidian-revelations, several persons out of flattery were collecting into one volume, in writing and arranging which Shah-feghar was associated to some other correctors. *Did*, his younger brother, died about this time, and was in a few years followed by his elder, Shah-feghar. It was about the beginning of Mahmed-shah's reign. Most of his father's sectators and admirers were already dead in Feghar's lifetime, and more had deserted him since that event; nor did there remain to him but some few idiots stupidly wedded to those whimsies. After Shah-fegar's decease, and the ruin of Shah-djehan-abad, some of Nom8d's nearest relations, like the remains of the tribes of Ad and Semood,(186) taking a dislike to that ruined city, repaired to Bengal, where they were recommended by some silly courtiers to Miren, son to Mir-djaafer-qhan, who had assumed the Nizamet or government of that province, and they were so well supported, that Miren complimented them with a spot of ground, since called Cadem-ress8l, and a pension of five rupees a day; but most of these people were already gone to hell, the

(186) Two tribes cursed by the Prophet H8d or Heber, and who perished in a whirlwind which overwhelmed them under a tempest of sand.

pi[illegible] of their destination [illegible] Ali-[illegible]-qhan's lifetime, of which Prince I hope to speak at large in the subsequent sheets. Nor did any one remain of that worthless impostor's race, that I know, except Neima-nom[illegible], and some of the impostor's women, who are alive to this day in the year 1194 of the Hedjra.(137) So that the race of that worthless man was put an end to, thanks to God, and we can now revert to our general history.

Mahmed-aamin-qhan, who found that his distemper gained ground, was not satisfied with the denials and answers given him by his physicians, but absolutely insisted upon some relief or some [illegible] [illegible] upon administering [illegible] remedy, although repeatedly giv[illegible] [illegible] his [illegible] his journey to the other world. They say, that he bore such [illegible] to the descendants of the Prophet, and [illegible] descended from the [illegible] who sung the words *Aaly, the Saint* [illegible] tongue to be cut off (138) [illegible] report that in

[illegible] a curious article of th[illegible]. Some twelve years ago, there used to [illegible] a variety of disguises [illegible] ministering angel of that [illegible] throughout a [illegible] of the most scrupulous symmetry, she displayed under a satine skin of the most dazzling white, [illegible] variety of [illegible]. All these being added to a melodious tone of voice [illegible] affected, and to an enthusiasm of [illegible], which nothing could equal, but that ingenious variety of secret [illegible], which [illegible]

[illegible] the author who [illegible] [illegible] and carries that [illegible] to the most [illegible] in question [illegible] man, has lost all his credit by that story and by the following, where the most [illegible] treachery and imposture are visible to the meanest understanding.

imitation of some pious persons who spread a table of victuals, as an offering to the King of Braves, and humbly waiting for a token of his acceptance, are always excused, he ordered such a table to be spread on his own account, with an intention to give the matter a ridiculous turn. Now that such a token is granted by His Majesty, the King of Braves, to those that have a sincere faith,(189) and that it has been an infinity of times observed by thousands of people, some of which were men of great sense and knowledge, as well as [illegible] incredulity, is universally known to all the world, and to my humble self in particular, who have often offered such [illegible], and as often observed a variety of tokens of acceptance, for which I return my respectful acknowledgments to God Almighty. This the wretched Minister could not bear to hear mentioned in his presence, and his aversion to the Sëids was such, that even his friends, servants, and dependants, made no difficulty to call him a Moaviah and a Yëzid,(190) of which

(189) These signs of acceptance are also granted (and the author may rest assured of it) to persons who so far from having a sincere faith, are very slightly acquainted that [illegible] which consist sometimes in a voice heard distinctly, [illegible] on the [illegible] in a grain of rice or wheat [illegible] observed within the translator's family [illegible], and also [illegible]; and it may be said with truth that [illegible], including also those that [illegible] every Moharrem, cannot amount to less than [illegible] in the single city of Moorshoodabad, on an average.

(190) Yëzid of whom so much ill [illegible] was one of the [illegible] Princes that ever reigned. His dominions extended from [illegible] the Ganges on one side, and on the other, they stretched over all Africa [illegible] the southern province of France! His troops besieged C[illegible] it, had not the besieged found a never-failing [illegible] the Grecian fire, gunpowder. Möaviah, his father, was related to Mahomet in the same degree as Aaly. They were both sons to two of the Messenger's uncles, but Möaviah acted as his secretary. This Möaviah is the first, who after the three first successors of *Mahomet's, openly despised Aaly's pretensions to the Qaalifat or Empire,* although he admitted them as to the private property belonging to the Messenger; and Aaly having wrote him a letter thereon, he answered it by a blank sheet of paper, and marched against him at the head of his troops, having turned Osman's bloody shirt into a main standard fixed on the point of a spear. Now this Aaly was strongly suspected of having been highly instrumental in the seventeen stabs which Osman received; and what shews that this opinion was pretty well founded, is, that out of one hundred and thirty-four thousands fighting men which constituted the whole of the Mahometan forces on the Messenger's demise, full eighty thousand sided with Möaviah. As to Mahmed-namin qhan's being reproached by his very servants for

names he seemed to be proud. He once said that he wanted himself to offer such a table of victuals to those two venerable personages of his, in hopes of observing their acceptance by some visible sign, in approbation of his attachment to them, and of giving some check likewise to those blasphemers that pretend to soar so high;(191) and what he said, he put in execution. The entertainment having been prepared in a retired apartment of the seraglio, himself with that broken constitution of his, made a shift to limp thither with a number of choice persons, and to pronounce the Fateha or benediction in the name of those venerable personages of his; after which he went away, shutting up the door of that room, and putting the key of it in the hands of a trusty old woman of his whom he placed close to it, as on the watch, with orders in an hour's time to open the door, and to see what sign had appeared, so as to make her report to him, that he might immediately repair thither with his courtiers, and convince the incredulous. It happened that the woman was herself a Shyah in her heart, but that she used to conceal her opinions and principles. After a full hour had elapsed she, according to his instructions, opened the door, and saw an ugly black dog sitting quietly upon his hams, and tasting leisurely of every plate, and licking his chops. Struck with the sight, she ran to her master, and out of breath, sceamed out: "Why, my Lord, should you wait for "a sign and what do you mean by seeing it? Here he is come "himself, and has honoured your table with his presence, and he "is actually tasting of every plate." Mahmed-aamin-qhan getting up with all those present, repaired to the chamber, whilst the old

his aversion to the Séids, the reason is, that there is in the Indians, as well as in all mobs whatever, a propensity to theatrical shows; and that people naturally inclined to merriness, but restrained the whole year round by the customs and laws, are very much pleased to make themselves some atonement by the singings and the theatrical actions of the Moharrem. Hence it is observable that, in Bengal, religion consists in little else than in being circumcised, fasting in the Ramasan, abstaining from victuals touched by Europeans, and, above all, in dancing and singing in the Moharrem. This last article is become the main part of both the belief and practice of that country.

(191) Were the Shyahs or partisans of Aaly contented with rejecting his three predecessors, as usurpers, they would be left to enjoy their own opinion; but they go much farther, and load those venerable men, all three of whom had protected, cherished, and supported the Prophet, with curses and abuses; and hence they are called Rafzies or blasphemers.

woman fearing for her life, slunk away. The Minister being arrived at the spot, saw with his own eyes, the dog feeding heartily, and being incensed beyond measure at the sight, he wanted to put the old woman to death; but although every perquisition was made, she could not be found. He suspected treachery, and would bite his lips in the excess of his anger and resentment; but without being able to wreck his resentment upon any one, at last he quitted this world and repaired to the place which was fit for him.

It is reported by people of the highest credit, that on Emir-dejmlah being appointed to the government of Azim-abad, the Lords and Grandees of the court went out of the city to wish him a good journey, and to take their leave; but that the late Naamet-ollah-qhan, son to Roh-ollah-qhan, being then taken up with the mourning rites and other customs usual in the first ten days of Moharrem in commemoration of the Prince of Martyrs, Hossëin, son of Aaly, (on whom be peace!) came late, and he excused himself to Emir-djemlah with saying: "That he had been in mourning." Mahmed-aamin-qhan happened to be present at that visit, and sat on one hand of Emir-djemlah, whilst Naamet-ollah-qhan sat on the other. On hearing the apology, Mahmed-aamin-qhan asked whether any person had died in His Lordship's palace? Naamet-ollah-qhan answered in the negative, but added that his mourning was on account of the Prince of Martyrs. And pray, my Lord, replied Mahmed-aamin-qhan, were not Hossëin and Yëzid younger sons of the same holy family? And does it become us to mourn for the one, and to reject the other? "The "younger son of the holy family, for us," rejoined Naamet-ollah-qhan, "has been killed, and we mourn for him; whereas your "younger son of the holy family did gain the victory. Do you "then rejoice on his account?" At these words, the conversation growing warm, they both laid their hands upon their poniards, when Emir-djemlah interposed and made up the matter. After such a digression on that Minister's turn of mind, we may now revert to public matters.

Mahmed-aamin-qhan being deceased, the Emperor without making any new Vezir, appointed Ynaiet-ollah-qhan, one of the old lords of Aoreng-zib's court, to act as Deputy in that high office, and he invested him in his new dignity with a rich dress of honour.

At that moment His Majesty's attention was supplicated to the following report: That Nizam-el-mulk, his faithful servant, after having put in order the affairs of the government of Haïder-abad, was coming to the presence, and had arrived as far as Feridapoor, where being informed of commotions excited by some refractory Afghans of Bidjapoor, and by some rebellious Zemindars of the Carnatick, he had hastened thither to put an end to those disturbances. A supplication was at the same time presented from the Sahoo Radja with five hundred eshreffies, in congratulation of his Imperial Majesty's victory. The Emperor after listening to this report, dismissed Abdol-semed-qhan, governor of Lahor, to his government, whilst Qamer-eddin-qhan was invested with his father's title of Ytimad-ed-doulah or trustworthy of the Empire; but Maëz-ed-doulah-Haider-coly-qhan, the valiant, had his surname of Nasyr-djung exchanged for that of Firoz-djung or Victorious in war. Saadet-qhan was honoured with the government-general of Ecber-abad, and Mahmed-qhan-bangash, who had been promoted to the government of Ilah-abad, and had set out for it, having been recalled again within the city on account of his setting up some excessive demands for the lands of his Djaghir, and for some other points, was reprimanded for his artifice, taken into favour again, and appointed anew. At the same time the *Imperial Gazette* from Haïder-abad brought the following strange news: That the seventh of Sefer of the second year of His Majesty's reign, there fell, out of season, such an immense quantity of rain in the country of Carnatic, that all the rivers, reservoirs, and pieces of water had overflowed their bounds, submerged the grounds to the distance of ten or twelve cosses at the right and left, and swept away and drowned an infinity of men and cattle, carrying away whole villages and towns, and levelling them with the ground. A mountain in the same country had split in two, crushed under its ruins a whole town with all its inhabitants and cattle, and ruined the whole country around. The Emperor after hearing that news, went a hunting, and took Aghyr-qhan the Turk with him, to whom he spoke Turkish during the whole hunting, taking care to shew him a deal of kindness and good will. Three or four days after, the Emperor of his own motion, and without any one's mediation and interference, added fifteen hundred horse to his grade, and a thousand more to his command, making

The Carnatic ruined by water.

him at the same time a present of a Serpitch of jewel-work, and of a kettle-drum; and a few days after, another thousand was added to his grade, and another to his effectual command. So that in a few days he was raised to the grade of four thousand horse, and to the real command of three thousand. At the same time news came from Eber-abad, that Dilir-qhan, Lieutenant to Mahmed qhan-bungash, having some disputes about his master's Djaghir, with a Zemindar of the country of Bandil cund, he had repaired thither with a body of two thousand horse, in order to examine the disputed grounds by himself; but that the conference having degenerated into a dispute, and this ended in a battle, that officer had been slain with about eight hundred of his men. On this intelligence, the Emperor ordered a letter of consolation with a Qhylaat and Serpitch to be sent to Mahmed-qhan-bungash's son.

After having interrupted our narrative by relating these little occurrences, we shall revert to the stream of our history. The inhabitants of the province of Adjmir and the city of Ahmed-abad-G8djerat, being dissatisfied with their Governor, who was the Navvab Radja Djehi-sing, they sent some of their body to complain of him at court. They found that the Radja out of hatred to the two Seid brothers, and also out of partiality against the Mussulmen in general, with whom he was eternally at variance, had been guilty of various excesses. These complaints having been found grounded, the Radja lost both his governments, and Haïder-c8ly-qhan was appointed to the [illegible] of the G8djerat, which was conferred [illegible] completest manner, comprehending the [illegible] collecting of the Imperial [illegible] and Controul-office, [illegible] of the city and port of S[illegible] G8jerat. [illegible] of the Mansobdars of the province of G8djerat, was appointed Naïb-s8bah, or Lieutenant-governor, with three thousand horse added to his grade, and two thousand to command; moreover, he was decorated with the surname of Shudjaat-qhan, and with a standard and a Nagara,(192) as was his brother, Moorteza- French G8djerat.

(192) A Nagara is a large kettle-drum made up with iron-hoops and twice as large as the European kettle-drums. It is never used but by people in great office, and is a principal instrument in the Imperial music.

cȣly-beg, with the grade of a thousand horse, and the command of five hundred, and the surname of Rostem-aly-qhan. To these distinctions were added the Deputy-governorship of the several Purgunnahs or districts dependant on Brȍudah. Distinctions were likewise bestowed on Räy-ragȣnat, Divan to Haïder-cȣly-qhan. He was first promoted to an increase of grade and an addition of command, and then ordered to attend to the finances of the Gȣdjerat and of the port of Sȣret-bender; and as a compensation to Camer-eddin-qhan, who had heretofore enjoyed the collection of that port, he received the Fodjdari of Mȣrad-abad, vacant by Haïder-cȣly-qhan's promotion.] The government of the province of Adjmir was bestowed on Muzafer-aly-qhan, a nobleman who had been introduced at court by Qhandöȣran and Radja Djehi-sing-sevai. He was further presented with a Serpitch,(193) of jewels, a Qhylaat, and an elephant, and then dismissed to his government. Atyah-ollah-qhan, son to Yaniet-ollah-qhan, was appointed to the office of Postmaster, as was Fazl-aly-qhan, to the superintendency of the elephant office, vacant by Terbiet-qhan's dismission, and both received their Qhylaats, or dresses of honour. Saad-eddin-aly-qhan, who had come on the part of Nizam-el-mulk, to pay his obeysance, and who on that General's recommendation had been promoted to the grade of five thousand horse, with the command of three, and to a Nagara, was now honoured with a Qhylaat.

[News came about this time that Radja Adjet-sing's Naib or Deputy in Ahmed-abad, being informed that his master's office was vacated, and sensible that he would himself soon meet with his reward for the oppressions he was guilty of against all ranks of men, resolved before a successor should come upon him, to enjoy a full revenge against the inhabitants, by plundering the merchants and sacking the city, and committing as much mischief as he could, before he should take his leave finally. But he was mistaken in his reckoning. There was then in the city a nobleman, called Mehr-aly-qhan, who having been Paymaster of the forces and Deputy-governor on the part of the Radja Adjet-sing, had fallen under the lash of the auditing office, and now lived discontented and upon ill terms with his former master, as well

(193) Serpitch is a piece of jewel-work worn upon the forepart of the turband, but so as that the drop or gem of it hangs on the forehead.

as with the new Governor Haïder-c8ly-qhan, who on his side was dissatisfied with him, as well as with a friend of his, Sefder-qhan-babi. These two men joined together to rid themselves of the Deputy-governor's violence, and resolved to render such a service as should evince their zeal and acquire some right upon the new Governor's gratitude and good opinion. Calling to their assistance a number of Afghans and a multitude of inhabitants, they fell upon the Deputy, and after a bloody engagement, in which they killed a vast number of Radjpo8ts, and wounded the rest, they drove him out of the city. The Naib having taken shelter in the house of a nephew of Sefder-qhan-babi's, was besieged there, and at last got out of the city with the utmost disgrace. In his flight to Djudeïpoor, his country, he took care to plunder some villages and districts that were on his way. Mehr-aly-qhan and his colleague having taken a full revenge of that miscreant, sent word to Naher-qhan, Divan of Ahmed-abad, who was also one of the dependants of the Sëids, requesting him to abstain from meddling with the public money in the treasury and with the affairs of government. The man, who felt himself strong, asked them their authority and wanted to quarrel; and the matter was proceeding to an open rupture, when Shudjaat-qhan arrived with a patent under the hand and seal of Haïder-c8ly-qhan, on sight of which Naher-qhan evacuated the city, after having made peace; and this little disturbance accelerated some promotions intended by the court.

Troubles in Adjmir.

Sëid Nusret-yar-qhan, Soobadar or Viceroy of Azim-abad, received the title of R8c8n-ed-d88lah, with the addition to his grade of a thousand double horse. (194) Shir-efken-qhan was promoted to the government of M8ltan, and to the title of Yzzet-ed-d88lah; and news coming from Ecber-abad that Saadet-qhan had besieged four forts betwixt Mahtra and that capital, which served as shelter to a multitude of banditties and Zemindars that infested the country, and had taken them with the loss of four hundred of his men, and a vast slaughter of the besieged, orders were given for sending to that General a letter of congratulation with a Qhylaat and a poniard studded with jewels. The Emperor, at the same time, although by disposition little fitted with that keenness and firmness of temper required for a

(194) That is, two horses to each trooper.

steady attention to matters of distributive justice, and little inclined to attend to them, yet to shew his inclination to do good, and his disposition to afford justice, he ordered that a bell should be made fast to a long chain, and the chain hung down on the outside of the Octagon tower that looks towards the water side, to put it in the power of any one who should think himself oppressed, and could not find admittance at the gate of the castle, to repair to the chain and to ring the bell. The ninth of Shevval the Emperor's accession to the throne was celebrated with the utmost pomp and magnificence. Before the end of this year, Muzaffer-aly-qhan, having been appointed to the government of Adjmir, was for want of means and a proper equipage, loitering his time at Revari, which is only at three cosses from the capital, when news coming that Radja Adjet-sing had marched to that country from Dj8dep8r with an army of thirty thousand horse, swelled by a number of Zemindars and Radjpt8s, the new Governor was now in earnest obliged to make a further stay. Adjet-sing having meanwhile possessed himself of the city of Adjmir, first of all, published by beat of drum, that all shop-keepers and handicrafts-men should keep themselves quiet and attend to their callings as usual, without any fear, and secondly, to recover his character, much sullied by his former ill usage of the Mussulmen, he sent for the rectors and attendants of the mosques, recommended their performing their religious rites as usual, and appointed a sum of money towards the repairs of those holy places. After which, having assembled all the crown-officers and all the men in station, he produced in the middle of them an Imperial patent signed with the impression of the Emperor's whole hand,(195) perporting under the most sacred oaths, and most solemn promises, the gift to him of the two governments of Adjmir and Ahmed-abad for life. As the Radja was a friend of the Seids, and a man of great power, whom it was important to gain over, the patent had been put in his hands, by the Empress-mother, on the first intelligence of Refi-ed-derdjat's drawing to his end, and of her son Roshan-aqhtar's

Curious expedient of the Emperor's to render his person more accessible.

(195) The Emperor as well as the Grandees of India sign no otherwise than by writing the word *Bära* at the bottom of the letter in a much larger character, their name which is always the same as their seal, being stamped on the cover of the letter with printer's ink. There are, however, instances where the Emperors of India, as well as the Turkish Emperors, have stamped their whole hand upon a writing, and Mahomet himself has done the same.

being intended to succeed him in the Imperial throne. Of this patent the Gentoo prince ordered authentic copies to be taken by the Imperial Divan, and he sent them under the same cover with supplications of his own, both to Qhandö8ran and to Zaafer-qhan, the two principal Ministers. The purport of his representation was: "That although to deprive him of both governments was "contrary to the faith given, yet in compliance with the Imperial "pleasure, he had complimented away the province of Ahmed-"abad-g8djerat: but that after such a sacrifice, to be deprived of "the province of Adjmir also, would so deeply affect his honour "in the eyes of his own clan and of the whole world, that he could "no more shew himself; and that as honour had been at all times "dearer than life to men of generous feelings, he hoped that, out "of regard to his situation, they would condescend to leave him "one of those two governments, as his life and head were staked "on that single point." This year also in the month of Zilhidj, Padeshah-begum, daughter to Aoreng-zib, a Princess that went Troubles in Adjmir.
by the name of Zinet-en-nessa, departed this world.(196)

Qhandö8ran, on receiving this letter, was inclined to abstain from quarrels and dissensions, especially as at present a war with the Gentoo Prince seemed to be a work of great difficulty, there being so little money in the treasury; but as Adjmir was a province that adjoined to the territory of the capital, and it contained a vast number of tombs and monuments of ancient and holy personages, it was thought indecent to commit it to any but a Mussulman attached to the Emperor, and more expedient to surrender the G8djerat to the Gentoo Prince. However, the Emperor himself, with all the Grandees of his court, and especially Haïder-c8ly-qhan, were more inclined to fight the Radja and to chastise him for his presumption, than to submit to his terms. Nor was this so easy; for after a deal of examination, none of the Grandees shewed any willingness to accept that task, and Haider-c8ly-qhan himself proposed to send for Saadet-qhan from Feber-abad for that purpose. This General who was a man of valour and resolution, immediately obeyed the Imperial command, and he hastened to court with so much expedition, that he seemed to have come in post. He had left orders to his cavalry and troops to follow as

(196) Padeshah-begum signifies the Royal or Imperial Princess; her title of Zinet-en-nessa signifies the Ornament of the sex.

fast as they could with his infantry, equipage and artillery. Arrived at court, he amongst other matters, mentioned the propriety of furnishing him with the necessaries requisite for his intended expedition; when it soon appeared that some Grandees, disinclined from attending him in that service, made it a point to traverse his views. Intelligence arrived at the same time that Muzafer-aaly-qhan, incapable to satisfy the claims of his troops upon him, had suffered them to plunder two or three towns of the dependence of Adjmir for their subsistence, and that the mutineers, not satisfied with that, had surrounded and besieged their General, and forced him to part with whatever he was possessed of, in discharge of their arrears, not excepting the horses and the elephants he used; so that finding himself reduced to such a situation, and fearing even for his life, he fled to Amber, and took shelter under the protection of Radja Djehi-sing's Deputy, from whence he sent back to court both his Qhylaat of his investiture, and his patent of Governor. But his disgrace was not yet at an end; for Adjet-sing's two sons having put themselves at the head of a great body of troops, penetrated into his government, and sacked and plundered four or five villages of the Imperial territory. Meanwhile a number of banditties and Zemindars joined together, and availing themselves of the turbulence of the times and of Adjet-sing's countenance, they fell upon the town of Narnol. Bayazid-qhan, the Fodjdar of the place, who had come out to make his round, thinking himself overmatched by their multitude, fled with all his might, and was with the utmost risk and difficulty joined by his nephew who was actually within the town. The principal men of that unfortunate place, finding themselves forsaken by their rulers, resolved to sell their lives, as dear as possible, in defence of their properties, and of the honour of their families; and having fought bravely as long as they could, they closed with the Indian custom or point of honour, that is, after having made away with their families, which they put to the sword with their own hands, they laid violent hands on themselves. The wretched oppressors having at last mastered the town, plundered it so mercilessly as to leave not a rag upon either man or woman, and they carried multitudes into captivity. This piece of intelligence coming to court, Qhandöoran resolved to march himself and to chastise Adjet-sing,

and he sent his equipage or Pish-qhana(197) out of town; but as there was an enmity of long standing between him and the Moghuls of the court, and he was aware how unprovided the public treasury was for such an expedition, he did not go farther, but amused the public with a variety of pretexts and excuses. Haider-coly-qhan, who had hitherto harboured some discontent against him, now offered his services, and he bound himself by the most solemn oaths, to follow his fortunes, whether good or bad. He now submitted himself to his command, and, after having offered to lead the van against the enemy, he ordered his Pish-qhana out of town. That nobleman become hearty in the undertaking, was urging and reproaching him, but to no purpose; for Qhandoorān being little inclined to prosecute that expedition, was representing secretly to the Emperor: "That should the Radja gain an "advantage over the imperial army, it would be difficult to remedy "the disorder with an army, ill paid, an empty treasury, and a "court full of factions and dissensions; but that even admitting "that he should be beaten and driven from the field, the man "would betake to the difficult mountains and deep valleys of his "hereditary dominions, where none would have either patience "or courage to follow him. In fact, it would have been improper "to pursue such an expedition, whilst there was at home so great "a want of zeal for the common cause, and such a turn of mind "for disunion and misintelligence, as effectually damped every "one's good will." This representation affected none but Camer-eddin-qhan. On Qhandoorān's shewing so much backwardness, he undertook the expedition, but he supplicated that the two prisoners, Abdollah-qhan and Nejm-eddin-aly-qhan, should be set at liberty and made over to him, as he intended to make use of their services in the future campaign. He likewise made some other proposals that did not please the Emperor, and as the setting Abdollah-qhan at liberty was very unwelcome to most of the Grandees, Camer-eddin-qhan's expedition was nipped in the bud. Some words having been on that occasion exchanged between

(197) Pish-qhana signifies *house or equipage sent forward*. All the Lords of the Emperor's court and all the Grandees of India have such a spare equipage, which is always sent forward to the next stage, so that the master arriving, finds [illegible], and every thing else ready. This equipage consists of thirty or forty [illegible] of [illegible] big enough for five hundred men. There are always two such [illegible]; one that accompanies the lord, and one that goes to the next stage.

Camer-eddin-qhan and Qhandö8ran, the latter kept his house for some days, and abstained from going to court; but the Emperor finding it improper that a scission should arise between the two principal Ministers of the Empire, found means to reconcile them, and to put an end to discontent and coldness. Meanwhile between these broils and these reconciliations, the expedition against Adjet-sing came to be totally dropped. It must be acknowledged that repeated letters had passed between that Radja and Qhandö8ran. This Minister, who was endeavouring to sooth his mind, and to reclaim him from his mischievous intentions, had desired him to reflect on the consequences of his revolt, and, in fact, he was reclaimed. At the same time, news arrived at court, that Nizam-el-mulk was coming to the presence. That Viceroy, after having put in order the affairs of the Carnatick, returned to his capital, Aoreng-abad,(198) where he arrived in the first day of Zilhidj, from whence he set out the seventeenth, [illegible] to repair to the Imperial presence. Being arrived at [illegible], he sent for Dianet-qhan, a nobleman sometime ago proposed by the Emperor to the office of Divan of Decan, presented him with a Qhylaat and an elephant, and gave him possession of his office. That Viceroy's approach being now certain, all further deliberation and councils for the affairs of state were suspended, until he should be arrived.

The troubles in Adjmir put an end to

News came also by the *Gazette of Cab8l and [illegible]*, that Qhan-[illegible], who had been [illegible] by [illegible], his father, to quell some disturbances that had [illegible] Cab8l, had been [illegible], stopped at the same place where Mahmud [illegible] to Emir-djemlah, had once been [illegible]. Qhan-[illegible] now underwent the same fate, being surrounded by such multitudes of mountaineer Afghans as equalled the myriads of ants and the [illegible] of locusts. The young man

(198) Aoreng-abad signifies Aoreng-zib's colony, and it acquired that title, when Aoreng-zib [illegible] and took it. Most of the cities and fortresses in India have lost their primitive names and acquired new ones, together with an accession of buildings, which are nothing but the site of the camp that had kept them blockaded. Thus Aoreng-abad went heretofore by the name of [illegible]. Colaria is Macsood-abad, and [illegible] Moorshedabad. Daca is Djehanghir-nugur; and Calcutta has been [illegible]. Banares is Mahmed-abad; and Praag is Ilah-abad. Some other cities have had their names changed, in consequence of some renowned Prince adorning them with buildings, or choosing them for his residence, as Delhi, called Shah-djehan-abad; and Agra, called Ecber-abad.

having put himself upon his defence, there ensued a very brisk engagement, in which Sheh-mudjahed, an officer of character, who commanded his body of battle, was wounded, and taken with the loss of about eight hundred of his bravest men. Qhané-zad-qhan, after having exerted himself to the utmost, had two horses killed under him, and was himself wounded with a musquet-ball. So that finding it in vain to contend any more, he had quitted the field, and saved his life with a small number of men; but the whole baggage with the tents, elephants, and artillery, fell into the enemy's hands. The *Gazette* mentioned likewise that Abdol-semed-qhan, Governor of Lahor, whose son, Zekeriah-qhan, had been appointed Governor of Cashmir, hearing of the troubles in that country, and of the turbulence of Eshret-eddin, son to the late Muhtevi-qhan, who had surrounded and besieged his Deputy, he had resolved to punish that insolent. Putting himself at the head of three or four thousand Moghul horse,(199) he marched with so much expedition that he arrived unexpectedly in that country. Eshret-eddin, not daring to stand his ground before such a General, at first kept himself out of the way, and then thinking it safer to submit humbly without dispute and without bloodshed, he surrendered; and the troubles having at once subsided, the country had recovered its tranquillity. But as there were in Cashmir numbers of people that enjoyed pensions from the Imperial treasury, as a charity, and many others that had Djaghir lands or appanages out of the same principle, every one of whom the General thought to have been involved in the late troubles, he ordered all their pensions to be struck off, and their Djaghir lands to be confiscated.

Troubles in Cashmir quelled.

This joyful piece of news seemed to usher another still more agreeable to the Imperial family. On a Thursday, being the

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(199) Properly speaking the Moghuls only, that is, those that followed Djenghis-qhan in India, ought to bear that name, but as there were an infinity of Persians or Iranians in his army, these also came to be called Moghuls by the Indians, still more the Euz beg Turks that followed Tamer lang. Hence all white Mussulmen are called Moghuls in India, as well as their descendants, as all white Christians are called Frenghis. It must be noted that the word Moghul is of modern date, when compared to the word Toork or Turc, by which all India. Gentoos design the Northern strangers; with them a Turkish face, a Turkish religion, and a Turkish language, have always signified a Mussulman religion.

twenty-ninth of the forbidden month of Moharrem,(200) of the year 1134 of the Hedjrah, a daughter was born to the Emperor; and on the nineteenth of the victorious month of Sefur, the daughter of the late Emperor Feroh-ayur was espoused by that Prince, and the marriage celebrated with all the pomp and magnificence, which the dignity of the Empire required.(201) The contract was read, and the religious rites performed, under the influence of the sign of Leo; and the ceremony having been continued for some time with the entertainments, bonfires, music, and dances, customary in Hindostan on these occasions, the solemnity ended by the Princess becoming the reigning Empress, and the perfumed bride of the Imperial bed.

Meanwhile Nizam-el-mulk was approaching, and that Viceroy after having put in order the affairs of Decan, corrected the abuses, and chastised the turbulent of the Carnatick, had turned his views towards the capital of the Empire, where he arrived, and where on a Thursday, the eleventh of the second Rebi, he had the honour to pay his obeysance to the Imperial presence; and on the fifth of the first Djemadi, being a Sunday of the same year, a little before the sun's declining from the meridian, he was promoted to the Vezirship, and received, according to custom, the investiture of that high dignity, by being presented with a Qhylaat of four pieces,(202) and the Imperial casket and scrutoire. On the next Sunday, being the third of the month Djemady

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(200) Moharrem, called the Haram or forbidden, was one of the four months in which the Arabs before Mohamed were forbidden to go to war; and Sefur the victorious, was the month in which war or travelling (those two occupations being the same for the Arabs) commenced. All those months, although Lunar ones being yearly intercalated by some days, were brought to tally with the course of the sun; but Mohamed having abolished the intercalation, the months, instead of recurring always in the same season, wander now throughout the whole year, and design no kind of season at all.

(201) It is remarkable that she had been named *Maleka-zemani*, or the reigning Queen, at her very birth.

(202) A Qhylaat of four pieces is a mark of distinction, a Qhylaat being in general composed of only three. The Imperial casket contains, pens, ink, &c., with the Imperial broad seal, as broad as the hand, whereon are engraven the Emperor's name and titles with the date. The lesser seal is always carried by a particular officer, often by a Lady of distinction in the seraglio, and a third one, much less than an inch square, is carried by the Emperor himself on his little finger, as a ring.

the second, of the same year, the Nŏ8-r8z(203) or New-year's day was celebrated at court with the usual ceremonies; and the Emperor's title which had been hitherto that of the Master of Success, was now changed into that of the Father of Victory, and the Succourer of Religion. On the sixth of Redjeb, in the same year, the Qhalissa office was committed to Radja Gudjer-mull, and a few days after, the Divanship of the musters was bestowed on Sheh-saad-ollah. Meanwhile Nizam-el-mulk, who was a man of much gravity, of a reserved behaviour, and also very fond of power, undertook, first of all, to bring into order the most important affairs of the Empire, and then to pass from thence to other matters of a more private nature. He was advising the Emperor to assume in public an air of gravity and seriousness, to correct his morals, adapt his behaviour to his situation, repress his servants, divide his time into stated hours for each business, and to appoint a time for rendering justice (an important duty of Princes, and without which they could not expect to satisfy Heaven); in one word, to discharge worthily the duties incumbent on command and sovereignty. All these admonitions were listened to by the Emperor, but not relished That Prince was yet in the fervour of youth and the pride of dominion, and had a disposition of mind wholly addicted to a life of pleasures, amusements, and merriment. Nor were these representations more pleasing to most of the Grandees of the court, and especially to Qhandŏ8ran, who could not bear to see at court such a man as Nizam-el-mulk, by whom he would be infallibly eclipsed. The Vezir, therefore, was always looked upon with an evil eye, and spoken to with peevish expressions; and one day, Haïder-c8ly-qhan instigated by the courtiers and the principal eunuchs, went so far as to forget himself in his presence. That nobleman, who was himself a man of courage and ambition, and very fond of power, had amassed such sums of money from his Djaghirs and from his Government of G8djerat, as well as by the confiscation of part of Abdol-ghaf8r's estate, (an eminent Bohra(204) merchant,

(203) The Nŏ8r8z, or New day, or New-year's day, falls in India on the 22nd or 21st of March, and is celebrated at Shah-djehan-abad with particular ceremonies.

(204) The Bohras are a particular clan of Mussulmen merchants from G8djerat. They keep their beard, wear a particular turban, and marry only amongst themselves. They frequent the port of S8rat, here designed by the words—S8ret-bender. The part of which Haïder-c8ly-qhan took possession of, was of about one coror, but the

whose wealth was famous all over the world) that his riches were reckoned by corors; and he became so proud and so aspiring as to entertain thoughts of raising himself as high as had done the late Hossëin-aaly-qhan; a project which, he thought, ought to be set out with by demolishing Nizam-el-mulk. This project of his was much encouraged and supported both by the Emperor himself, and by the other Grandees, who whilst they wished to get rid of Nizam-el-mulk's gravity by the means of Haïder-c8ly-qhan's proud temper, were likewise desirous of tearing the latter out of his Government of G8djerat. and of putting an end to his intended expedition, by setting him at variance with a man of so undoubted a superiority as Nizam-el-mulk; and, on the other hand, this Minister who was fond of money, and trusting to his own power, did not seem to decline the task, and at last he undertook the expedition.

In the next year which was the 1135th of the Hedjra, an event happened in the Emperor's family which could not but afflict his mind. On a Tuesday, the first of Moharrem, at about day-break, Maleka-zemani, the reigning Empress, was brought to bed of a mole of a female appearance; on the fifteenth of the same month, Nizam-el-mulk received in a Qhylaat the investiture of the Government of G8djerat, on Haïder-c8ly-qhan's dismission; and on a Thursday, being the second of Sefur of the same year, a little after the sun's declining from the meridian, that Minister set out on his intended expedition.

It appears that B8rhan-el-mulk-saadet qhan,(205) besides the Government of Ecber-abad which he enjoyed, had had the Government of A8d conferred upon him, although the latter was in the hands of Radja Gurd-hur-bahadyr, who was transferred to the Government of Malva. Saadet-qhan pleased to revisit his ancient government, had left in his stead at Ecber-abad a man of abilities, called Ràу-nil-cunt-nagur. This Deputy, who soon had a difference with a neighbouring Zeminder, having gone out one day upon his elephant to take an airing, was shot dead by a

estate was of several corors. This merchant, who had nineteen ships as large as *Indiamen*, never could complete the number of twenty, making and losing one or two ships every year.

(205) B8rhan-el-mulk signifies the Hero of the State; and Saadet-qhan is the Lord of Felicity; his name was Mirza-mahmed-amin.

Djatt, who had been instigated by the Zemindar, and who taking his seat in a lofty tree, levelled leisurely his piece at Nil-cunt in the middle of his numerous retinue, and having accomplished his purpose, found time to make his escape. Saadet-qhan, informed of this, resolved to defer his revenge until he had taken possession of those two provinces, and established his government; but Qhandô8ran,(206) availing himself of the opportunity, procured that place to Radja Ajdet-sing-sevăi; so that there remained nothing to Saadet-qhan, but his new acquisition of A8d.

Adjet-sing, on being appointed, received orders to march against Churamon the Djatt, a powerful Zemindar of the province; and he accordingly besieged his fortress of T8n, resolved to turn him out of his zemindary; and having gained over to his party Budun-sing, nephew to Churamon, he laid close siege to the fortress, and obstined himself so much before its wall, that Mohcum-sing, son to Churamon, took in full assembly the liberty to reproach his father with the miseries the besieged endured. He likewise forgot so far the respect due to a father, as to make use of improper expressions. The father listening to his tenderness for an only son, forbore to chastise him as he deserved; but giving way at the same time to his discontent, he with a thoughtlessness inherent to the Gentoo constitution, took poison and died. The young man, incapable to govern his possessions, and overcome by Adjet-sing's superior power and genius, was prevailed upon to surrender; upon which, the Radja appointed Budun-sing to govern the zemindary, got this appointment confirmed by the court, and recommended to him to recall his dispersed subjects, and to make the country flourish and prosper as it did formerly. Budun-sing armed with so much support, found means to gain over to his side most of Mohcum-sing's dependants; and the latter thinking himself secure, fled from the fortress, which was immediately taken possession of, and Budun-sing made his residence in it. About this time Radja Gurd-hur-bahadyr having marched to Malva, the government conferred upon him, soon put that province in excellent order.

We have left Nizam-el-mulk going to take possession of his new Government of G8djerat; and he was actually marching thither with a good army and a good artillery, when, to facilitate matters,

(206) Qhandô8ran is a title, and signifies the Lord of the age.

The Emperor, to rid himself of Nizam-el-mulk, gives him the Government of G8djerat.

he contrived the expedient of debauching some of the troops of Haïder-c8ly-qhan's, whose army consisted chiefly of T8ranian Moghuls, and of Péni, Ghazni and Bani Afghans; and as he had himself a number of officers and whole bodies of those same tribes, he pitched upon the most intelligent amongst them, and sent them under a variety of pretences in Haïder-c8ly-qhan's camp, where they gained to his interest most of those that were of the same nation. In consequence of this management, several Commanders of note, such as Shudjaat-qhan, Mehr-aly-qhan, and Rustem-aly-qhan, G8djeraties, with Selabet-qhan, and Zeber-dest-qhan, Banies, and Ased-qhan, Ghazni, and many other Commanders both Iranian and T8ranian,(207) quitted Haïder-c8ly-qhan's camp and dispersed. This General thunderstruck by so general a desertion, fell into a melancholy that preyed on his body, and disordered his mind; and getting himself into a covered chair,(208) he with a number of friends that followed his fortunes, and availed themselves likewise of carriages, took the road to the capital. Nizam-el mulk being thus left in possession of the field and country, marched up to G8djerat, the capital, took possession of it as well as of the whole country, and after having firmly established his government in it, he committed it to the care of Hamed-qhan, his maternal uncle, who went by the name of the Royal Prince Djungly; and himself departing the country soon after marched southward to revisit his governments(209) of Decan, and his capital, Aoreng-abad. Meanwhile Haïder-c8ly-qhan with what friends and treasures he had in his camp, having marched to the capital, arrived there, and for some days remained unnoticed.

About this time, the New-year's day, with the usual solemnities, was celebrated on the Sunday of the thirteenth of the second Djemady of the year 1135; and on the night of the Saturday of the eleventh Redjeb of the same year, a Princess

(207) There are Afghans of several races or clans; those settled about Ferohabad, and in the Rohil-cund, were called Rohilas, from a chief, who flying from Nacyr-shah's sword, settled in those parts. The Persians in India have no other particular appellation than that of Iranians: nor the Tartars, or Tatars, any other than that of T8ranians. Both, as well as their descendants, are indiscriminately called Moguls, or rather Moghuls.

(208) A covered chair or carriage is always supposed to carry a woman, and is always sacred.

(209) Decan signifies south in Hindostany.

was born to the Emperor from Roshen-abady,(210) and she was called Djehan-afroz-bannoo-begum. After some days, Haïder-c8ly-qhan having presented himself at court, was received with much goodness by the Emperor who, compassionating his case, appointed him to the Government of Adjmir, his intention being to chastise Radja Adjet-sing's refractory temper and presumption. That General, who was a man of courage, and bore hearty enmity to Adjet-sing, accepted the proposal with pleasure, and soon prepared an army and artillery sufficient to enter the lists with the Gentoo Prince. He marched against him and attacked his troops, but the latter declined the dispute and fled. It was at the end of Shaaban, of the same year, at which time a Sëid, son to Cassem the Cutval, was killed with a stroke of a poniard by one of the S8rh-posh guards, who was himself grievously wounded by the other's sabre, and the fact happened close to the father's tribunal. In this same year, being the first of Shevval, on a Sunday, Nizam-el-mulk, who was returned from Decan, paid his respects to the presence; and on a Thursday, being the twenty-fourth of Zilcaadah, about an astronomical hour before day-break, a son was born to the Emperor. In the year 1136 of the Hedjrah, it being nearly in the middle of Moharrem, a comet with a long tail made its appearance in the heavens in the sign of Aquarius, and remained visible for ten or twelve days, after which it disappeared, when at the end of the month the Emperor's eldest son departed this life.(211)

This year a number of promotions took place in the principal offices of the court. Camer-eddin-qhan, son of Mahmed-aamin-qhan, whom we have seen in the Vezirship for some little time,

(210) Roshen-abady (Roxana), a dancing-girl of exquisite accomplishments, was taken into the seraglio by Mahmed-shah Last year her portrait in miniature was sent to England. It had been done about forty years ago by an able hand which, through all the exquisite beauty of the face, had the art to betray all the wantonness of look incident to a dancing-girl. Bannu-begum-djehan-afroz signifies the Royal Princess illuming the world; and Roshen, spelled by the Greeks, Roxana or Ruscana, signifies luminous, shining, and is a very common name in Hindostan, very often Arabified into the word, N8ren, from *N8r*, light.

(211) These many niceties about the precise moment when any thing chances to happen, are owing to the author's being a great believer in astrology; in general, they are cut short in the translation. This article about promotions is exceedingly irksome, but as it gives an insight into some matters novel to an European, the translator has not thought himself at liberty to retrench it.

Grand commotion at court.

nay, for a few days, was appointed second Paymaster-general and Superintendent of the Gh8sl-qhana or bathing-apartments ;(212) the Lord of Lords, Qhandö8ran, was made first Paymaster-general, with the additional command of the bodyguards called Vala-shahies and Ala-shahies ;(213) Zaafer-qhan was appointed third Paymaster ; and Selabet-qhan, fourth. The Stewardship of the household was given to Shir-ef-ken-qhan,(214) and after him, to his brother, L8tf-ollah-qhan, the Just, Commander of the body-guards called Soltanies, or Imperials. Emir-djemlah the Terhan or exempt, was made Sadr-el-s8d8r or Grand-almoner. The superintendence of the sanctuary, or sacred apartment of the Ladies, together with the care of the privy purse, was committed to Hafyz-qhydmet-car-qhan, an eunuch of Aoreng-zib's time ; but on his demise, both those offices passed to Roz-afz8n-qhan. Radja Gudjer-mull was appointed to the Qhalissa-office or exchequer, which after him, passed to Iradet-mend-qhan, and after him, to Radja Baht-mull. Sheh-saad-ollah was appointed Divan of the musters ; and Haïder-c8ly-qhan,(215) Mir-ateshy or fire-commander, and after him, Saad-eddin-qhan, and again Haïder-c8ly-qhan, from whom that office passed to Muzafer-qhan, brother to Qhandö8ran. The superintendency of the guards, called Qhavvas,(216) was given to Saadet-qhan, with order to take Ahmed-c8ly-qhan for his deputy. Amin-ed-dö8lah was made first Mir-tozec ; and Daver-dad-qhan, second ; Mubaruz-qhan,

(212) The bathing-place always implies the private apartments. *See Section 1, No. 21.*

(213) Vala-shahies and Ala-shahies are, as their names seem to import, two bodies of horse-guards, of some thousand horses each. The Sorh-poshes, or red-guards, were infantry, and eight thousand in number.

(214) Shir-efken-qhan signifies the Lord Lion-tearer, and also, the Lion-over-thrower. Terqhan is a title given by the Emperors of Tartarian race to those that had rendered such eminent services as entitled them to an exemption from capital punishment ever after. The office of Sadr-el-sod8rs implies that of taking care of charity-lands and of pious foundations. Qhydmet-car-qhan was called a Hafyz or rememberer, because he could repeat the whole Coran by heart ; a gift much more respected in Turky than in India.

(215) Mir-ateshy or the master of the fire-place : an office of great trust. He disposes of the guards in and about the palace, often of the whole citadel of Shaa-ah-hah-djead ; and his office often imports the Grandmastership of the ordonnance.

(216) Qhavvas is a name given to a particular guard armed with sabre, buckler, and a pike.

Superintendent of the door-keepers, and after him, Agher-qhan; and Mir-hossëin-qhan-coca,(217) Superintendent of the pikemen of the presence, ancient and new. The office Arz-mukerer was bestowed on Aly-mahmed-qhan-coca, as was the inspection of the canal,(218) to Faiz-aly-hamed-qhan. B8-aly-qhan-corbeghy was appointed Superintendent of the upholsterer's office, or Farrash-qhana, as was Munevver-qhan, of the body of Ahedians. The footman-office was bestowed on Yanaïet-qhan-rasygh, son to Qhan-sadyc the Caraolian. The keeping of the purse of Largesses was entrusted to Behroz-qhan, and of the Imperial pocket, to Djavid-qhan, both eunuchs. The jewel-office was bestowed on Djevaher-qhan; and the kitchen-office on Bahtaver-qhan, as was the coffee-office on Vedjibeh-qhan;(219) and the elephant-office,(220) to Fazl-aly-qhan. Sëid Cotb-eddin-aly-qhan was preposed to the superintendency of the light artillery, as was Yesen-qhan to the command of the S8rh-poshes and of the C8llars.(221) Allah-yar-qhan was made Governor of the citadel of

(217) Mir-hossëin-qhan's consort, having once, or for any time, given milk to Mahmed-shah, then infant, the husband became of course his Coca.

(218) This canal has been made by Aly-merdan-qhan, a Governor of Candaher, who transferred his fortress and allegiance to Shah-djehan, Emperor of India. It is five feet deep, about thirty in breadth, and comes from the hills, north of Delhi, over a tract of ground of about forty cosses in length.—The body of Ahedians or single ones has no officer annexed to it, the Emperor being reputed their Captain; and this body answers to the Turkish corps of Muteserrycas.

(219) Coffee, although by no means so common in Hindostan, as in Europe, is drunk in very small cups of one-sixth part the capacity of European coffee-cups, Those small cups are supported by a column two inches long, upon four lines in breadth, that rests on a small pedestal, and is fixed down upon a salver, whereon they are served by a dozen or more at a time. A servant giving to the coffee-pot a circular motion that keeps dregs and all in motion, pours it into the cups in the middle of the company.

(220) Mir-djaafer-qhan, himself, said to Colonel Clive, that Seradj-ed-dö8lah, his predecessor, had seventeen hundred elephants. He was only a Governor on the part of Mahmed-shah. This Prince himself must have had many others. The translator has seen in Decan an elephant of twenty-five thousand rupees, and at Lucknow, the portraits of two elephants successively bought by Shah-djehan, for two lacks of rupees, each. The expense of keeping an elephant in Delhi is upon an average five rupees a day. Two blind ones have been seen in Bengal that followed the others by the ear, and withal, loaded. Judge from thence of the amazing instinct of those animals.

(221) C8llars is a Turkish plural that signifies both slaves and soldiers. It is a body of guards bought with the Emperor's money in their childhood or their youth,

Shah-djehan-abad; and Caïm-qhan, son to Zaafer-qhan, Inspector of the Post and Gazette office,(222) as was the Physician Maasom-aaly-qhan, of the Intelligence-office,(223) and in this manner every one got possession of some office; but Zaafer-qhan alone, seemed to have engrossed the Emperor's mind. He, therefore, availed himself of his credit to make money, being ever ready to undertake every petition in consideration of a commission of so much per cent. to himself. This was also the custom of a new female favourite which the Emperor now produced to the world. A certain girl, famous under the name of Cö8ki, and daughter of(224) Shah-Djan-mahmed, a fakir, found means to introduce herself so deeply in the Emperor's good graces, that she was entrusted with the Imperial scrutoire and private signet. This singular favourite was suffered to undersign the Imperial answers to the petitions which she carried within the seraglio; and she availed herself to the full of her credit and influence to make an immense fortune. But what is singular, she was also a woman of much penetration, and fond of reciting verses, and often made some herself extempore. Her boldness was such, that she made no mystery of singing these two distichs of her composition:

Cö8ky, a female favourite of the Emperor's, rallies at him.

"The Sceptre of command has now passed from the Imperial Cocks to the Hens,
"And there is between them a contest for superiority and power.
"Possibly we may see the foolish fellow's bucler dance in a fit of intoxication,
"And women exchange their musical drum for his flaming sabre.(225)

(222) There is no post of horses in India; but there is a post of men on foot, established all over Hindostan at every second cosse.—The office of Vacaa-neviss, and Sevanah-nevis or Sevanah-negar, are nearly of the same import; but the intelligence from the former is published; whereas that from the second becomes only so in process of times.

(223) The Europeans that look upon these countries as semi-barbarous, would be much surprised to hear that learning is the sure road to honour and promotion; and that men of eminent learning are treated as equals by the Princes of the country. A Mesned or throne is always spread for them.

(224) All Fakirs of the Mussulman religion assume the title of *Shah* or King, as all Poets assume that of *Qhallas* and *Tephallas, id est,* the freed, the delivered.

(225) The drum bears five or six names in India, there being as many species of that instrument. That, which is meant here, is only like a lesser European drum, and it serves to accompany the voice. It is placed horizontally before a person sitting, the left hand striking the time, or marking the bar with the four fingers joined, whilst the right hand strikes the divisions of the time or measure with a delicate

The Emperor who was a youth of little resolution and enterprise, thought only of passing his time in pleasures and delices; so that whenever any emergency did happen that required vigour and firmness, he passed it over with condescension, and satisfied with enjoying the company of Umdet-el-mulk-emir-qhan,(226) and of some other young lords, of a lively temper, and of a turn of mind inclined to good fellowship and raillery, he did not give to the affairs of the Empire that attention which their importance required. Hence that respect and awe which the Imperial name used to impose, commenced wearing away little by little from the hearts of men in power and office, one might say from almost every man. Every one was fancying himself of importance, and sitting at home on his own carpet, he entertained thoughts of shaking off constraint, and of assuming independence. On the other hand, Nizam-el-mulk wanted to assimilate the Emperor to his own gravity and manners, and to submit him entirely to his counsels; in short, to wean him from the company of those lively youths in whose society he so much delighted, and especially to resume from Cö8ki's hands and from the Lords of her party that influence which she enjoyed; but such a proposal could not prove of easy digestion, either to the Emperor or to his favourites. Nor were Nizam-el-mulk's turn of mind or manners relished at all by them; so far from that, they were an object of their scorn

alternate management of the fingers. This drum is called D-h58l. There is another sort also, used by women and men, singing. It it two feet and-a-half long, upon a foot in diameter, but so as to taper unequally at both ends. It is slung across the body, and is held slanting. The upper part which is four inches in diameter, gives two notes, according to its being struck in the middle, or near the extremities of the circumference. At the very extremities, it gives the same sounds, but softened into flats. The other or lower part, being twice the diameter of the upper part, gives the lower octave, and, of course, a kind of tenor. This drum, to which Europeans pay so little attention, is called *Mir-dung*. Divided in two by the middle, and the two parts poised on the ground by their broadest ends, whilst the left and right hand perform their offices on the upper extremities, it is called Tablaw (Tabula). Both these drums have cords, and can be tuned to several others.

(226) One or two traits of Emir-qhan's wit will be reported by the author of this narrative; but here is one that characterises his singular talent. He was a Sunny, a sect that admits eating of a hare, which animal is rejected by the Shyahs, of which sect was Saadet-qhan. A hare having been run down in a hunting party by the dogs who were standing over him but too well dressed to tear him to pieces; *see my Lord*, said Saadet-qhan, *even dogs will not eat of a hare. True, my Lord,* answered Emir-qhan, *dogs will not eat of a hare.*

and contempt, and his person, as soon as out of sight, never failed of becoming the constant topic of the most pointed raillery.(227) Nizam-el-mulk, informed of all this, conceived a disgust against the court, and an indignation against the courtiers; and having resolved to rid himself of them by repairing to his Governments of G8djerat and Decan, where he bore an absolute sway, he pretended sickness, abstained from going to court, and remained at home, being already intent upon revenging himself by exciting troubles and raising mischievous commotions which he knew would render his presence necessary. He intended to resign the Vezirship; but being a man of much prudence and consideration, he was inclined to temporise, and often proved dilatory. Meanwhile, this resolution of his having been guessed at by the Emperor and the Grandees that were of his mind, it was agreed to humour that Minister, by accepting his resignation, and letting him live as far from court as he wished, provided he lived satisfied and contented. So that the Vezir himself informed of this inclination of theirs, thought it was so much gain to himself: and both parties yielding something of their pretensions, messages and notes were interchanged, an appearance of union and sincerity took place, and on the second of Sefur, in the year 1136. Nizam-el-mulk came again to court, paid his respects, was honoured with the office of Vekil-m8tlac, or absolute Lieutenant-General of the Emperor, decorated with the new title of Asef-dja,(228) and complimented with every demonstration of favour and regard. The Viceroy, after this compromise, asked leave to go a hunting; but instead of that, he marched towards the Decan, an extensive empire, where he reigned like a monarch to all

Nizam-el-mulk much discontented.

(227) Nizam-el-mulk, always dressed in the ancient mode, with a Jubba, or short surcoat with short sleeves over his Djama, always made his obeisance to the Emperor in the old fashioned manner used at the late Aoreng-zib's court, *to wit*, thrusting both hands into the opposite sleeves of his Djama and carrying them both upon the navel, and then inclining the body at the same time, profoundly. This Chinese or Tartarian obeisance was ridiculed by the courtiers of Mahmed-shah's palace, who liked only the Hindostany manner, *to wit*, putting the four fingers of the right hand upon the forehead, and inclining the body very low. So that when Nizam-el-mulk came to court with his three old fashioned bows, he was sneered at by the young courtiers, who used to point to him with the finger and to say: *Look at the old baboon of Decan; look how he dances*—a raillery which doubtless gave more offence than would have done his dismission from the highest office.

(228) As wise as Assef, Minister of State to Solomon.

intents and purposes. Being there in his centre, he bent his thoughts on chastising an indolent Emperor, and curbing a set of thoughtless profligate courtiers. It was already the seventh month since his departure, when the Emperor, without touching in appearance to the two high offices which the Viceroy enjoyed, bestowed the title of *Djumlet-el-mulk* on Camer-eddin-qhan, *i. e.*, that of *Supreme over the kingdoms of the Empire;* and that nobleman, in receiving the investiture of that high office, promised to humour Nizam-el-mulk in everything in his power.

But all this seemed to be only a matter of style and form; for as soon as he was departed, the Ministers sensible of his discontent, and resolved to be beforehand with him, dispatched in the greatest secrecy, to Mubariz-qhan-Nazem, or Military Governor of B8rhanp8r, a letter of the Emperor's handwriting, which gave him instructions to fight and kill Nizam-el-mulk, by any means in his power, informing him at the same time, that the patent of the Viceroyalty of Decan would soon follow. Mubariz-qhan finding himself supported by the Imperial power, and being of his own nature ambitious of the high preferments held out to him, resolved to fall on Nizam-el-mulk. He discovered his project to Hibrahin-qhan-péni, brother to the late Dă8d-qhan-péni, and to the families of Sheh Nizam and Sheh Minhadj, families of great power and influence all over the Decan, and which seemed to cherish in their bosoms a decided enmity against Nizam-el-mulk, and his overgrown power; and all these having confederated with Mubariz-qhan, enabled him to raise an army, well-appointed, capable of appearing in the field against such a formidable enemy. The General assembled his troops with dispatch, ranged them with skill, and marched to meet Nizam-el-mulk. The latter informed of his intention, and of his mighty preparations, hastened to encounter him, and the two armies joining battle on a Thursday of the month of Moharrem, in the year 1137 of the Hedjrah, a bloody engagement took place, in which the Imperialists lost four thousand bravemen with four elephants left on the field of battle. Victory declared for Nizam-el-mulk; and Mubariz-qhan with his two sons and his best friends, being slain in the engagement, hastened into eternity. Nizam-el-mulk, after this victory, sent a supplication to the Emperor containing an account of the battle, with the number of those slain on Mubariz-

An underhand war between the Emperor and Nizam-el-mulk.

A battle between Nizam-el-mulk and Mubariz-qhan in which the latter is slain.

qhan's side, to which he added his congratulations on the victory of the Imperial troops, with a number of eshreffies,(229) usual as a Nuzur on such occasions, without omitting any part of the property seized in the vanquished camp.

Hitherto the dissatisfaction and dissensions between the court and Nizam-el-mulk, although well known and apparent, had been carried on under the mask of dissimulation and protraction; but after this defeat of Mubariz-qhan, the veil was a little withdrawn, and the Emperor sent for Haïder-c8ly-qhan, whom he knew for a man of power and bravery, and one heartily attached to his cause. That nobleman, on this invitation, quitted Adjmir, and repaired to the capital, where on a Friday, the fourteenth of the second Reby, at about two astronomical hours after sunrising, he had the honour of paying his obeisance to the Emperor, who appointed him to the office of Mir-ateshy, or great Chamberlain and Superintendent of the Imperial household, a distinction to which was added another, that of being complimented for his Qhylaat with a dress of His Majesty's own wearing. At the same time, the present incumbent of that important office, Saad-eddin-qhan, a T8ranian of Nizam-el-mulk's recommendation, was dismissed. This Viceroy who was informed of all this, and trusted to his own power and to his late victory over Mubariz-qhan, wrote to Hamed-qhan, his maternal uncle, Governor of G8djerat, to commence hostilities, in combination with Silla-dji and Cunta-dji, two Marhatta Commanders, whom he engaged to make incursions into the Imperial territory. Hamed-qhan, on this intimation, beat the drum of independence, raised the standard of defiance with the motto: *Who is this country's owner to-day?* and seizing on all the Djaghirs or appendages belonging to the several Grandees now at court, he dismissed their Stewards from their offices. The Ministers, informed of this, were holding councils amongst themselves, where they agreed in nothing but in not coming to any conclusion at all, and in fixing on no scheme whatever. The

(229) Eshreffy is the Hindostany word for what the English call a gold-mohur or gold-rupee. But mohur indicates only the standard, and not the species of money. On any solemn occasion a number of such mohurs is presented to the Emperor, from five to twenty-five, to one hundred and-one, and to a thousand-and-one. Inferior people present only one eshreffy and four rupees of silver, or only five rupees; and these are either accepted and taken, or only touched, which touching always amounts to an acceptance. The eshreffy is a double guinea.

Emperor, sensible that the T8ranians had grown too numerous and too powerful in the Empire, resolved to oppose the late Vezir, Abdollah-qhan, his prisoner, to their overgrown influence; and he sent him a trusty person to inform him "*That the times* "*were now become such that even he might be of some use to His* "*Majesty.*" Abdollah-qhan answered: "That if ever His Majesty "should please to overshadow the head of his servant, by "stretching over it the Imperial hand of clemency and forgiveness, "he, his faithful servant, trusted, that as soon as he should be "admitted to the honour of paying his respects to the presence, "he would be able to assemble a good body of five or six thousand "veterans, with which His Majesty's Ministers might try his zeal "by putting him upon any service they should devise." This answer, unfortunately for Abdollah-qhan, was no sooner reported to the Emperor, than the enemies and jealous of that nobleman's family, becoming fearful of the consequences of his being set at liberty, found means to convey a dose of poison to that much injured Sëid, and to send him to his illustrious ancestors.

The prisoner Abdollah-qhan poisoned.

We have left Mubariz-el-mulk Ser-b8lend-qhan(230) dismissed from his Government of Cab8l, and Nassyr-qhan promoted to that important office by Zaafer-qhan's influence. The dispossessed General was now retired to his house in the capital, and but seldom appeared at court. However, on Abdollah-qhan's repairing to the mansions of divine mercy, the Ministers resolved to avail themselves of Ser-b8lend-qhan's abilities and character; and this advice was opened by the eunuch, Hafyz-qhydmet-car-qhan, upon whose attachment and sincerity the Emperor reposed the greatest confidence. It was resolved to send him against the revolted Hamed-qhan, and to confer for that purpose upon him the Government of G8djerat, where he was to receive every kind of support; but as Ser-b8lend-qhan had long been out of employment, and it was known that he had consumed his equipage and all his savings, so as to be ill-fitted for taking the field,(231) a coror of rupees was sent him from the public treasury, together with the patent of the Government of G8djerat, and he received orders to chastise the revolted Hamed-qhan, and

(230) Ser-b8lend-qhan Mubariz-el-mulk signifies the lofy-headed Lord, the most forward in battles of the kingdom.

(231) A coror of rupees is a hundred lacs, or a million and-a-quart sterling.

to recover that country. The General, who was sensible of the military talents of Nedjm-eddin-ally-qhan, brother to the late Abdollah-qhan, supplicated His Majesty for his liberty, and requested to have him for his companion. This request was granted with the better grace by the Emperor, as he had always thought kindly of Nedjm-eddin-aly-qhan, who had been the person sent to bring him away from the castle of Selimgar, and to conduct him to Ecber-abad. Nedjm-eddin-aly-qhan then was released from his confinement, and admitted to the honour of paying his obeisance to the Emperor, who complimented him with a Qhylaat, a sabre, and the title of Bahadyr or Valiant. Ser-b8lend-qhan, who was present at the ceremony, having received leave to proceed on his expedition, took Nedjm-eddin-aaly-qhan upon his own elephant, and they arrived together at the camp that had been pitched out of the city. There Nedjm-eddin-aaly-qhan soon assembled a body of Sëids of Bar attached to his family, and a quantity of cavalry that had served under him; insomuch that he soon found himself at the head of a respectable force. And as, on the other hand, Ser-b8lend-qhan, who had commanded in most provinces of the empire, was known to be a man of great character, and a friend to the soldier, numbers of officers, who even in their retreats had never ceased to be attached to his person, and to wish for the moment of his prosperity, hearing of his promotion, quitted to a man their dispersed homes, and with what old soldiers they could influence, they flocked to his camp from all parts; so that in a little time he found himself at the head of a numerous well-appointed army. It was after so expeditious a junction that the two Generals thought proper to spend full four months on that part of the country where the road divides partly towards Adjmir and partly towards Acber-abad; for Ser-b8lend-qhan was continually fed with the hopes of being promoted to the Vezirship. But as the star that favoured the T8ranian party, was yet on its ascension, this design, which was pregnant with so many salutary effects, was dropped, and the army after so detrimental a delay, marched at last towards G8djerat by the road of Adjmir. In this interval of inaction Nedjmeddin-aaly-qhan, who had returned to the capital, where he had fallen sick, was, on his recovery, honoured with the Government of Adjmir, and ordered to attend Ser-b8lend-qhan, as his colleague.

Ser-b8lend-qhan appointed General from Court, beats Hamed-qhan.

Meanwhile the Emperor, disgusted with that spirit of intrigue and dissatisfaction, which Nizam-el-mulk had blown up amongst the T8ranians of the Court and Empire, had conceived suspicions against their whole body, as well as against every one of them, and his aversion increased to such a degree, that he resolved to dispossess them of all influence. Camer-eddin-qhan was the nobleman who first felt his displeasure. The Emperor suddenly took from him some governments and some offices which he as suddenly distributed to others. At the same time Saadet-qhan, an Iranian Lord, received leave to repair to his Government of A8d, where he applied himself to the business of bringing the country into subordination and order. But Ser-b8lend-qhan who had tarried a little more until his colleague, reduced to distress by his long confinement, should have so far recruited his finances as to appear in the field with something like an army and a suitable equipage, thought now of marching against the revolted of G8djerat. So that a few days after that officer, who had been joined by the numerous friends of his family, and by his personal companions, followed his colleague, and at last effected his junction with him. Whilst they advanced, Hamed-qhan, who had disregarded the good advices which Ser-b8lend-qhan had several times conveyed to him, found means to engage Conta-dji and Pila-dji, two Marhattas of the Cäicvar family, to follow his fortunes, and he joined them to his own army, commanded by his Bacshy or Major-General, Aman-beg. But these combined troops having soon been encountered by Ser-b8lend-qhan, in person, they received a great defeat in which Aman-beg remained amongst the slain, after which the vanquished army dispersed. At the end of the battle Sheh-el-häyar the Belgramite, Paymaster to Ser-b8lend-qhan, who had been detached from the Imperial army, having got into the city of Ahmed-abad by one gate, he was taking possession of it, whilst Hamed-qhan was going out by the other, from whence he took shelter in Nizam-el-mulk's camp. This Viceroy, little discouraged by such a check, engaged some other Marhatta Generals to join Hamed-qhan, and to make an invasion in G8djerat. But this invasion occasioned several bloody engagements, in which the Marhattas were constantly defeated by Nedjm-eddin-aly-qhan, who everywhere exhibited proofs of that valour which was hereditary in his family, and

which he held from his glorious and holy ancestors.(232) At last matters came to a general engagement, in which Nedjm-eddin-aly-qhan with an army of sixty thousand horse, and a body of infantry, composed of Arabs, and some other strangers, supported by an artillery of some hundred pieces of cannon of all bores, attacked the Marhattas, gave them a complete defeat, pursued them for a long time, and never gave over the pursuit, or turned his horse about, until he had driven them beyond the Nerbudda. This great victory was obtained in the plains about Cambäet-bender (Cambaye), where the Marhattas left a vast number of dead on the field of battle. It had been preceded by an irruption which they had made into the territories of Nugur and Pil-nugur, towns held by Camer-eddin-qhan in Djaghir, and they were actually occupied in sacking and plundering, when they were suddenly attacked by Nedjm-eddin-aly-qhan, and by Qhanè-zad-qhan, son to Ser-b8lend-qhan. The Marhattas after this great victory, being pursued everywhere, evacuated every part of G8djerat. It must be observed that as the victorious army was numerous, it received monthly, a regular supply of five lacks from the capital, which sum was forwarded by Hafyz-qhydmet-car-qhan, that faithful friend of Ser-B8lend-qhan's, and after his death, by Zaafer-qhan, the intent of which supply was to enable that General to go on briskly with his operations, without troubling himself with contributions; and it was determined to continue the same, until the country could be so far subdued and quieted, as to afford a sufficient revenue to support the victorious army. But on the news of the great victory obtained, the supply was stopped by the advice of Qhandö8ran, and an order was sent to dismiss such numerous troops as had become unnecessary. This order ruined that victorious army, and spoiled all the fruit expected from victory; for before that order had come, such was the dread which the Imperial power had spread universally, that the refractory throughout those countries, did not dare to look up to it but with respect and confusion.

The Marhattas defeated in a bloody battle.

We have said that Zaafer-qhan was the person that had the greatest influence over the Emperor's mind, and it must be

(232) Namely, from Aaly, Mohammed's son-in-law, whom the Shyah Mussulmen are wonted to complement with the title of *Shah-i-Mardan*, the King of Braves, and that of *Shir-i-qhoda* or God's Lion.

acknowledged that this nobleman had many good qualities; but he was addicted to the love of money, and open to bribery; and just at this very time it came out that the twelve lacks which it was his duty to transmit yearly to Cab8l for the payment of the garrisons of that province, had been regularly curtailed by full six, which he converted to his own use; nor did he act with more reserve throughout that infinity of affairs that passed through his hands. One would think, after so bold a peculation, that he was upon the best terms with every one of the Ministers of state; but it was the very reverse. So that his practices came to be mentioned to the Emperor in such terms that this affair ended totally in his disgrace. That Monarch gave him a severe reprimand in public, and he made him over to the controuling office, which having found a balance of full two corors of rupees against him, obliged him to replace the money in the public treasury. He was moreover disgraced and fell into contempt; and the business of providing for Cab8l, together with some other expenditures, was committed to Qhandŏ8ran, whose fidelity was now acknowledged. The same charge of corruption and bribery was proved against one(233) Shah-Abdol-ghaf8r, a fakir of the T8ranian party, who got so much ascendency on the Emperor's mind, as to appoint and to dismiss whomsoever he thought proper amongst the comptrollers of the Qhalissah-office. Grown proud of his power and influence, he had been guilty of many unworthy shameful abuses, that had come to the Emperor's knowledge. But now he was sent for, publicly disgraced, cast in prison, and exiled into Bengal; and two corors in money having been found in his house, besides an infinity of other effects, the whole was confiscated, and sent to the public treasury. Cŏ8ky herself, the omnipotent Cŏ8ky, who had been entrusted with the Imperial signet within the seraglio, and had acquired so much authority as to recommend to offices and charges, having been found to be the associate of those two men, was dismissed with disgrace, forbidden the seraglio, and obliged to refund.

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(233) Or Saint Abdol-ghaf8r, or King Abdol-ghaf8r. We have already observed that a man, on turning fakir in Hindostan, if a Mussulman, assumes the title of Shah or King. By the T8ranian or Tartarian sect, is meant the Sunny sect, followed by most of the Mussulmen nations; but most of the Persians or Iranians, although not all, follow the Shyah opinions or sect.

After the many disgraces which had been brought upon Ministers as well as upon the Empire itself, by misconduct, and bad politics, one would be apt to think that the accession of power and influence which Qhandŏ8ran had now acquired, would have rendered him more cautious; instead of that, he listened only to his dislike against the disgraced Minister Zaafer-qhan, and he was hardly fixed in the vacated office, when he made haste to supercede Ser-b8lend-qhan, that great friend of the disgraced Minister; and he soon appointed Radja Abi-sing-rhator, to succeed him in G8djerat, whither he had orders to repair with the utmost expedition, as well as with injunctions to dismiss Ser-b8lend-qhan to court. Abi-sing, fond of his repose, and proud of his hereditary dominions, sent a Naib or Deputy to take possession of the new government; but this Deputy having been chastised and expelled with disgrace by Ser-b8lend-qhan, another Deputy was sent with a greater force, and this commander also was received in the like manner. At last Abi-sing, ashamed of being repeatedly foiled with so much disgrace, marched himself at the head of an army of fifty thousand men, mostly cavalry, to which he added a good artillery; with which he entered the G8djerat. Ser-b8lend-qhan, although equally uneasy at the intrigues of the capital, and fearful of the power of Nizem-el-mulk, resolved with that inconsiderable, ill-paid, ill-furnished force which had been left him, to encounter his enemies. Coming out of the city of Ahmed-abad, he encamped at some Farsacks(234) from it; and putting himself at the head of his little army, and of a certain number of friends and old soldiers that would not quit him, he attacked Abi-sing, and fought with so much conduct and bravery, that the Radja thought proper to quit the field of battle, and retire a little farther. Ser-b8lend-qhan, who saw himself equally exposed to the machinations of the enemies at court, and to the power and intrigues of Nizam-el-mulk in the field, became satisfied with Abi sing's retreat; and contented with having given him a lesson, he resolved

The Victorious Ser-b8lend-qhan neglected, and superceded by a Gentoo Prince.

Ser-b8lend qhan, after beating the GentooPrince goes alone to pay him a visit.

(234) The Arabic alphabet, the only one used by the Persians, having no *p*, the *f*, was very naturally substituted to it, and hence the original Persian word Parasang (and the ancient Greeks write it so) coming to be altered into Parsang, was written *Farsang* and *Farsac*, by the Arabs that invaded Persia twelve centuries ago. This word arises from the stones placed upon the roads to shew the distance, and to assist horsemen. They were at least four miles distance from each other.

to come to terms with him, and this he compassed in an unexpected manner. About the end of the day, he put on a white plain dress, and rolling a white turban round his head, he with no other escort or retinue than a few Chopdars or Mace-bearers and servants, advanced to visit the Gentoo Prince. Abi-sing at first was extremely surprised and confounded at this intelligence; but as at the same time he thought himself highly honoured by such a visit, he got up, advanced to the gate of his tent-walls, and after the usual embrace, he took the old General by the hand, made him sit on his own Mesned, and shewed him every mark of respect in his power. Ser-b8lend-qhan, after some conversation, turned towards the Gentoo Prince, and spoke to him in these very words: "Young man," said he, "to your own surprise I inform you that "there subsists much friendship between me and you. There was "a time when your father and I exchanged turbans(235) as brothers, "and I, therefore, look upon you to be my nephew. The little "fighting that has passed between us, was with an intent to vindicate my honour, and to approve my character, as a soldier. "For there is not the least enmity between you and me; nor do "I see why, being an hereditary friend to your family and self, I "should abstain from paying you a visit. The Imperial service "is the matter in question, and it is for that very service I had "come into this country. Now that this has been committed to "your care, you are welcome to it, and I wish you may bring the "government into proper order. I have not myself any further "business with it. I come only to request of you a travelling "equipage, and some money to defray my charges." This speech which was delivered with all the frankness of an old soldier, astonished the by-standers, and the Gentoo Prince more than any. He had his enemy in his power. Nevertheless, struck with the General's high character, and with the anecdote it brought to his mind, he thought his honour concerned in obliging him to the utmost of his power; and sending for his steward and treasurer, he ordered them to comply with whatever directions Ser-b8lend-qhan should give them. A little before the end of the visit, the General having again mentioned the former friendship that had subsisted between him and the Gentoo Prince's father, offered to

(235) The reader is informed that the exchange of turbans renders the two contracting parties sworne brothers to each other.

renew the ties of it, and to strengthen them anew. He took down his own plain turban, and put it upon Abi-sing's head, and raising up the latter's turban, which was enriched with a variety of gems of mighty value, he put it(236) upon his own; after which they embraced each other again in token of friendship and brotherhood, and he departed content and satisfied to his own camp, where the money and equipage arriving soon after, he quitted the country and took his journey towards the capital. But all this manœuvre gave much discontent at court; and Qhandö8ran informed that contrary to his own pleasure and to the Imperial command, he had dared to come to a battle with an Imperial Governor, after which, only the General had thought of setting out for the capital, he was exceedingly incensed; and he so far exasperated the Emperor against him, that a general order was sent to the guards of the highways to stop him whenever he should make his appearance, with injunctions to hinder his advancing one step farther until he had obtained a pardon for his misdemeanour. Moreover, two hundred guards, extraordinary, were sent; one-half towards the road of Adjmir, and the other half towards that of Acber-abad, in which station they waited his coming. The General being arrived about this last city, was stopped short by the Imperial order, and forbidden from advancing farther. Ser-b8lend-qhan, obliged to tarry for several days at that city in order to deprecate the Emperor's displeasure and to obtain leave to proceed to court, was set upon by the disbanded troops that accompanied him. They mutinied, rose upon him, and fiercely asked their arrears, and were ready to commit insolencies. Luckily for him, that Saadet-qhan was then in that city. This Viceroy, who remembered to have once served under Ser-b8lend-qhan, and to have been promoted by him to a higher command, was shocked to hear the insults likely to be offered to his old commander; and he sent him a respectful message

(236) The turban being a very delicate piece of Malmal or thin Muslin of about two feet in breadth, and from fifty to a hundred feet in length, may be embroidered; and in dresses of ceremony, and in Qhylaats, it is embroidered, but cannot be enriched with jewels. The surpitch, however, is often enriched with jewels. It is bound round the turban close to the forehead, and accompanies the face elegantly. The Gentoo Prince probably wore on his turban a calghy, and this is always an aigrette of jewel-work, and also a ser-bend, which is also a piece of jewel-work, and is laid flat on the forepart of the turban.

importing: "That if he were pleased to refer these mutineers and "their arrears to him, his faithful servant and grateful well-wisher, "he would undertake to satisfy their claims." This generous message instead of soothing the General's grief, served only to wound his pride. He politely declined the offer, and answered: "That thanks be to Providence, matters had not come yet to such "a height, as that he should prove burthensome to his friends." After this answer, he went into the apartment of the Ladies,(237) and taking some gold which he kept within for a resource, he discharged the arrears due to those troops, and the tumult subsided of itself.

The inconsiderate and disgraceful insults that had been offered to so meritorious a man as Ser-b8lend-qhan, and the ungrateful and impolitical behaviour of the Ministers in general, put Nizam-el-mulk upon his own guard. He took warning and resolved to give them full occupation henceforward by engaging the Marhattas to invade Hindostan. He applied to Badjirão, the principal man of the court of Saho Radja,(238) who was a General of a high character in those parts, and of a high pedigree, as drawing his origin from the Radjas Simbha and Sevãi, the founders of that Empire. He proposed to him to conquer the Malva from the hands of Radja-Gurd-hur, the actual Governor of that fine province, and to recover the G8djerat from the hands of Radja Abi-sing-rathor; or at least to ruin and desolate those two countries, so as to render them of no use to his enemies. Nothing being more welcome at all times to the Marhattas than such proposals, Badjirão and the other Marhatta rulers assembled a mighty army, with which they invaded both the Malva and the G8djerat at one and the same time. In the latter they gained several advantages over

The Marhattas, excited by Nizam-el-mulk, invade the Malva.

(237) It is needless to report here that we always translate the word *Haram* and *Haram-sera*, by the word sanctuary, and those words signify full as much, *a place forbidden* to any one; but it is not needless to repeat that public money is often kept within the seraglio, as a place highly respected; and that private money or rather the privy purse, is always kept there. Even private men keep their money there.

(238) Saho-Radja signifies, it is said, the glorious King. Sevãi is the name of that warlike Prince that gave so much exercise to Aoreng-zib, and found means to plunder the rich city of Surat of one coror.--But as we have been mentioning so many Gentoo words, it will not be improper to add that the words of *Sevãi*, *Nagur* and *Rhator* which occur in this work, are names of clans or of Gentoo families of consequence.

Abi-sing's Lieutenants and plundered a great extent of country; but this was not the case in Malva. Radja Gurd-hur, who commanded in that country with a small body of troops, could not bear to see his country ravaged; and being a man of valour and even of temerity, he engaged several times Badjirão, after having in vain requested assistance from the capital. His repeated supplications to the throne, and his representations to the Ministers, produced nothing; and that brave man, having consumed his small force in that war of endless skirmishes, at last fell himself, and was stripped of the garment of existence. He was succeeded in his command by Radja Dïa-bahadyr, a relation of his, and son to the brave Chébiléram, who pursuing Gurd-hur's plan, did not cease to harass the Marhattas, giving them no rest, and taking none himself; and he wrote to the principal Ministers: "That so long "as he lived, he would prove like a wall in the passage of the "enemy towards Hindostan; but that after his death the Ministry "might depend upon their spreading like an inundation all over "the Empire." None of these representations produced anything, and that brave man was at last slain in an engagement, in which he departed the confines of this fragile world. It was in the year 1143 of the Hedjra. The Minister little affected by this death, appointed Mahmed-qhan-bangash to succeed him, with full powers to manage the affairs of Malva, and the latter advanced as far as Oodjëin; but as the country was ravaged on all directions by the Marhattas, he could not take root in it, and the court dissatisfied with his lukewarmness, gave his government to Radja Djehi-sing-sevãi. It was in the year 1145, and this was also done by Qhandö8ran's advice. The new Governor, who inclined to the Marhattas, by principle of religion, proved full as lukewarm in his administration, and did nothing worth notice. However his advice prevailed; for three years after, the court, whether out of weariness, or out of some new principle in politics, thought proper to confer the government of that country on Badjirão himself; and in that manner the Malva passed under the Marhatta dominion. Nor did the G8djerat meet with a better fate. The Marhattas availing themselves of Abi-sing's incapacity and neglect, made themselves masters of the whole country; and this conquest, which occasioned an infinity of losses to the inhabitants, served only to exhibit in glaring colours, all the incapacity of the Minister,

Which is vigorously defended by its Governor.

The Marhattas conquer both the Malva and the G8djerat.

and all the weakness of the administration. To remedy such disorders required the strong hand of valour, and the curbing grasp of zeal and prowess; but this was more than could be expected from a set of men destitute of personal courage, and lost to all sense of honour. And, indeed, what figure can the fox cut in the lion's den; and what can be expected from a wooden sword opposed to a keen steely blade? Qhandö8ran having fancied to himself that the evils that were undermining the Empire of Hindostan could be remedied by dint of policy, and lost countries recovered by art and cunning, expected to bring every thing into order again by a knack at negociation, and by tricks of legerdemain. He even had the folly to think that such powerful enemies as Nizam-el-mulk and the Marhattas, might be reduced to order by keen raillery, and overawed by a battery of bon mots playing in proper time. This was just lighting a fire upon the surface of a piece of water. But in general this Minister was exceedingly unlucky. Every scheme which he projected, turned out to the detriment and dishonour of the Empire; so that the factious Grandees, sensible of the debility of administration, were confirmed in their schemes of independence and revolt. The field of dissension grew wider and wider; and the materials of a revolution becoming daily more abundant, seemed now to be assembled in heaps. Such a state of things required quite another man than Qhandö8ran, and to lop off that towering tree of insubordination and independence which was perpetually shooting forth new branches on all sides, required the sinewy arm of some active valorous Prince, who after having felled it down with repeated blows of his battle-axe, should find sagacity enough in himself to dig out all its roots, and to tear them one by one. Nothing less could answer the necessities of the State than the exertions of such vigorous Ministers, as a Zulficar-qhan and a Hossëin-aly-qhan, two men, who with a strong arm, would have bent the necks of refractoriness within the string of their bows, and strangled it at once.

The Marhattas, now established in their conquests of Malva and G8djerat, found their views enlarged; and encouraged by the stillness and pusillanimity of an administration that seemed motionless, and gave but faint signs of life, they now commenced aspiring to some more acquisitions, being continually busy in

providing quarrels with the Imperial Governors, their next neighbours. Little by little they stretched their feet within the frontiers of the provinces of Ecber-abad and Ilah-abad, drove the Fodjdars next to their own conquests, and insensibly extended their limits to the detriment of the Imperial territory. Whilst the Marhattas were perpetually encroaching on the Imperial territory, Mahmed-qhan-bangash, styled the Ghazenfer-djung, or Lion in War, had assembled a good army from his own clan, *i. e.*, from the Rohilla Afghans, and a train of artillery from his fortresses, which he marched into the country of Bundelcund, a dependence of Ilah-abad, with intention to make a conquest of it, and to drive away the Radjas Chetersal and Naga, the most powerful Princes of that region. He advanced into the very heart of the country, made himself master of all the strongholds, and having seized on the capital, he resolved to take his rainy-quarters in it, in order to accustom his new subjects to the yoke. The dispossessed Radjas, with the other Princes of that tract, sensible of the weakness of the Empire, and making as little account of the Minister's resentment, as of his influence and attention, turned their views towards the Marhattas of the Great Nagp8r,(239) (a city and region that ought to be reputed a dependence of Aoreng-abad, since it is in the province of Barar, which is on the back of the Bundelcund) or possibly they applied to the Generals left by Badjirão at Oodjëin, the capital of his new conquest of Malva. Be it as it may, the dispossessed Radjas, on promising a sum of money and a cession of part of their territory, obtained an army of Marhattas, with which they returned into Bundelcund, where Mahmed-qhan-bangash had thought himself so secure in his conquest, that he dismissed the greatest part of his Afghans to their homes, retaining only a small body; and as he had been too little time in the country to be informed of all its inlets and passes, the dispossessed Princes found means to be upon him, before he had any advice of their coming. He had hardly time to mount his horse and to march with what little force he found under his hand; but being soon

Mahmed-qhan-bangash invades the Bundelcund, and is besieged.

(239) Great Nagp8r is so called from its extent, and also to distinguish it from Chota Nagp8r, which is a town in the western dependencies of Bengal. Great Nagp8r is at four or five hundred cosses south-west of Calcutta, and the residence of a family of Marhatta Princes that are powerful and seem to act almost independently from the court of Pona.

overpowered by numbers, and obliged to quit the field, and to think of some place of shelter, he after wandering two or three days, found a fort called Djĕit-gur, where he had just time to throw himself with his troops and followers, and where he was immediately besieged; and the Radjas with their Marhattas were so intent in their business, that not a blade of straw could find its way to the fort. As a great multitude of all sexes and ages had taken shelter in it, a scarcity of provisions was soon felt, and it soon ended in a complete famine. Cows, horses, and asses came soon to be eaten; things horrid became food; and a dead beast attracted a thousand eyes. Nor was it possible to receive any supply without, or to get out of the fortress. Such a state of distress could not long remain concealed from Mahmed-qhan's family. On the first news of the blockade, his consort and children had quitted Feroh-abad, the place of their residence, and had repaired to the capital, where with cries and tears they had implored the Minister's assistance, and the Emperor's attention. No man took notice of them, or minded their desolation, and this forlorn family in despair applied, as a last resource, to their own tribe and clan, the Afghans of the Rohil-cund. The mother sent her veil round amongst their principal men, and Caïm-qhan, the eldest son, addressed them himself. Such a spectacle produced a full effect. The Afghans touched with the deep distress of so principal family, resolved to make an effort in its behalf, and to save their countrymen from impending destruction; and having put up with the little money and jewels which the mother and son could afford to distribute amongst them, they assembled in numbers, and appointed that son himself to lead them to action, as their General. The Afghans by incessant marches, arrived in the nick of time, attacked the besiegers, and getting to the gate of the fortress, they drew out Mahmed-qhan-bangash and their countrymen, and carried them safe to Ilah-abad: an action ever memorable, by which this worthy son immortalised himself, in saving his father's life. But the Ministers likewise performed their part from the capital; and as a punition to Mahmed-qhan-bangash, for his having miscarried in his expedition, lost a battle, and suffered himself to be blockaded, they deprived him of his Government of Ilah-abad, which was trasferred to Ser-b8lend-qhan, whose misdemeanours were now forgiven. This General accepted the employment, but sent thither

Heroicall[y] rescued by h[is] own son, w[ho] saves his father's life.

his son, Qhanèzad-qhan, as his deputy, and himself remained in the capital, but however, without much appearing at court, his discontent being such that he mostly kept himself in his own house.

Strange events at the end of the year 1135, and at the beginning of the next.

A strange accident closed the end of this year. The Qhass-qhana of Haïder-c8ly-qhan's(240) took fire of itself, and smothered its master. But the beginning of the next year was no less remarkable in singular events. On Wednesday, the eighteenth of the second Djemady, in the year 1136, two or three hours after sunrising, Mahmed-yar-qhan, nephew to Shäistah-qhan the ancient Lord of Lords, a nobleman who so early as the times of Aoreng-zib, had always enjoyed the government of the province of Shah-djehan-abad or Delhi, departed his life on a sudden, and repaired to the mansions of divine mercy; and a few days after, being a Friday, the office of Mir-ateshy or Grandmaster of the household and of the artillery, vacant by Haïder-c8ly-qhan's demise, was entrusted to Muzafer-qhan, brother to Qhandö8ran. In this same year the magazine of powder that went by the name of B8rhan-el-mulk's, having taken fire, blew up, and carried with it the steeple of Firoz-shah's, with the buildings adjoining; and the whole was torn from its foundations and thrown at some distance. In this year also the brave Nedjm-eddin-aly-qhan repaired to the mansions of divine mercy, and his Government of Adjmir was bestowed on Muzafer-qhan, who was already entrusted with the high office of Mir-ateshy or Grandmaster of the Imperial household. On the Wednesday of the tenth of the second Djemady, in the year 1141, the Emperor felt an accession of fever and sickness, but it ended in a full recovery. In the same year, being the month of Shaaban, news came to court that the Marhattas of G8djerat had advanced into the contiguous country of Radja

(240) A Qhass-qhana is a small room made up of four walls, and a tent like roof, the materials of which are solely of qhass, a long grass, that sinks deep in the ground and exhales an agreeable smell. These walls being constantly kept sprinkled with plenty of water in the hot weather, emit by their innumerable interstices a sweet scented zephyr that lulls the soul to sleep, while travellers fall dead on the highway, and poor labouring people perish by scores. General Carnac once demanded of Shudja-ed-dǒulah whether he suffered most from heat or from cold? From neither, answered the Hindostany Prince. I make my own climate. The walls are only one inch thick, and being bound with twine, may be put up and folded down exactly like those of a tent.

Abi-sing's. The Gentoo Prince who had just been expelled from that kingdom, finding his hereditary dominions attacked, obtained leave, and repaired in all speed to Djodehi-p8r-Merta, his capital. About the end of this same year, it being a Friday, the Pendjabi shoemakers and some other Mussulmen tradesmen, rising in a body, excited a great disturbance. In the disorders usual in the days of Hooly,(241) one of their body, a man highly respected for his having been in pilgrimage to Mecca,(242) happened to be killed by the Gentoo jewellers, and that too, unjustly. His brethren, shocked to see their complaints unattended to by a set of inattentive Ministers, who rather inclined to favour the adverse party, and unminded by a group of Grandees, little addicted to religious considerations, and who paid no attention to the account they would have one day to render in the other world, left the body for three days together unpurified and unburied,(243) resolved not to meddle with it unless they had revenged the man's death. The Grandees, taken up, every one of them, with concerns

Great sedition at Delhi, on account of a Hadji, murdered.

(241) The Hooly is a Gentoo festival where not only gaming is allowed for three days, but all kinds of rioting and disorders, such, however, as may be expected from a nation of an amazing meekness and a prodigious tameness. Yet frays happen sometimes between the Gentoos, on one hand, whose holidays being fixed on solar calculation, are immobile, and the Mussulmen, on the other, whose festivals and other ceremonies, being lunar, wander throughout the whole year. The Hooly lasts three days, the third of which, at about eleven at night, they burn it, *i.e.*, the populace, naked, and besmeared with dust thrown at each other by handfuls, burn doors of straw, straggling wood, and anything combustible they can find or snatch at. Once in my time there happened a fray between the Mussulmen that were in their Moharram, or days of mourning, and the Gentoos that were in their Hooly, or days of frolic; and both parties applied to an Englishman, the Chief or Governor of the country. At what time, asked the Governor, does your festival fall every year? At this very time, answered the Gentoos, and never at any other. And your mourning, at what time does it recur every year? Sometimes at one season, and sometimes at another, answered the Mussulmen, Then, your mourning, said the Englishman, is the aggressing party, and it is you that are in the wrong; an answer that did honour to the man's good sense, and quashed the dissension.

(242) Every one that goes to Mecca and performs the pilgrimage there, lets his beard grow, and prefixes the word Hadji or Pilgrim, to his name: and this name is held in veneration.

(243) The body of a Mussulman, deceased, is immediately shaved, washed with a great deal of water poured upon it, and a quantity of dried rose leaves and other sweet-scented things are put under his armpits in bits of cloth, and other parts of his body; nor can it be buried unless these rites have been performed, as well as many others.

of their own, were busy amongst themselves, and not one of them thought of affording either justice or consolation to those injured people. The shoemakers incensed at such a neglect, raised a sedition, took possession of the great mosque, and forbade divine service to be performed or any prayers to be said, or any body of Mussulmen to assemble there, until their wrongs were redressed. The Cazi of the city having attempted to pacify them, met with nothing but insults and disgraces. The tumult being upon the increase, at last attracted the attention of the Court, and Camer-eddin-qhan the Vezir, as well as Zaafer-qhan the Minister, were sent on a Friday to perform their devotions, and to see divine service performed in the cathedral. They came with their own retinues and a number of other Lords, and were preparing to commence prayers, when the afflicted and much injured people commenced cursing and reproaching them for their maladministration, as well as their shocking supineness and odious lukewarmness in whatever concerned religion; and proceeding from words to deeds, they fell upon them and put them to flight. Zaafer-qhan being closely pursued, took shelter under the bucklers of the Afghan soldiers that accompanied him. The shoemakers pursuing their blow, continued throwing their slippers at those guards and at the Lords and their soldiers, and put them to flight again. The Vezir alone stood his ground, and on his ordering some unboxed rockets to be fired and thrown over their heads, the seditious were reduced to silence, and impressed with some fear, and the tumult subsided a little. The Vezir finding them reduced to some order, addressed them in modest terms, and by employing, by turns, expressions of severity and consolation, he prevailed upon them to disperse. The Poet has said :—

It is appeased by the Vezir Camer-eddin-qhan.

" Firmness and condescendence must be employed together.
" The chirurgeon that opens the vein brings his bandage with him "

The tumult had risen to such a height, that most of the Grandees were insulted, and as the people were preparing to proceed farther, some great event, as terrible as the Day of Judgment, might have taken place, but for the Vezir's exertions.

At the end of the year, between the months of Shevval and Zilcaadeh, there arose, for forty days together, out of the ground, such an abominable stench all over the city, that the poor and rich being equally affected by it, were attacked by an epidemical

fever that filled the houses with sick. The shops and markets were shut up, the streets became desert, and the city looked like a place forsaken by its inhabitants. People said that they had never seen or heard of such a calamity. The stench and sickness(244) commenced at Patna, and Ilah-abad, from whence it proceeded to Ecber-abad and Delhi, and continued spreading over Paniput and Serhend, until it extended to Lahor, where it stopped. By a favour of divine Providence, none of the sick died; they all recovered, except a very few, whose last hour was already arrived. This strange event was followed by a stranger one. The winter proved so very severe this year in Shah-djehan-abad and old Delhi, and its environs, that the water would freeze in vessels of copper which were all burst. Running waters, and the river itself froze likewise. This happened for three nights together in the month of Redjeb, of the year 1143. It also rained ice in several places. This frightful year ended by an expedition which the Emperor undertook.

An infection pervades all Hindostan.

Strange frost in Delhi.

On a Tuesday, being the fifth of Redjeb, of the year 1145 of the Hedjra, he set out of the citadel of Shah-djehan-abad with his Vezir, Camer-eddin-qhan, the Lord of Lords Qhandö8ran, and his whole court, and marched to Faz-abad and Berhot and Soniput, where he encamped, spending a whole month in the pleasures of a general hunting. Returning from thence, he alighted at a seat and garden called Betel-caatra,(245) where he amused himself with the beauty of the place; from thence he advanced to the banks of the river Djumna, which he crossed at Ferohbahsha's seat and garden, where he stayed ten or twelve days. There hearing that the Marhattas had made an incursion as far as Ecber-abad, he resolved to march and to chastise that race of freebooters; and advancing two stages more as far as the little

The Emperor under pretence of a hunting party sets out on an expedition.

(244) It is remarkable that the famous plague of the twelfth century that depopulated all Asia and all Furope, commenced by another such stench which came out of the ground, on the north of China, and spread all over the northern world.

(245) Betel-caatra, the name of a seat and garden at some distance from Shah-djehan-abad or Delhi. It must be observed that all gardens and seats in Hindostan are *open to all comers*; nor does it require the owner's leave to go in, and to amuse one's self with dancing, music, and entertainments from morning till sunset. A garden, an artificial pond, a well, and a cistern are always deemed pious and public works.

river of Heniden, he encamped at the Sera(246) of Bunghil, where he stopped seven or eight days. But the freebooters having dispersed and quitted those parts, on the report of his march, he returned by Talputt to Feridabad, and on the month of Sevval, he under the auspices of fortune and prosperity, alighted at his palace, the seat of glory and royal pomp.

This hunting party of the Emperor's seemed to be only a prelude to something more serious. For on the sixteenth of Ramazan, in the year 1146 of the Hedjra, about three hours and-a-half after sunrising, Muzafer-qhan, brother to Qhandŏ8ran, and Grandmaster of the household, received orders to march and chastise the Marhattas. He was invested with a Qhylaat, which he put on, and without giving himself time to go home, he marched at once out of the city, and encamped at the seat of Djivandas. It is true that the Marhattas, after having completed the conquests of G8djerat and Malva, had continued their ravages and incursions, on finding that no one moved from the capital to oppose their usurpations; but it is no less true, that they had been satisfied with settling contributions, and then had rested a little. However, so soon as they saw that no notice was taken of their motions, they recommenced again, assumed the dominion of those districts, and by encroaching upon one or two territories more, they kept the Imperial frontier in a retrogading posture; till at last through perpetual encroachments and continued industry, on one hand, and the most shameful neglect and most barefaced supineness, on the other, they possessed themselves of all the territories as far as G8aliar, which is a famous and important fortress of Hindostan, and quite in the neighbourhood of Ecber-abad. Elated with these successes, they talked of nothing but of new conquests, being encouraged thereto chiefly by Nizam-el-mulk who blew the coals of animosity and confusion, and excited them incessantly to new expeditions. The Marhattas, sensible of the weakness of the Empire, and convinced of the pusillanimity of its Ministers, did that as a compliment to Nizam-el-mulk's interests, which they would have done of themselves without any such motive or invitation. Assured, then, of so powerful a support, they

(246) A Sera is a caravansera, built of stone, brick, or straw, for the accommodation of travellers. Numbers of villages are built close to them, as well as towns.

advanced to the very gates of G8aliar, and pushed their contributions as far as Ecber-abad, on one side, and as far as Adjmir, on the other. Qhandŏ8ran, who was too knowing not to feel the consequences of such encroachments, but who thought it improper to march himself against them, sent his brother, Muzafer-qhan, to put a stop to those encroachments. This was a man so full of his own valour and prowess that he endlessly talked of it. The Emperor dismissed him with a deal of distinction, and he set out at the head of the Imperial troops, as well as of those belonging to several Lords, who to the number of two-and-twenty were commanded to attend him. So that the whole formed a fine spectacle, and a vast multitude that covered the plain. Muzafer-qhan, invested with full power, and at the head of a numerous army and a numerous artillery, put his foot in the stirrup of authority and command, and marched out to encounter the enemy, resolved to give the Marhattas battle. But these freebooters accustomed to wage war only by skirmishes and incursions, without ever coming to a general engagement, never made a stand before him, but kept him marching and pursuing, as far as Serondj, where Muzafer-qhan thought proper to stay. On this the Marhattas returned, surrounded his camp, and by continual skirmishes, so straitened his quarters, that provisions and necessaries became scarce in his army; but he contented himself with conserving his person, and waiting for orders from his brother and from the Emperor. An order for his return being at last arrived, he was satisfied with bringing his army entire, and he returned to the capital, where on a Tuesday, being the thirteenth of Moharrem, in the year 1147, he had the honour to pay his obeisance to the presence, and was complimented with a plate full of jewels and gems; after which, he repaired to his own palace which had been at all times the scope of his wishes, and where alms were distributed by him, *exvotoes*(247) paid by his friends, and Nuzurs offered by his favourites and flatterers, in thanksgivings to Providence for its exertions in extricating so illustrious a General from the manifold dangers of that mighty expedition. All, all with one common voice extolled the amazing abilities and the astonishing conduct he had exhibited in that dangerous campaign, and they

The Marhattas continue theirencroachments, and despise the General sent against them.

(247) These exvotoes and ceremonies are customary when a man comes back from an expedition or a voyage. *See the remark 59, Section 1*

felicitated him and themselves on his safe return, as on a piece of good luck that had been beyond their most sanguine hopes; but yet people that knew the man, and were unconnected with him, did not fail to mention often the following verse: —

"You to perform such a business! Is it so that the braves behave?"

This year the forgiven Prince Aaly-tebar,(248) son to Aazem-shah, took his journey towards the mansions of divine mercy, it being the sixth of Moharrem, and he was buried close to his mother, Kirpa-p8ry,(249) in the mausoleum she had built for herself. On the twenty-fourth of the second Djemady, in the same year, the trust-worthy of the Empire, the Vezir Camer-eddin-qhan, and the Prince of Princes, Qhandö8ran, were both appointed to chastise the Marhattas. Both these heroes set out together, and after having fought the Marhattas for a long time together, they returned to the city together; and this expedition ended like that of Muzafer-qhan's. On the return of these Generals to the capital, the accursed free-booters attacked and plundered the town of Sanbehr, which is only at a hundred cosses from Shah-djehan-abad. The Fodjdar of that place, by name Fahr8, to redeem himself and the town from sack and plunder, agreed to give them four elephants, and three lacs of rupees, with some other effects; and he punctually performed his part. But the freebooters after having been paid to the full, laid their hands upon his person, and plundered him so effectually, that he was left with no other property in the world, than the clothes on his back. The Cazy or Chief Justice of the place, unwilling to trust to those infidels, gave way to what they call in Hindostan, a point of honour, *i.e.*, he put to the sword his consort, his children, and his whole family, and then taking to his arms, he with a few friends defended his house to the last drop of his blood; and it cannot be denied, but that he behaved valiantly, and performed feats of prowess and bodily strength. It was after such calamities all over the Empire, that the elements seemed to have conspired against the inhabitants of the capital. On the eighteenth of the second Reby, of the year 1148, in the

(248) The word forgiven is used out of respect, and signifies the deceased. Aaly-tebar signifies of illustrious race, and also of high destiny.

(249) Kirpa-p8ry is certianly a Gentoo name, and she must have been either a Gentoo Princess, who would not, like the others, assume a Mussulman name, or some dance-woman, taken into the seraglio.

evening of the Wednesday, a rain commenced that continued for thirty hours together with so much violence, that most of the houses fell down in the capital, and the little stream at the Sera of Roshen-ârâ, rose to such a height, that several streams of five feet in depth, ran through all the streets; and news came that the city of Ecber-abad had likewise felt the same calamity at the same time.

A terrible rain of thirty hours.

Whilst the Empire laboured under the confusion we have mentioned, and every one was making his particular profit of the troubles to push his own point, no wonder that a Zemindar, *i.e.*, a man restless and refractory by nature and by trade, should aspire at independence. Adjadj8, a Zemindar of the Checlaw of Corra, availed himself of the weakness of the Ministry to revolt against the Fodjdar of that district, under whose command he was; and having killed him, and plundered his effects, he moreover took possession of his family. The Fodjdar was no less a person than Djan-nessar-qhan, brother to the Vezir Camer-eddin-qhan. The latter shocked at the enormity of the crime, sent Azim-ollah-qhan, his kinsman, to punish the Zemindar, and to rescue the deceased's family and consort from his hands. But Adjadj8 who was accustomed to mischief, and knew how far he had become obnoxious, quitted his usual residence to Azim-ollah-qhan, and retired to some part of his country which he knew to be of difficult access. This retreat having betrayed Azim-ollah-qhan into a mistake of the man's being but of little consequence, he concluded that his commission was not an object worth his while, and he made only a short stay in the country, where he left Qhadjem-beg-qhan, a T8ranian, with some other commanders, whilst himself was repairing to the capital. But no sooner did Adjadj8 hear of the other's departure, than become prouder than ever, he yielded to the violence of his temper, and quitting his strongholds, he suddenly fell upon Qhadjem-beg-qhan, and his troops, which he put to the sword. Camer-eddin-qhan, on hearing such an intelligence, was confounded; but being himself too deficient in personal courage and in firmness of mind to remedy evils of such a nature, he applied to Saadet-qhan, Governor of A8d, whom he entreated, if he had any regard for the Moghul name, and any zeal for the Mussulman religion, to come and chastise that turbulent scelerat. Saadet-qhan, who was a man of

Flagitious enormity of a Zemindar.

personal prowess, and a jealous assertor of his religion, no sooner received the letter, than he resolved to undertake the expedition. He was already upon his march to the capital on some other business, when receiving Camer-eddin-qhan's letters he quitted the main road, and struck upon his right, with intention to chastise the Zemindar. The latter wanted to amuse this General also with fair words, but finding that the other would not catch at such a bait, and being besides a man of much pride and courage, as well as elated by his late successes, he resolved to stand his ground and to fight, and he only waited for the enemy's arrival to commence the attack. It happened that the Viceroy fatigued with his day's journey, was just retiring to his tent to take some repose, when Adjadj8's spies, who were just at hand, went and informed their master that the Viceroy was a tall stout man, dressed in green, with a flowing white beard, and they added that he had just got into his tent. The Zemindar who just waited for such an opportunity, getting directly from out of his ambuscade, presented himself at the head of his troops. On sight of this Saadet-qhan got upon his elephant, and was exerting himself in putting his troops in battle. He advanced with what people were at hand, and in the condition they were at that time. It happened that Saadet-qhan having stripped himself of his dusty clothes, had just put on a white apparel; and that one of the foremost of his commanders who advanced to engage, was Ab8-t8rab-qhan, the T8ranian, one of his ancient and best officers, who was that day dressed in green, and was remarkable by a long flowing white beard, as well as himself. Adjadj8 having spied that officer upon an elephant, took him to be Saadet-qhan himself, and with a number of bravoes that followed him, he ran on a full gallop to that part, and soon joined the elephant, when brandishing his spear, he gave the old officer such a violent blow, as pierced him through and through, the spear coming out at his back, and lodging itself into the board of the häodah. Saadet-qhan's foremost troops intimidated by the man's prowess, and by the execution done by that select body which accompanied him, commenced to fluctuate, and to lose courage; when Saadet-qhan himself with a chosen band flew to their assistance, and after having discharged showers of arrows on him and his followers, he closed at once with him, and engaged sabre in hand. At this very moment a

Gentoo officer, called Durdjun-sing, a relation of the Zemindar's, but from a long time in Saadet-qhan's service, having discovered the man, pointed him out to his master, and spurring his horse, he engaged him with reproaches mixed with blows; and Adjadj8 receiving at the same time two wounds, one by a stroke from Durdjun-sing, and another by an arrow from Saadet-khan, fell down and was undertrodden. From this moment a zephyr of victory seemed gently to raise the drooping standards of that General; and the divine favour blowing in full upon his troops, gave his troops a complete victory. The victorious General took possession of the enemy's camp, and ordered the Zemindar's head to be sent to the Emperor, and his skin, stuffed with straw, to be presented to the Vezir; after which leaving to Abb8l-mans8r-qhan, his nephew and son-in-law, the greatest part of his troops, with the command of the country, he pursued his march to the capital, and on the seventh of Redjeb, in this same year, he paid his obeisance to the Emperor, to whom he presented a Nuzur of one thousand and nine eshreffies, with a curious poniard and sabre. The Emperor honoured him with a rich Qhylaat, to which he added a poniard and a sabre, enriched with jewels, a horse, and an elephant. Two months after, he was recalled to the field again by letters from Abb8l-mans8r-qhan, from Sheh-abdollah, and from some other commanders of his, who repeatedly informed him that the Marhattas, whom Adjadj8 had called to his assistance, were at hand.

The Zemindar is chastised.

About this time, it being the sixth of Zilcaad, in the same year, Yad-gar-qhan the Kashmirian, a particular friend of Qhandö8ran's, and a shrewd, subtile, well-spoken man, was dispatched to Radja Djehi-sing-sevăi, and to Badjirăo, the Marhatta Generalissimo, which latter had been heretofore sent by the Radja Sahoo, with orders to make conquests in Hindostan. The envoy was entrusted by the Emperor with a patent for the two provinces, Malva and G8djerat, which Badjirăo held already by the tenure of the sword, and with a commission to gain that General over to the Imperial service, by a promise of mighty honours and a variety of rewards. Radja Djehi-sing's part was to act as mediator in this affair. It was in this same year and on the fourteenth of Zilhidj, at about three hours before midnight, that Zaafer-qhan departed his life, a Lord that had acquired a character for many

valuable qualifications, but especially for his munificence and the benignity of his disposition. He had contracted an intimacy with Shah-bigah, a fakir, whom he had made the director of his conscience, having taken him for his tuteler saint, and submitted to his directions in every thing. But it is time now to leave those small occurrences (and, indeed, whatever came to pass at the capital had this long while ceased to deserve a better appellation); and let us turn our eyes towards those eastern parts of the Empire which, after having lain in obscurity and oblivion for such a length of time, now emerged at once to become a theatre fertile in those important events that have paved the way for the conquest which strangers have made in them, and which they have stretched as far as the neighbourhood of the capital of Hindostan. The scene opens at Azim-abad.

I am not informed which Governors succeeded Nusret-yar-qhan in the government of that province. I only know that in the year 1140, Fahr-eddö8lah, brother to Zaafer-qhan, having obtained the government of that province, remained five years in it; but as he was a man that could neither read nor write, and was light-headed besides, his actions savoured of neglect and ignorance. He was also very proud, and very prone to anger, and at the same time so inconsiderate, that for a small subject, he fell out with Sheh-abdollah, a man of consequence in those parts, who seemed to be the main hinge of all the Government business in that province, for he had been for a length of time always employed by every Governor, either as his deputy, or as a general-farmer of the revenue. He had connections with almost all the Zemindars, was greatly respected by every one of them, and had acquired the good-will of the troops, as well as of every individual in the province, where he was universally respected. Fahr-eddö8lah incited by a sense of jealousy, set up several chicanes against him, and he made him so uneasy, that the other thought it expedient to quit his house at Azim-abad (a house which he had bought with his own money), and to repair to the other side of the Ganga, where he had built a mud-fort, about the town of Sevan, and bought several villages with a deal of ground, where he now retired much discontented. The Governor not satisfied with this retreat, crossed the river after him, and besieged him in the said castle; and he wanted no less than to obtain possession

of the fort, and to seize and ill use his person. The man reduced to extremities, applied to Saadet-qhan, Governor of A8d, his next neighbour, to whom he exposed his situation, with the subject of the difference; and on his being sent for by him, he sallied out of the fort, forced bravely his passage through Fahr-eddö8lah's camp, and effected his retreat by a valorous action, in which he eluded Fahr-eddö8lah's inimical designs, and approved himself a soldier as well as a financier. Sheh-abdollah being arrived at Saadet-qhan's court, was received with distinction and honour; and the inimical Governor having missed his prey, returned to the capital, where he some time after commenced a quarrel with Qhadja Mutaassem, whom he greatly disobliged. This Qhadja or fakir was no less a man than a brother of Qhandö8ran's, who under the garb of a fakir, and the resignation of a religious retired from business, lived at Azim-abad in all the splendour of a nobleman of the first rank. Shocked at the imprudence and the imperiousness of the Governor's behaviour, and at the levity of his actions, he quitted Azim-abad, and repaired to the capital, where on his brother's enquiring about the subject of his coming, the other informed him of the Governor's tyrannical conduct. The Minister who had already heard of it, procured Fahr-eddö8lah's dismission from his appointment, and having annexed the Government of Azim-abad to that of Bengal, he sent the patents of it to Shudjah-qhan, who on the demise of Djaafer-qhan, his father-in-law, had succeeded him in that government. And as those Eastern countries are now going to cut a capital figure in our history, it will not be improper to introduce their actual ruler to the reader's acquaintance. Introduction to the revolutions in Bengal.

Shudjah-eddö8lah,(250) *alias* Shudjah-qhan, the then S8bahdar or Viceroy of Bengal, was a native of B8rhanp8r, a city in Decan, and by origin an Afshar, which is a tribe of Turks dwelling in Qhorassan, a province of Iran.(251) He was one of the principal men of that city, and having contracted an alliance

(250) His titles were Muatemen-el-mulk; Shudjah ed-dö8la; Shudjah-eddin-Mohammed-qhan-Bahadyr-Assed-djung: The Trustworthy of the Kingdom; the Valorous of the Empire; the Brave Shudjah-eddin-Mohammed-qhan the Lion-like in battles.

(251) The Qhorassan, or eastern parts of Iran or Persia, as well as the northern ones of that Empire, from Tavriz to Meshhed, are full of Turkish tribes that inhabit in tents mostly, and seldom follow any other profession than that of soldiers, shepherds, and husbandmen. Those are the soldiers that fill the Persian armies;

with Djaafer-qhan, another man of consequence of the same city, he lived with that nobleman, who in Aoreng-zib's time had become Divan of Bengal, and in process of time had obtained likewise the Nizamet or Military Government of the same province.(252) By means of the alliance between them, every preferment obtained by Djaafer-qhan proved an accession of influence to the son-in-law likewise, and the father-in-law having joined in his person the distinct offices of Divan and Nazem of the two Governments of Bengal and Oressa, procured the S8bahdary or Viceroyalty of the latter province for Shudjah-qhan, who went and established his residence there, not only in order to inspect himself the affairs of his government, but also because there had arisen such a diversity of tempers and opinions between these noble persons, that they could no more live together upon those terms of concord which decency prescribed. The son-in-law therefore wished to live at a distance from his father-in-law. He was a man of a moderate temper and a lover of justice, and he bore a character for many valuable qualifications that had acquired him the esteem and respect of all the world. Djaafer-qhan was the very reverse of him, and universally known for such. Another subject of difference was the dislike taken at Shudjah-qhan by his consort, Zinet-en-nessa-begum,(253) daughter of Djaafer-qhan,

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for the originary Persians are made no account of, and are called Tats, Taats, or Tradesmen, and Tadjiks or Burghers by derision, altho' there are some Persian tribes that are excellent soldiers, for instance, the Bahtyaries or Bahtrians which are all mountaineers, and yet all cavalry. Kerim-qhan was a Bahtyari, or Lori; but Nadyr-shah was an Afshar.

(252) The Nazem is the Governor of the province, a military man who commands the troops and fortresses, and inspects the distributive justice. The Divan is the Superintendent of finances, something very like the Intendant in France, but quite independent from the Nazem, on whom he is a check. But when a Governor joins both those offices in his person, he is called a S8bahdar or Viceroy.

(253) *Zinet-en-nessa* signifies the ornament of the sex. Begum. pronounced Bilem by both Turks and Tatars, or Tartars, is a title of Turkish origin and the feminine of Beg, which signifies Prince, both in Tartary and in Turky, but means no more than a trooper, both in Persia and in India, of Moghul origin. As to her husband's incredible ardour for women, it is notorious that he could not live four hours together without a woman; and in full audience, and whilst actually occupied in business of State or in rendering justice, he used to step behind a partition, and to come back after a full half hour. His excuse for such strange absence is no less singular. "Gentlemen, I am cursed with the most hungry and most unruly "Tatt8 (Poney) on the face of earth; he is eternally teasing me for grain."

and mother of Ser-efraz-qhan. This Princess, who was of a virtuous disposition, and a pattern of chastity, had her heart alienated from her husband, not only on account of his being upon such bad terms with her father, but especially on account of his excessive proneness to the love of women. She parted with him, and taking her son with her, she chose her residence in Moorshood-abad, a city founded by her father, and named with his title which was Moorshood-c8ly-qhan, where she lived in great splendour, and where she would have probably continued to enjoy tranquillity, had not fate suscitated a man predestined to overturn her family, and to change the face of these countries. There appeared at this time at court a person called Mirza-mahmed, husband to a lady, who being herself of the Afshar tribe, was allied to Shudjah-qhan. This Mirza-mahmed had with him an elder son of his, by name Hadji Ahmed, and a younger son, Mirza-mahmed-aaly, since known under the name of Aaly-verdy-qhan, and the title of Mehabet-djung. This Mirza-mahmed had been in the service of Aazem-shah the forgiven; and on his master's death, he was reduced to the utmost poverty and distress, having lived a long time out of employment, and being obliged to support a family equally numerous and indigent. In this extremity Mirza-mahmed-aaly, son to Mirza-mahmed, betook himself to the expedient of sending his mother and father to the court of Shudjah-qhan, and this happened in the beginning of Mahmed-shah's reign. That Governor glad to oblige a relation, conferred several favours on Mirza-mahmed, took him into his service, and shewed him so much kindness, that Mirza-mahmed-aaly, the son, resolved to repair likewise to the court of Bengal and Oressa, a resolution which he effected with the utmost difficulty, on account of his being entirely destitute of the means of performing so long a journey. He at last arrived at the court of Oressa, and being a man of a keen genius, of an insinuating turn of mind, and of a temper capable of the most delicate affairs, to the niceties of which he knew how to adapt himself, he soon joined to these civil qualifications, the military ones of an intrepid bravery, and an undaunted prowess, and he acquired so great a character, that Shudjah-qhan congratulated himself on the acquisition of so excellent a subject, and looked on his arrival as upon an event of unexpected good luck, that prognosticated

Origin of Aali-verdy-qhan's family and power.

Aali-verdy approves himself a man of great and manifold abilities.

the rise of his protector's family; insomuch that Mirza-mahmed-aaly rose in favour and in credit from day to day, and was promoted to the highest offices; and now the plant of inclination and attachment having taken a firm footing between these two persons, and its strength having been tried and confirmed by experience, Mirza-mahmed-aaly sent for his brother, Hadji Ahmed, with the consorts, children and relations of the whole family, which then lived at Shah-djehan-abad; and the latter having accordingly assembled the whole of them, he travelled into Bengal, from whence he repaired to the court of Oressa, where being arrived, he was, as well as his younger brother, taken into favour, and promoted to offices and employments; and as the two brothers were both men of abilities, of much versatility of mind, and of such a preseverance as was capable of surmounting the greatest difficulties, they strengthened so much Shudjah-qhan's government, as to become the foundation of that elevation to which it rose in the sequel. Particular arrangements were introduced into the department of finances, and the revenues greatly augmented by their application and their industry; but Mirza-mahmed-aaly, who to the political abilities of his brother, joined a brilliant character, as a soldier, and had always displayed a greater extent of genius, than either his father or brother, came soon to eclipse all his relations, as well as all the persons in Shudjah-qhan's service, in so much that he became in time exposed to the shafts of envy, both from relations and strangers. This envy had risen to a pitch, when his protector, who kept several of his agents at court, obtained for him a grade of honour with the appellation of Mahmed-aaly-verdy-qhan,(254) a distinction which jealousy could not bear.

Djaafer-qhan, Governor of Bengal, thinks of procuring his patent for his own grandson Ser-efraz-qhan.

All this while Djaafer-qhan continued displeased with his son-in-law, and as his life was drawing to an end, he conceived the project of procuring the Nizamet of Bengal for Ser-efraz-qhan, his grandson by Zinet-en-nessa, a young Prince, who had already the Divanship or Intendance of that province. Full of that scheme, he wrote to his agents at court, and spared no pains and no expense to obtain an object that had now become the wish

(254) These words signify the qhan or Lord; bestowed by *Aaly*, or Aaly's gift. *Verdy* is Turkish for *he gave*, and *qhan* signifies *Lord* or *Prince*. *Mahmed-Aaly* are both Arabic.

of his heart, and on the completion of which he expected to be succeeded by his grandson in both those offices. This project having come to the knowledge of Shudjah-qhan, the latter applied to both Aaly-verdy-qhan, and to Hadji Amed, his brother, for advice. The two brothers agreed in giving one and the same counsel, and in pointing at one and the same method of succeeding. They, first of all, recommended some acquaintances of theirs, men of talents, and of a ready speech, to be dispatched immediately to the court of Shah-djehan-abad, with full powers to treat; and then, they brought the minutes of the supplications which it became necessary to write to the Emperor, to the Vezir, and to the Prince of Princes, Qhandö8ran. These were drawn up in an elegant, conciliating style, calculated to sooth and to persuade, and they requested the patents of Divan and Nazem in Shudjah-qhan's name, for both the provinces of Bengal and Oressa. With these credentials, the envoys were dispatched to the capital and ordered to make the utmost dispatch. Other trusty men of the military kind, were at the same time dismissed upon some pretence from Shudjah-qhan's service, but in fact, were only dispatched by various roads to Moorshoodabad, with orders to keep themselves disjointed, but in the environs of Djaafer-qhan's palace, so as to be night and day ready to execute such new orders as would be sent after them. But as the rainy season was at hand, and it was foreseen that the inundation would necessarily preclude all communication from Cateck to Moorshoodabad, a vast number of boats of all sizes, and for all uses, were therefore provided, and a multitude of boatmen assembled and kept in pay to the end that, on the very first intelligence of Djaafer-qhan's demise, Shudjah-qhan might, without hinderance, proceed to Mooshoodabad immediately. A secret post was also established betwixt Cateck and Shah-djehan-abad, not only for the sake of receiving as soon as possible the desired patents, but also for being every day furnished with intelligence from both that capital and Moorshoodabad. At last a letter of undoubted credit having informed Shudjah-qhan, that Djaafer-qhan had hardly five or six days to live, he set out from Cateck, taking with him Aaly-verdy-qhan, and such a number of friends and troops as he thought sufficient, and he proceeded hastily to Moorshoodabad, sometimes by water, and sometimes by land, just as opportunity served. He had a son by a lady different

from Djaafer-qhan's daughter. It was Mahmed-tacky-qhan, and him he appointed his deputy at Cateck. Whilst he was proceeding with so much expedition, he received certain intelligence that Djaafer-qhan was dead, and a few days after, being yet upon the road, he received the patent for which he had applied to court. This spot proving so auspicious to him he stopped awhile, and called it Mubareck-menzil, or the auspicious stage. From thence he proceeded with as much expedition as a simple courier, and in a few days he arrived at Moorshoodabad, where without giving himself time to take breath, he directly repaired to the Chehel-s8t8n, a place raised by Djaafer-qhan on forty pillars(255) for such solemnities; and sending for the Vacaa-naviss or gazetteer, and the Sevaneh-naviss or crown-intelligencer, with some other Crown-officers, and the principal men of the city, he produced his patents, got them read aloud by those two officers, and having procured himself to be acknowledged as the lawful S8bahdar of the two provinces, he took possession of the Mesned, sat in it, and ordered the Imperial music to strike up in rejoicing; after which he received Nuzurs of acknowledgment and congratulation from every one present. What is very singular, is that his son, Ser-efraz-qhan, an unsuspecting young man, fast asleep in the lap of ignorance and security, was actually at a country-seat about two miles from the city, in the full confidence that he was the designed and undoubted heir of Djaafer-qhan, his grandfather, in his offices and estate, and that there was no man daring enough to dispute his title; nor did he know any thing of what was passing within the city. The first intelligence he had, was from the sound of the Imperial Nagara(256) and from the music which had struck up. Confounded and astonished at the intelligence that was soon brought him, he stopped short, and asked his principal courtiers, and the principal officers of his troops, what they, thought was to be done? Most of them answered unanimously, "that as his father had received and proclaimed his patents; had "taken possession of the Mesned of command as well as of the "palace and the city; had been peaceably acknowledged; and

But is supplanted by his son-in-law, Shudjah-qhan.

(255) Chehel-s8t8n signifies forty pillars. It was a building with a stone cupola, leaning on forty columns of stone, and open on all sides. This building occupied the site of what they call to-day Seradj-ed-dôulah's palace, but exists no more.

(256) A large kettle-drum of iron.

"was master of the treasury; there remained no other party, but "that of submission." This unanimous opinion of theirs having been submitted to by the young man, he left his retinue behind, and taking only a few servants, he advanced briskly; and whether he would or not, he kissed his father's feet, presented his Nuzur, congratulated him on his accession, and dropped every thought of dispute and contention. This inauguration being over, Shudjah-qhan turned his mind (and he had an excellent one) towards putting in order the affairs of Government and finance.

Ser-efraz-qhan submits to his father.

His chief counsellor and adviser was Aaly-verdy-qhan; but he availed himself likewise of the abilities of Hadji Ahmed, the latter's brother, and of those of Räy-aalem-chund, an ancient Divan or Minister of his, who was really a Hindoo of merit, and such as deserved all the confidence and trust reposed in him. He also called to his councils several well-wishers of his, and especially Djagat-seat-fateh-chund, a famous banker of those days, whose wealth was reckoned by corors, and who has never had his equal. All this assistance was only for public business, but in private matters, and in every difference between man and man, he would trust to no one whatever; but sending for the parties, and listening patiently and leisurely to the tales of each, he accurately summed up the reasons of both sides, and with much subtility drew up his conclusions from them, pronounced the sentence, and had it executed with dispatch and punctuality. No recommendation, no entreaties from the nearest relation, would avail, if they proved to militate against the justice arising from a thorough examination of the case. His equity and humanity were no less conspicuous to the Zemindars and other landholders of Bengal. These, under Djaafer-qhan's administration, had been mostly kept in prison and confinement, and tormented in such a variety of manners, that it would be a pity to spend any paper or ink in describing or mentioning them. It is doubtless of such characters and morals that the Poet Saady had in view when he wrote these verses:—

Excellent character of Shudjah-qhan.

"Never be guilty of such actions as dishonour your family and person,
"For fear lest people one day should curse both your person and family."

Shudjah-qhan, after having firmly established his Government, dismissed such Zemindars and other landholders, as he found to be innocent, and free from crime or fraud; as to the others, he ordered them to be all brought into his presence and to form a

circle round his person; and this being done, he asked them, how they would behave in future, should he release them from the miseries of confinement and restore to them the blessing of liberty and the sweets of free air? The poor people, who had been for years languishing in confinement, and had undergone a variety of torments and racks, surprised at this address, broke forth in encomiums on his generosity and goodness; and after supplicating Heaven to grant him a long series of prosperous years, they unanimously raised their voices, and promised that henceforward they would pay their rents with a thousand times more punctuality than they had done heretofore, and would, moreover, prove obedient and dutiful in whatever services his goodness might think fit to command. This promise they couched down in a particular writing, which was authenticated by the proper formalities, and after having opposed their hands and seals to it, they confirmed their promises with the most sacred oaths, and with the most solemn execrations against anyone that should act contrary to its tenor. This matter being over, Shudja-qhan sent for a number of rich Qhylaats, in which they were dressed, every one of them according to their respective rank and station; insomuch, that there was not a man in that assembly that did not receive a suitable present. After that ceremony they were all dismissed to their regretted homes, with injunctions to transmit henceforwards their rent by the means of Djagat-seat.

It is in consequence of so much benignity of temper, and such a celestial distribution of justice, that the kingdom of Bengal, which in books is called the terrestrial paradise, came to enjoy so much prosperity, as to exhibit everywhere an air of plenty and happiness quite analogous to the title it bore. The inhabitants of that happy region enjoyed under his government every ease and benefit, which a Government founded on justice and benignity could bestow; and every one of them were unanimous in offering up their supplications to Heaven for his conservation and prosperity. As soon as the Zemindars were dismissed, he turned his views towards the distribution of offices and employments; and first of all, he continued his eldest son, Ser-efraz-qhan, in the Divanship of Bengal, as he did Mahmed-tacky-qhan, his second son, in the Government of Oressa. The Government of Djehan-ghir-nagur-Daca he bestowed on his son-in-law, M8rshood-c8ly-qhan.

He promotes Aally-verdi's relations to offices in State

The family of his friend and favourite, Aaly-verdy-qhan, could not fail to partake of that distribution of graces and employments; and as the favourite had three nephews, to whom he had given his three daughters, they were promoted equally. Säyd-ahmed-qhan, second son of Hadji Ahmed, was appointed to the Fodjdary of Rungp8r, and Zin-eddin-ahmed-qhan, the youngest, to that of Acbar-nagur, *vulgo* Radjemahal. But Nuvazish-mahamed-qhan, the eldest, was invested with the office of Paymaster of the forces.(257) These were particular offices. For in the general affairs of government and finance, he had formed a kind of council, composed of Aaly-verdy-qhan—Hadji Ahmed—the Räy-räyan(258)—Aalem-chund, and the Djagat-seat-fateh-chund; and these were invested with the power of binding and loosing, and acted as his Chief Ministers. Matters remained in that state, until Fahr-eddö8lah being dismissed from his Government of Azim-abad, that province was annexed to the Viceroyalty of Bengal, and the patents of it were sent to Shudja-qhan by Qhandö8ran, his particular protector.

Shudja-qhan on being invested with the new Government, turned his thoughts towards discovering a proper subject to send thither, as his Deputy, and several persons were proposed to him by his council, to all of whom he objected. At last he resolved to send one of his two sons. But Zinet-en-nessa, his consort, would not consent to her being parted from her son, who acted already as Divan of Bengal, and on the other hand, she objected to Mahmed-tacky-qhan, as to a stranger; so that her husband at last became of the same opinion. He reflected that the Bahar was a country that required a curbing hand; that it bordered on the A8d, the Ilah-abad, the Barar, and the dependencies of Aoreng-abad, with the Governors of which countries it ought to keep a correspondence; and he concluded that such a post could not be properly filled by any but by Aaly-verdy-qhan. On his proposing him to his council, his choice was unanimously approved, as none of his counsellors had any views of his own, and they paid many encomiums to the penetration of his mind, in singling out the very

Aaly-verdy-qhan appointed Viceroy of Azim-abad.

(257) The Paymaster of the forces very often acts as Major-General. Nay, at Delhi, he is always the second Commander of the Imperial forces, the Sipah-salar or Generalissimo being the first.

man wanted. The appointment being published, Shudjah-qhan resolved to decorate Aaly-verdy-qhan with new titles, and new honours and dignities. The title of Bahadyr or valiant, and that of Mehabet-djung or the formidable and majestuous in battles, an addition to his military grade that should raise the whole to the command of five thousand horse, a fringed Paleky,(259) a standard, and a kettle-drum, were the new honours which he wanted to confer upon him, and for which he immediately applied through his agents to the Emperor, and to his favourite Minister, Qhandō8ran. Zinet being informed of the new appointment, expressed her approbation; and willing to confer an obligation on Aaly-verdy-qhan, she sent for him to the gate of her apartment, and having ordered a rich Qhylaat to be put upon his shoulders, she conferred upon him the Government of Bahar, as from herself.(260) And it was only after this investiture, that Shudjah-qhan himself sent for him, and presented him, on his part also, with the Qhylaat of the Deputyship or Niabet of Azim-abad, to which he joined the patent of it, with an elephant, a sabre, and a quantity of jewels. A number of troops was appointed to serve under him: after which he was dismissed, with injunctions to bring the province under a proper order and subordination. History ought to remark that a few days before this elevation, a grandson was born to Aaly-verdy-qhan from his youngest daughter,(261) married to his youngest nephew, Zin-eddin-ahmed-

(259) The fringe of such a Paleky (for all Palekies have one) is made in the form of a net-work. The standard is a large one, always carried upon an elephant, and slit at half its length. The kettle-drum is made of beaten iron, and twice as big as an English one.

(260) This investiture shews that she thought herself, and was thought by her husband and by others, the real and sole heiress of Djaafer-qhan's Government and estate. Nor are such instances uncommon in Indian history, or in the Eastern histories; nor is it extraordinary to see women take the lead in administration. The mother of the Turkish Emperor, then a minor, assembled the Grandees, and from behind a curtain, spoke to them, and recommended to them diligence in their offices, and fidelity to her son, whom she called her young Lion.

(261) His youngest daughter was Amna-begum, who became famous in Moorshoodabad, after her husband's death, by her amours and gallantry.—This Mirza-mahmed is the same as Badshah-c8ly-qhan, *alias* Seradj-eddō8lah. The reader will observe with wonder and amazement that this child, to whose auspicious birth all the honours then heaped on his family were attributed, and at whose coming into the world it made the first strides towards dominion and sovereignty, proved to be the very person in whom both the family and sovereignty ended for ever.

qhan; and as he had no son of his own, he called him Mirza-mahmed, after his own name, adopted him for his son, and had him educated in his own house. He ascribed to his auspicious birth, that sudden flow of honours, dignities, and favours; and on that account he redoubled his affection for him. Aaly-verdy-qhan, before his departure, obtained leave to carry with him two of his sons-in-law, with several of his relations, and after a prosperous journey, he made his entry in Azim-abad; and having stayed a whole year in the province, he returned to Moorshoodabad to pay his respects to his benefactor and master, was received with every mark of distinction and favour, and sent back to his Government; nor was it long before he received the patent of those dignities and those honours that had been devised for him by his protector. He received from Court the fringed Paleky, and the standard and kettle-drum, with the other insignia of his dignity; and these did not contribute a little to the exaltation of his character in the minds of the people, by adding so much lustre to his pomp and retinue. But he was not dazzled by them. Being a man of wisdom and industry, endowed with a lofty enterprising mind, ever intent on high designs, he soon observed how precarious was his situation, and he therefore commenced his administration by introducing order in the city, augmenting and inuring his forces, gaining the hearts of the subjects, attaching the military to his person, and chastising and bringing to order the Zemindars and other refractory persons and insurgents of the province. Above all, he made it a standing rule to bring into his service as many military of character as he came to hear of in the neighbouring provinces; and by these means he in a little time found himself at the head of an army, well-appointed, and furnished with everything that could insure success. Intent on adding to his power, and preparing himself for higher achievements, he was alert in chastising such of his dependants as attempted to go astray from the path of duty, and he made them serve for an example. He had taken into his service one Abdol-kerin-qhan, an Afghan-Rohila, who commanded fifteen hundred of his countrymen, and had such an opinion of his own strength and prowess, as to make little account of others, and in reality he deserved the high opinion he had conceived of his ownself. Aaly-verdy-qhan who had made use of him in many an arduous occasion, could not be but satisfied with

Birth of Mirza-Mahmed-Seradj-ed-dõla, grandson and nephew to Aaly-verdy-qhan, by whom he is adopted.

his services; but he wanted likewise to reduce him to the rules of subordination, and to repress that forwardness of his, which prompted him to stretch his feet beyond the carpet of obedience and submission. The Afghan, proud of his prowess, minding no superior, and fearing no one, set his master at defiance, and continued to be guilty of actions that strongly savoured of an assuming refractory temper, and of a spirit of independence that spurned at control. Aaly-verdy-qhan reflected, that to dissemble with him any longer would only add to his presumption, and excite that of others, and that to connive at his excesses and insolencies any more, might prove highly imprudent, and even dangerous; and he was convinced at the same time, how exceedingly improper it would be in a person of his high station to defer the punition of a headstrong man, whose punition ought to be held up interrorem to others. The day then being fixed for that execution, Aaly-verdy-qhan ordered a number of his trustiest men to keep themselves in the Hall of Audience, and to fall upon him with their sabres as soon as that Afghan should enter, and presume to answer to a reprimand which he intended to give him. Effectively the next day the man, as usual, presented himself with ten of his followers, armed; but as he had always at the gate a couple of hundred of his men ready to support him, and he was himself a man of great personal strength and prowess, it was not an easy matter to come at him, or to find people that could match the man. Three such men having been pitched upon at last, were ordered to attend and to dispatch him. The next morning the execution took place; so that the smoke that used to arise from the heads of the refractory, was at once dissipated. The soldiery began to tremble, and many of the Zemindars, who had hitherto proved refractory, and had acted with all the freedom and insolence to which the weakness of the former administration had accustomed them, were set upon one after another, and severely chastised. Some were torn out by the roots, and some, that were guilty likewise, but who had shewn tokens of submission and attachment, were not only forgiven but taken into favour, and they attached themselves to his person. In consequence of such a vigorous administration, which never abated from its vigilance, he found means both to conserve Shudjah-qhan's good-will and esteem, and to strengthen his own power and influence.

Aaly-verdy-qhan's excellent conduct in his Government.

But before we go on with that great man's history, it is proper we should enter upon some events that have happened either in the capital of the Empire or in its environs; after which we shall resume our account of Aaly-verdy-qhan and the affairs of Bengal.

We have already mentioned that Yad-ghar-qhan the Cashmirian had been sent from Court to the Marhatta camp to commence a negociation with Badjrão by the mediation of Radja Djehi-sing-sevãi, and that these two envoys had been entrusted with the patents of the Governments of both Malva and G8djerat for that Marhatta General. As this extraordinary step and this condescension on the Emperor's part did not produce the effect expected, and as it was so far from extinguishing the flames of the Marhatta ambition, that it seemed to have added fuel to that nation's presumption, to have inspired them with higher and higher notions of themselves, and to have excited new encroachments and fresh insolencies on their part, it was resolved to have recourse to force. On the seventh of Zilcaadah of the year 1149 of the Hedjra, about six hours after sunrise, the Lord of Lords Qhandŏ8ran departed on an expedition for chastising those freebooters. That General on receiving his leave was honoured with a belt, and that Minister with a view to acknowledge this mark of distinction, set out immediately, without so much as going home. He marched out of the city and encamped at Talpat, which is nine cosses from Shahdjehan-abad. On the twentieth of the same month, the Supreme Vezir Camer-eddin-qhan was equally honoured with a belt, and set out likewise on the same expedition; and to change his station,(262) he went and encamped at Char-bagh.(263) On that same day Qhandŏ8ran, at the head of his own troops, and of those numerous bodies of Imperial cavalry that had been put under his command,

(262) To change his station.—This expression to an English reader requires a commentary. All the Hindostanees being extremely addicted to astrological predictions, and to the observation of lucky and unlucky days, and also to the *Istagheri*, which is another kind of divination, the highest as well as the lowest of them will not move a foot, unless it be precisely at the time pointed out by the heavenly bodies; and when that moment of departure is come, they quit their houses and repair to some other spot upon the road, be it even at so little as two hundred yards distance, that their journey be deemed commenced at that precise hour.

(263) Char-bagh, a particular seat near the Capital in the middle of four gardens, as its name imports, which has been raised near Delhi, in imitation of a charming spot near Isfahan in Iran, called Char-bagh likewise.

to the amount of about forty thousand horse, marched forward with a numerous train of artillery, and all the necessaries for a campaign, and he encamped in the territory of Ecber-abad. There he was joined by several eminent Radjas with their troops, and his forces now became so numerous, that his army covered the plains, and struck the eyes with admiration and terror. It was expected he would advance directly upon the enemy; instead of that, he who had set out to fight the Marhattas, contented himself with loitering his time at about forty cosses from the capital. Most of his troops, divided betwixt fear and hope, like men in suspense betwixt life and death, were anxiously waiting for what might happen. Nor did the Vezir Camer-eddin qhan behave with more earnestness. This Minister had set out at the head of a numerous body of Moghuls and Hindostanees, attached to his person, and in his own pay; and he had joined them to a whole army of T8ranin Moghuls, all ancient servants of the Emperor, and all in such high estimation, that the whole province of Serhind had been assigned to them for their pay. With such a numerous army he had marched towards Adjmir, with intention to make and end of the Marhattas. He had with him every necessary for a campaign, and an infinity of volunteers, who fought for opportunities to signalise themselves and to acquire promotion. The pomp and eclat of his march are hardly to be described; but after marching a little on the frontiers of that province, he stopped short to wait for the arrival of the Marhattas. Such was the cant expression. Here he was joined by Mahmed-qhan-bangash, who having quitted Feroh-abad, his residence, (a town which was built and named in honour of Feroh-syur, his protector) was come with a good body of troops, and he waited also for the arrival of the Marhattas. But not one of those illustrious warriors, and not one of those famous Generals had resolution enough to advance himself on those devoted freebooters, to give them a thorough defeat, and to acquire a character in the Empire by chastising them properly for their repeated insolencies. Qhandö8ran without moving from his place, was perpetually contriving schemes, the purport of which he communicated to Djehi-sing; and the latter after having added what further occurred to his mind, transmitted the whole to the Vezir. As to Radja Abi-sing-rhator, instead of repairing to camp, he retired to his capital, where he addicted himself to a course of

An expedition against the Marhattas by both Qhandö8ran and the Vezir.

intoxication, which he kept up by the use of opium. He slept the whole day, and spent the whole night in asking what was to be done; but yet he knew so well his own backwardness that whenever he was sent for by Qhandö8ran, he used to exculpate himself by alleging the necessity of defending his own hereditary dominions, and by bringing forwards some such futile excuses. On the other hand, Camer-eddin-qhan, the Vezir, sometimes out of himself, and sometimes intent only on conserving his army, spent his time in consulting with his friends, and with the T8ranians, his countrymen. But his suspense continued, and he kept his eyes fixed on the succour which he expected from Nizam-el-mulk. The latter, who had quitted the court, exceedingly disgusted with the Emperor and with his favourite, Qhandö8ran, paid but little attention to the troubles that were ruining Hindostan. He even wished to see the Ministers as well as all the Grandees humbled to the dust, by any means whatever. On the other hand, the Emperor had conceived too strong suspicions against him, and was too much obseded by Qhandö8ran, to resolve on an application to him; he had even so bad an opinion of all the T8ranian Grandees of his court, that he made it a point to abstain from consulting any of them. Meanwhile, whole days and nights passed in consultations and incertitude, and no decisive part was taken; and indeed, no principle of life and action could be communicated by those impotent Lords, and those Monsubdars and dignitaries so fertile in excuses, who swarmed in the capital as well as in camp, and most of whom were men of no capacity at all. As to those amongst them, that were capable of thinking, they did not dare to open any advice that might clash with Qhandö8ran's opinion, and the Emperor himself, whose favourite he was, and on whose mind he had acquired an unbounded influence followed by an absolute power over the whole Empire, was unwilling to listen to anything that might give him umbrage. That Prince used to write both to Qhandö8ran, on one hand, and to Camer-eddin-qhan, on the other, whatever came into his mind, and these two did not fail to excuse themselves by far-fetched reasons, and out-of-the-way considerations. Letters and consultations were perpetually passing and repassing between the Emperor and Qhandö8ran, and as an open communication was maintained betwixt the city and camp, it came at last to be the general wish of the Court, that an

The Imperial General prove defective both in courage and in talents.

agreement should take place with the Marhattas. Qhandȣran himself, now fully sensible, that to give a complete defeat to those freebooters was more than he could perform, and much beyond his courage, thought it best to leave both peace and war in a profound obscurity, and to envelope them both in a cloud of delicate policy that left every thing in suspense. Such a management he thought to be a shrewd stroke of politics, but meanwhile to extricate himself from his difficulties, he set out on his return to the capital. Things were in this woeful state, when by one of those strokes of Providence, and by an unexpected piece of good fortune, news came that the Marhattas had been chastised by Saadet-qhan in the manner they deserved, and this intelligence tranquillised the minds of the whole Court.

This exertion was more unexpected, as Saadet-qhan had no other Government than that of Aȣd, and no other office or command than that of the Pikeman of the presence. In number of troops and in plenty of money he was reputed inferior to most of the Grandees of the Empire, and moreover his Government being on the north of the Ganga, he seemed to have no concern at all with those that were on the south of that mighty river, and still less, with the Marhattas themselves. But he was likewise a man of great personal courage, full of a sense of honour, jealous of the glory of the Empire, always intent on some high undertaking, and fond of military glory and renown. Shocked to see the pusillanimous behaviour of men at the head of such numerous armies, and fired with indignation at the incessant encroachments and endless insolencies of the Marhattas, he resolved to avenge the honour of the Empire, and to take that task upon himself, as a particular business of his own. Full of those high notions, he reviewed his troops, (and these were always kept in readiness) augmented their number, furnished them with such ammunition and such a quantity of provisions as he thought necessary, and joining to them a train of artillery, he quitted Aȣd, his capital, taking with him his nephew and son-in-law, Abȣl-mansȣr-qhan, and he marched at the head of his army, firmly resolved to fight the Marhattas. With this view, he crossed the Ganga, and wanted likewise to cross the Djumna, in order to give assistance to Radja Behdãor, a friend and a dependant of his. This Radja being besieged in his fortress by an army of Marhattas, had applied to

Sadet-qhan alone is successful against the Marhattas.

Saadet-qhan for assistance. The latter answered him by this short note:—*Be sure not to be dismayed, and be sure not to give them one farthing; for look, I will be with you instantly.* After writing so much, he set out. But as the Radjas of Bundelcund had joined the Marhattas, and both were intent in watching the fords of the Djumna, such a passage was become difficult, and not to be performed in haste; and meanwhile the Radja, his friend, had received a great defeat, and was reduced to the last extremity. At the same time, Malrão, who was one of the greatest Generals of Badjirão's army, having found means to cross the Djumna, and to turn Saadet-qhan's rear, without his suspecting anything of the matter, had fallen at once upon the province of Atäya, and was actually burning and sacking every thing from the gates of that city to the seat of Moty-bagh, which is close to Ecber-abad; wherever he passed he left nothing but slaughter, desolation and ashes. From thence he turned towards the towns of Saad-abad and Djelàïr, and was going to serve them in the same manner, when Saadet-qhan, on the 22nd of Zilcaadah, of the year 1149, suddenly appeared in the Marhatta's rear like a storm that threatens destruction from afar, and finding the free-booters dispersed, he fell so vigorously upon them, that he never ceased killing and slaughtering until he had chased them beyond Ytimad-abad, which was at four cosses distance from the field of battle. Heaps of dead were to be seen everywhere, and the road, for eight miles together, was strewed with corpses. Three Generals of character were taken prisoners, and Malrão himself being severely wounded, thought himself happy to make his escape with a few followers. The main of the runaways, having thrown away their booty, fled towards the Djumna, and having in their hurry and consternation, mistaken one place for another, they plunged in to a part of the river that had no ford, where disappearing in the eddies of annihilation they perished in shoals. Malrão with the few that kept pace with him, found with infinite pains his way to Badjirão's camp, to whom he presented himself in the most dismal condition, for this Generalissimo of the Marhatta Empire was then encamped at Cõutélé, a little town inhabited by Sëids, close to Gwaliar. Whilst that wretched was flying, Saadet-qhan was pursuing incessantly at the rate of ten cosses a day and more, until he reached the town of Deholp8r-bari, which

is at eighteen cosses from Ecber-abad, and on this side of the river Chunbul, where he had heard that Badjirão was encamped with the main army, and where he intended to attack and serve that Generalissimo in the same manner, he had served Malrão, so soon as he should have done with the remains of the runaways. He wished by such a double victory to recover the sullied honour of the Hindostanies; but finding after a fruitless pursuit that not one man of that accursed race was to be discovered, he returned to his own camp, where he gave two days' rest to his troops. At the end of that time, he published that every trooper should keep himself ready to march with four days' provisions and water, and that if anyone should be found in his tent after the hour of departure, his horse would be hamstrung,(264) and himself carried in derision round the camp. Meanwhile he ordered a number of ox-skins and other leathern vessels to be filled with water, and a vast quantity of cakes to be baked, to the end that the troops might not want for either victuals or water, in the intended pursuit. Some light artillery he loaded upon elephants, and a quantity of wall-pieces and swivels upon camels; and having distributed his water and provisions upon his mules, camels, and other beasts of burthen, he published that he was resolved to pursue the enemy beyond the Chunbul, and that he would be the first at the head of his troops to throw himself into the water, and the foremost to give his men an example of courage and perseverance. Whilst he was setting out on this expedition which had now engrossed his affection, letters came from Qhandö8ran. That Minister had heard of Saadet-qhan's bravery and decisive conduct, and stung to the quick by a success that reflected so much dishonour upon himself, he wanted either to join that General and share in the honour of the expedition, or by withholding him from it, to make him a sharer in his own inaction and disgrace. With these ideas he wrote him several letters, in which "under the most "sacred oaths, he assured him that he was setting out to join him, "and recommended his waiting a little until he might proceed "with him on the destruction of those freebooters, but by all

(264) The Hindostany troopers find themselves not only in victuals, clothing, arms and accoutrements, but also in horses, and this is the main reason of their backwardness to face any fire of artillery or musquetry. Their whole fortune is at stake.

"means advised him to avoid all precipitation." Saadet-qhan, who had just mounted his horse, found himself stopped short by these letters of the Minister's, and greatly at a loss how to act. Nevertheless, he thought proper to suspend his march, and three or four days after, he was joined by Qhandö8ran who, on the approach of the Marhattas, had been ordered by the Emperor to join Saadet-qhan with several other Lords and Commanders. All this while the Vezir Camer-eddin-qhan was encamped at thirty cosses from the capital, on the high road of Adjmir; and Mahmed-qhan-bangash, with his body of troops, was also on that side, waiting the arrival of the enemy. On the junction of Qhandö8ran with Saadet-qhan, six or seven days were spent in visits and entertainments, and this delay having been perceived by the Marhattas, they availed themselves of it to recover breath from Saadet-qhan's pursuit; and turning suddenly his rear, they marched straight to the capital, which they rightly supposed to be empty of troops. This they did with so much rapidity, that on the eighth of that Zilhidj of that same year, they were at Toghl8c-p8r, under the command of Badjirão, Generalissimo of that nation. As that town was filled with an immense multitude of Mussulmen and Hindoos from the city, who had flocked thither both on a principle of devotion, and on parties of pleasure, they were all leisurely plundered. An immense booty was made here, and the Marhattas having passed the night near Qhadja C8t8b-eddin's Monument, the next day, which was Arefat(265) day, they plundered the street inhabited by the jewellers, and sacked and burned all the shops of that town. About noon they proceeded farther, and sacked the town of Palem, from whence the shoals of runaways and wounded flying into the city, filled it with dreadful accounts of what they had seen and felt; and the citizens, without further inquiry, lost both their courage and senses, filled the city with a general uproar, and the whole soon became one continued scene of dismay and confusion. The Emperor, hearing of this sudden approach of the enemies, ordered the few Lords and troops that

His ardour damped by the Vezir and Qhandö8ran's jealousy.

The Marhattas avail themselves of this suspense to turn the rear of the Imperial army and plunder the suburbs of the Capital.

(265) The Arefat-day is always the ninth of the month of Zilhidj, and is so called because the pilgrims at Mecca, return that day to that mount to perform the sacrifice or Corban, which always falls on the tenth. The mountain itself is so called, because Adem and Hevah, after some hundred years' separation, met again on that spot, and knew each other.

were about his person, to sally forth and to repell the Marhattas. On his order, Emir-qhan, Radja Bahqt-mul, and Mir-hassen-qhan-gocal-tash, with Munevver-qhan, brother to Zaafer-qhan, and Abdol-Maab8d-qhan, and the Hindoo Shi8-sing, Colonel of the corps called Amberies, with many other Commanders, sallied forth, and advancing out of the city to an advantageous post near the Cazis-sera and the Laal-catra, they extended their ranks, and presented battle to the enemy. Mir-hassen-qhan and Shi8-sing, who had more courage than either experience or prudence, advanced farther, although Emir-qhan who was endowed with both, repeatedly sent them word to stop, and to observe that to fight the Marhattas at this particular time, so as to part from their main, was a step utterly improper. He thought it better that they should keep together with the others. But this advice made no effect on those two imprudent men; they would not hear it, and continued advancing. The Marhattas at first appeared at a distance by one or a few at a time, until they had drawn them farther and farther into the plain, and then they all at once fell upon them, and with their short spears and long swords commenced such a terrible execution as threw the whole into the utmost dismay. A man wounded, found means to escape, and running up to Emir-qhan, he had the boldness to reproach him with backwardness and neglect. "What are you doing here," said he, "whilst "a Sëyd and an Imam is cutting down?". Emir-qhan who was a man fertile in bon-mots, and of such a turn of mind that for any thing in the world he would have not missed an opportunity of giving way to his vein for raillery, heard the message with a smile, and even at such a moment he had the *sang froid* to answer: "Friend, we are perfectly satisfied with twelve Imams; if some "one has a mind to be a thirteenth and chooses to be cut down, "we have no objections to it."(266) As the people of Hindostan have not that skill(267) in the art of fighting on horseback, which

(266) Emir-qhan, as a pretended Shya, admitted onlyt welve Imams or Pontiffs descended from Hussëin, and according to their tenets, whoever should admit any other for an Imam, is a reprobate and deserves death.

(267) Whether Indians are less skilled than other nations in fighting on horseback is very much to be doubted; for they have been fitted by nature for good horsemen, and in fact, they prove always so, having much longer shanks and longer legs in proportion than Europeans and Moghuls. They have also, in general, no more than from nine to eleven ribs, whereas those nations have them from ten to

characterises the Marhattas, most of them were slain, and their leader, Mir-hassen-qhan, with the few that remained with him, made his retreat, wounded, and hardly alive; and the runaways despoiled of their arms and horses, crept back every one to his house. Emir-qhan and the other Commanders, after having tarried at their post the whole day, on the dusk of the evening returned to their tents. Meanwhile the plundering and sacking of Toghl8c-p8r, and the danger which threatened Shah-djehan-abad, having been rumoured abroad, the Lords at the head of the armies in the environs of the capital, knowing that the Emperor was left alone, and that the Marhattas had suddenly disappeared, hastened to Court with the rapidity of so many couriers. The Vezir Çamer-eddin-qhan who was the nearest of all, being only at thirty cosses, arrived the first, and having had on the ninth of Zilhidj a skirmish with the Marhattas, he, on the next day, which was the day of the sacrifice, encamped in the suburbs of the capital, at which sight the Marhattas retired a little farther. Saadet-qhan on his side, quitted Ecber-abad where he was, and having measured sixty-five cosses in two days,(268) he arrived on the evening of the second day at Talpat which is close to the city. Qhandö8ran who had set out with him, arrived some time after, and the third day Mahmed-qhan-bangash joined them. As the Marhattas had already felt the weight of the blows dealt out by Saadet-qhan, and they had plentifully drank of the water(269) that flowed from his sabre, they did not like to see him again, and in such numerous company, and being besides heavily loaded with booty, they wheeled round and retreated, burning, and sacking, and utterly destroying in their retreat the towns of Rivari and Bat8di; after which, they

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twelve and fourteen. Hence the navel with an European is at the middle of his body, whereas with an Indian it is four inches higher. Hence there is no groom in Hindostan, who will not jump readily upon his master's horse, without any stirrup or help. Hence the generality of the Indians are so light-footed, that they make nothing of following and preceding Englishmen on a full gallop, whether the latter be in a coach or on a fleet horse. Common servants have been seen who would run down a hare.

(268) About one hundred and fifty miles.

(269) The blades, so much esteemed all over the East, are of a steel that looks waved, and hence such a sabre if it has those waves very close and short, is called Ab-dar or watry; and the waves themselves are called *ab*,—water. Hence so many allusions and metaphors quite natural to one, that has seen Persian and Hindostanee sabres.

marched on to Malva and G8djerat, their new conquests, ruining and destroying every thing in their journey, but without tarrying anywhere. The result of all those troubles and movements was that the Emperor observing that of so many Generals and Lords, not one but Saadet-qhan had thought of attacking the Marhattas or of pursuing them, and that they had all of them availed themselves of some excuse to remain where they were, without moving a foot, he fell into a state of despondence, and concluded with his whole council that it would be expedient to put an end to all his anxiety by paying them a *chöut* or tribute.

The Emperor with his whole council consents to pay a tribute to the Marhattas.

That Prince although completely convinced that Nizam-el-mulk was the contriver and director of this incursion, was likewise sensible how difficult it would be to punish him for such a conduct; and thinking it better to use policy, he wrote him several letters full of kindness, gave him the title of Assefdja,(270) raised his military grade to eight thousand horse, and flattered his pride so much, that the other resolved to come to Court. Leaving therefore his second son, Nizam-eddöulah-nasr-djung,(271) for his Deputy and Lieutenant in the kingdom of Decan, he set out for the capital; but the rumour of his coming being spread everywhere, Qhandö8ran hurried with all his might the agreement with the Marhattas, to prevent his having any concern in the treaty. It was stipulated that they would henceforwards approve themselves the servants of the Imperial court, and obey His Majesty's commands, as well as the directions of his Ministers, without keeping up any correspondence with Nizam-el-mulk, or siding with him in any manner. This was the purport of the agreement. But the Marhatta General perceiving the pusillanimity and cowardice of the Grandees at court, and sensible of the want of discernment in the Minister, made a treaty with both parties, and kept fair with both the Court and Nizam-el-mulk. The latter being arrived at Shah-djehan-abad, on the 16th of the first Reby, in the year 1150, paid his respects to the Emperor, and about a month after, the Qhylaat of the two Governments of Malva and G8djerat were conferred on his eldest son, Ghazi-eddin-qhan, on the dismission of

(270) The wise Minister that sits instead of Assef, Minister to Suléiman or Sclomon.

(271) Nasr-djung is the Prince assassinated in his own camp by some malcontents supported by Dupleix, the Governor of Pondicherry.

Djehi-sing and Badjirão. On the Friday following, news arriving of the decease of Abdol-semed-qhan, the famous Viceroy of Lahor, a Qhylaat of consolation was bestowed on the Vezir Camer-eddin-qhan, his brother, and other Qhylaats of condolence were sent likewise to that General's family at Lahor, together with a particular one to Zekeriah-qhan, his son, who received thereby a confirmation of the Governments of Lahor and M8ltan. At the same time Nizam-el-mulk, in obedience to the Emperor's command, marched out to chastise Badjirão, and he advanced to Acbar-abad; and having fixed as his Deputy in that city, a relation of his own, he marched to Malva by crossing the Djumna at Acbar-abad, and having passed to Atva, he recrossed that river at Calpi, and arrived in the Bundelcund, where he arrested the Radja or Prince of the country. From thence he advanced to Bhopal, which is a town of the dependency of Malva. Badjirão, hearing of his design, came out from the Decan at the head of a mighty host, and meeting Nizam-el-mulk on the plains of that town, several bloody engagements took place; but as none of them proved decisive, the latter who now received intelligence that Nadyr-shah had invaded Hindostan, thinking the Marhattas but a small object in comparison, preferred an accommodation with Badjirão, and leaving those enemies behind, he returned to the capital with all expedition.

Troubles and evils of this magnitude were reckoned but small objects by a set of traitorous Grandees, who intent only on ruining each other, made no account of the consequences, if they could but compass their private ends. Nor did they make any scruples, when necessary for their purpose, to shed the blood of Mussulmen, and to slaughter a whole race of Sëyds. Sëif-eddin-aaly-qhan, one of those noble persons attached to the late Abdol-lah-qhan, had, on that Vezir's defeat, retired upon his paternal estate, where he subsisted upon a small revenue afforded by a Djaghir of Imperial gift, and a Taallook of land(272) which had

(272) In order to understand thoroughly this affair, the reader must be informed that a Djaghir is a grant of lands in freehold, or for a quit-rent, or for some expected service, but in general, revocable at the donor's pleasure; and a Taallook is a spot of land either purchased by the acquirer's money, or held by him under a fixed rent or as a copyhold, whereas a Zemindary is always held in Capite. It is often hereditary, but not always. The altemgah is a Djaghir irrevocable, and of course, falls within the description of charity-land.

been hereditary in his family. This slender subsistence, just enough to support life, he shared with a number of old, impotent, or ruined persons of his family and dependence, and it was this small estate that proved an eyesore to Camer-eddin-qhan, and to the T8ranians, who unable to bear the sight of a Sëyd, and cherishing in their bosoms an enmity to the whole race, were resolved to extirpate every relation of Hossëin-aaly-qhan's. With this intention Camer-eddin-qhan appointed one Hushmet-qhan to the command of the checlaw or division of Soharen-poor, who had orders to take possession of, and confiscate, the lands and estates held by Sëif-eddin-aaly-qhan and the other persons and dependants of Hossëin-aaly-qhan's family. That wretched being arrived on the spot, extended the hand of usurpation and violence on the possessions of the Prince of the children of Adam,(273) and wanted to deprive Sëif-eddin-aaly-qhan and those unfortunate people of that little which constituted their very subsistence. Reduced to the last extremity, and at a loss how to escape from the claws of that wretched, they, according to the sentence, *Despair knows no laws,* rose in their own defence, and deprived their oppressor of the garment of life. This act of necessity was highly resented by the Vezir and his brother, Azim-ollah-qhan; and those men that had put up patiently with Djan-nessar-qhan's death, and with a miscreant Gentoo's taking possession of a Mussulman's consort and family; those men that had made so small account of so black a crime, and had so little sense of honour and shame, as to have not thought so much as once how to take an adequate revenge for such an enormity; those very men now looked upon such an act of necessity, and the killing of Hushmet-qhan by a Sëid's hand,(274) to be a flagitious affront that

Ruin of the town of Djansita.

(273) Mohammed--The author's bigotry and narrowness of mind is throughout this story exhibited in strange colours, and he all along makes nothing of a private man's raising the standard of rebellion against an established Prince, whom he had fought with an armed hand, who had suffered him hitherto to live quietly, and whose followers he had undoubtedly served with resumptions and confiscation, had his party prevailed.

(274) This notion of the peculiar blessing attending the being killed by a Sëid's hand is hardly known in India, but to this day after a lapse of twelve centuries, it is so rooted amongst even camel-drivers of Mecca, Medina and Taaf, that the meanest of them on being detected in a theft on loading and unloading a traveller's things on their camels, never fails to reprimand him by these very words: *What are*

concerned the honour of Government, and reflected upon the unsullied character of its Ministers; and nothing now could expiate such an enormity, but spilling the blood of an illustrious Sëid, and putting to the sword a whole family of needy people. The expedition was thought of importance enough, to require no less an appointment than that of that second Aboosofian,(275) his own brother, Azim-ollah-qhan, who with the remains of the army of Damascus, that is, with a body of T8ranians under his command, and a body of Rohilas under that of Aaly-mahmed-qhan-Rohilah, joined some other troops of Ferid-eddin-qhan, and Ozmet-ollah-qhan's, both Sheh-zadas of Lucknow, the latter of whom was Fodjdar of M8rad-abad on the part of Camer-eddin-qhan, and they marched to destroy the nobleman in question, and all the Sëids of Barr.(276) Those wretches animated by a diabolical spirit of revenge, being arrived in that country, ranged their troops in order of battle; and Sëif-eddin-aaly-qhan on his side having put himself at the head of his dependants and kinsmen, and the few that chose to stand by him in that critical moment, both parties advanced against each other, the injured Sëid being resolved to defend his honour, life and property. He was inferior in numbers, and destitute of artillery and of some other necessaries; nevertheless, he drew so much strength from his own despair, that he repulsed Azim-ollah-qhan, and made him lose a great deal of ground. He was even going to send this wretched with his miscreants to their destined seats at the bottom of hell, when another army of accursed Rohila Afghans made its appearance on the Sëid's flank, and poured such a violent fire of

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thou grumbling for? Am I not thy Lord and master? Any dispute about such a pretension would be followed by a blow, and then by a stab.

(275) Aboo-sofian, an uncle of Mohammed's, had always approved himself an inveterate enemy to the Prophet, but with the author, a bigoted childish Shya, he had another flaw; he was father to Möaviah, who set at nought Aaly's pretences to the Qhalifat, or supreme dominion, and sent from Damascus, his residence, a numerous army to fight him.

(276) The Mussulmen of India divide themselves into four races: Moghuls, or white men—strangers and these are called a race of Kings; Patans, or Afghans, or a race of soldiers; Shehs or a race of learned men, and these last are either converted Gentoos or descendants from Arabians, as the word Sheh-zadah implies; lastly, Sëids or a race sacred, that is, those pretended to be descended from the Prophet; and in no other country of the world is the appellation of Sëid so much usurped or so much respected.

musquetry and rockets, as made all those Sëids, with their Lord at their head, drink of the cup of martyrdom. After that they advanced to Djan-sitah, a town where the unfortunate Sëid had taken up his residence, as having been built and peopled by his illustrious ancestors, and listening only to the dictates of insolence and avidity, they plundered and sacked it, throwing themselves on the houses of those unfortunate Sëids; nor were they ashamed to lay their prophane hands upon those chaste Sëidanee matrons that had never set a foot on a street, and to expose their nakedness(277) to the open air, after having covered their heads with the ashes of woe and defilement. That unfortunate town became for some days a picture of the Last Day's desolation. The cries and lamentations that incessantly came from so many impotent people, striped of their all, and the screams that rose from those desolate habitations, emptied of their contents, found their way as far as the cupola of the seventh Heaven. For it is reported by persons worthy of credit, that for several days together, after the perpetration of all these enormities, such an uncommon redness overspread the horizon morning and evening, that it seemed as if the hem of tyrannical heaven had been steeped in the blood of those unfortunate people, and the eye of the day and night had been shedding tears of blood on the fate of those afflicted women. These violences exercised upon Sëids, and the consequent redness of the horizon, gave room to the conjectures of those that were versed in history; and persons skilled in unravelling physical causes, and who, to that knowledge of times and phenomena, added an acquaintance with the niceties and particulars that are the result of the heavenly bodies, were all unanimous in affirming, that this country would infallibly be afflicted by some general massacre and a variety of miseries, as a punition for the Vezir's blind obstinacy, and as a chastisement for the violences exercised by that accursed Azim-ollah-qhan on the descendants of the Prophet. For they affirmed that such and the like calamities had always been portended by such an extraordinary redness of the sky.

(277) A Sëidanee is a Sëid woman. In India Sëidanees make it a point never to take a second husband, although in other respects they take freedoms enough in all conscience. Nevertheless, some of them carry the point so far as to starve themselves to death, or to take poison after losing a husband.

SECTION IV

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By this time Qhandŏ8ran's power and influence had ri to a height; but such a strange perversity had grown up in mind, or he was naturally so very unfortunate, that whatever took in hand or contrived, was sure to miscarry, or to be produ ive of some mischief, and so soon as he had done any thing, always had reason to repent of it. Such was his treaty with Marhattas, mentioned in the foregoing sheets, and this is to understood as a sample from a quantity, and as a handful fror heap. His connivance at the peculation exercised in the art of public money sent to Cabul, and his neglect in the guarc the narrow passes and defiles of that province are of that numb together with the little attention he paid to the complaints the troops appointed to guard those inlets of the mountain province; nor can it be doubted, but that to such a neglec owing the mighty calamity which Hindostan suffered from Nad shah's invasion. For had he attended to the payment of mountaineers, destined to guard those difficult passes, and h he taken for the conservation of that province, such other p cautions as the case required, it is probable that Nadyr-sh would not have thought of invading Hindostan; or if he h that he would not have found in his passage those unexpec facilities that so much expedited his march. Nassyr-qhan, Governor of that important province, was a pious man, that sp his whole time either in hunting, or in devotions and in readi the Coran; he had never made the least representation to Qh dŏ8ran on the latter's withdrawing, as of no purpose, the pens of twelve lacks a year, which used to be sent for the guards garrisons of those parts. Hence the valleys and defiles of province were left unguarded both by the Governor, who did mind them, and by the Minister who did not think them of much importance, as to trouble his head with them. Hence guards being ill-paid, abandoned their posts, and the garriso being utterly neglected, invited the invaders; and the report of Minister's inattention, and of the weakness of Government, bei rumoured everywhere, every one without fear of control examen, thought only of cutting for himself without minding consequences. The roads and passes being neglected, every passed and repassed, unobserved; no intelligence was forwarc to Court of what was happening; and neither Emperor

Qhandŏ8ran by neglecting the narrow passes of the province of Cab8l puts it in the power of Nadyr-shah to invade Hindostan with ease.

Minister ever asked why no intelligence of that kind ever reached their ears. But this neglect was followed by another, still more ruinous in its consequence.

It is a singular observation that the Princes of the illustrious race of Sefi(278) never had the least occasion to apply to the Emperors of Hindostan for any service, and on the contrary that Emperors of Hindostan, namely, Sultan Babr and Sultan H8maï8n, took refuge in the Courts of the immortal Shah-ismaïl, and of his virtuous son, Shah-tahmasp, (that precious gem worthy of a place in paradise) and that they were cherished and assisted by those Princes in the recovery of their dominions. Nevertheless, it is certain and notorious that the Emperors of the Sefivian race, although noways influenced by necessity, or any views of their own, kept by embassies and congratulations. a constant intercourse with the Emperors of Hindostan, and thereby exhibited proofs of their good nature and civility; and yet so uncivil was the Court of Shah-djehan-abad under Mahmed-shah, and so inattentive to those marks of amity and friendship, that it seemed entirely insensible to them, or even had assumed opposite sentiments. For on the subsiding of the civil wars in the Empire of Iran, and on Shah-tahmasp the second's taking possession of the throne of his ancestors, and driving from thence the Afghan invaders, Mahmed-shah, so far from taking any becoming concern in that event by a congratulation or any other mark of attention, on the contrary, had kept a friendly correspondence with the Afghan Pir-vëiss, and had thereby opened a door for messages and letters, although Pir-vëiss's son had never made any difficulty of invading M8ltan and putting everything to fire and sword in that province, during the little time his family kept possession of Candahar. It is no less certain that Shah-tahmasp, after possessing himself of Ispahan, his capital, and destroying the Afghan power, had sent one of his Lords to the Hindostany Court with an account of these events, and also some letters that insinuated that those ungrateful and perfidious

(278) The Sefivian family, of which there are several branches now, in India, and in Bengal, in the year 1786-87. It is the appellative name of the Imperial family that had reigned in Persia about two hundred and fifty years, and has been expelled by Tahmasp-c8ly-qhan, since called Nadyr-shah. However it is not Sefi, but Sheh-haider who founded that family.

mountaineers having been chastised according to their deserts and driven out of Iran, had now no place left in the world for refuge, against the destroying arm of the Iranian troops, but the Empire of Hindostan. That it was therefore incumbent upon the prudence of the Hindostany Court to refuse admittance to those miscreants within their territories. However, neither the letter nor the embassy were taken notice of, but after a deal of time, and it was only to return an ambiguous, frivolous answer by the same ambassador. On the Imperial Prince Abbass-mirja's mounting the throne of Iran, another such embassy and another such request was sent from that Court into Hindostan, and this Minister too, after a deal of time, was dismissed with such another letter as the preceding, a letter full of words that said nothing to the purpose. Another envoy came again from the same quarter on Nadyr-shah's being firmly established on the throne, and it was a Cuzzul-bash(279) of character who brought it; but the ambassador having been plundered by banditties on the road, it was with the utmost difficulty, and not but after many entreaties that he obtained from them to return him his credentials; and these proved to be one letter for Saadet-qhan, who had now become one of the most considerable Lords of Hindostan, and one for Mahmed-shah. With all the pains imaginable, he performed his journey to the capital, and delivered his message and letters, but without having the means of returning home. Nor did Mahmed-shah or any of his Ministers much mind his distress. They were wholly absorbed in wondering at so many envoys and so many messages sent from Iran. But surprised at the same time to hear that Hossëin-qhan, the Afghan, had taken possession of Candahar, where he got himself crowned, and from whence he made incursions into M8ltan, a province of Hindostan, they sent for Nizam-el-mulk from Decan, with intention to avail themselves, in case of need, of the abilities of an old General, who had served with distinction under Aoreng-zib the Conqueror, and passed for a wolf that had seen much bad weather, was much experienced in the ways of the world, and thoroughly apprised of the difference betwixt day and night. They kept him at Court, although he wanted to return to

(279) *Cuzzul-bash* signifies red head, a name given to a body of twelve thousand men raised for his guard by the first Shah-ismâil, and which the Turks are pleased to give in derision to the whole nation of Iran or Persia.

Decan; and they were resolved to put his abilities and his experience to the test, should any untoward emergency come to take place; for about this time Nadyr-shah had advanced as far as Candahar, which he besieged, and from thence he had sent again Mahmed-qhan the Turkman, with a repetition of his former message, and a complaint upon the former subjects. The envoy being arrived at the capital, delivered his letter and message, and was desired to wait a little, but with no positive answer, although he insisted upon his departure. The Ministers disputed amongst themselves, sometimes about the purport of the answer, and sometimes about what style was to be used, and what title should be given to Nadyr-shah. They went so far as to think it a piece of good policy to delay the Ambassador's return, and they waited to see whether the Afghan Hussëin-qhan, after having ruined Nadyr-shah's forces before Candahar, would not so far weaken that Prince, as to reduce him to nothing; after which there would not be any occasion to write an answer at all. Meanwhile the siege of Candahar being converted into a long blockade, and Mahmed-qhan not making his appearance, Nadyr-shah wrote him a letter, and sent it by a few horsemen. The letter inquired about the reasons of so much delay, and it recommended diligence, and a speedy return, with an answer. But all this did not hasten his departure, and he continued to be detained under a variety of pretences, without being able to obtain any answer at all. The blockade of Candahar drawing to a length, Nadyr-shah ordered a town to be built over against it, which he called Nadyr-abad; and from thence the siege was renewed, and assaults given, until at last a body of Cuzzel-bashes escaladed the walls, put the Afghans to the sword everywhere, and took the fortress together with Hussëin-qhan, who was sent to end his days in Mazenderan (280) where he was confined.

Nadyr-shah sends another embassy to Delhi, and then ten messengers.

It must be observed, that since the signal defeat given the Afghans at Shiraz in Iran, they had led a wandering life without

(280) A province in the north of Persia or Iran, called *Mazenderan* from the mazy woods with which it was in ancient times overspread, and with which it is to this day surrounded; the word *maze* having the same signification both in English and Persian. Nor is this particular to be doubted of as besides the words *father, mother, daughter, brother, to tame, to chaw, to stand, to stir*, with the words *boar, bore, burthen, bill, hog, &c.*, and above a hundred more, all monosyllables, or at most dissyllables, are both English and Persian.

King and without Government; insomuch that most of them, hard pressed by their enemies, had spread all over Hindostan, where they had turned husbandmen in some parts, and soldiers in others, settling themselves in several provinces of that Empire, where they incorporated with the other subjects. Aaly-mahmed-qhan, called Rohilla, was one of them. In the battle against Sëif-eddin-aaly-qhan, he had rendered an important service to Azim-ollah-qhan, that had recommended him to the notice, and also to the favour, of the Vezir Camer-eddin-qhan, who gave him in free gift some lands and some Djaghirs dependent on the Qhalissah-office. This man, although only an adoptive son to an Afghan, being originally a Gentoo Ahir or herdsman, found means to approve himself a man of courage and abilities; and having taken into his service, and assembled about his person, those herds of Afghans that were continually flying from Candahar, he formed them into an army, and by their means spread his authority in the countries contiguous to his Djaghiry lands, such as Anö8lah, Sumbul, Morad-abad, Bedahon, Berheïly, and some others, of which he took possession. From this narrative it will appear that the proposal made to Mahmed-shah for shutting the passages of Cab8l, so as to prevent the Afghans from flocking into India, was in fact beyond his power. For the garrisons of those parts having been totally neglected, customary remittances in money from the Capital suppressed, and the guards of the defiles and difficult passes left unpaid and unthought of, whilst the Governor himself was contented with residing at Lahor; where was the man that would mind those troops of freebooters, and those shoals of Afghan banditties, that were continually passing and repassing; and even supposing that any one had such a mind, where was the power to enforce a prohibition? And how probable could it be that a set of Ministers, who, with such a man as Nadyr-shah at their elbows, for years together, had never minded his motions, should ever trouble themselves about other matters of an inferior importance; or that, after having been so careless about Nadyr-shah's views and schemes, they should think of the motions of some Afghan banditties?

To return again to Nadyr-shah. That Prince, after the capture of Candahar, ordered that fortress to be ruined, and its inhabitants to be transported to Nadyr-abad; and from thence he

marched towards Ghaznin and Cab8l. In his way thither he sent this message to the Cutval of the latter place :(281) "Know, that "I have no business with Mahmed-shah's dominious; but as these "frontiers are an inexhaustible mine of Afghans, and a number "of those runaways have joined him as well as you, I wish only "to destroy that race of miscreants. Be, therefore, under no con-"cern or apprehension for yourself, and make every thing ready "to receive me as your guest." After this message, he advanced and encamped under the very walls of the fortress, on the turrets of which the Cab8lians, with the Cutval at their head, appeared in great numbers, ready to defend themselves, without paying any regard to the admonition sent them. A body of Cuzzel-bashes being ordered to escalade the walls and to undermine the fortifications the Burghers, on the first attack, called out for quarter; and quarter being granted, they came out of the gates and surrendered the fortress, and acknowledged themselves his subjects. Intelligence coming at the same time that several bodies of Afghans were skulking about in the mountains, troops were sent after them, and as many of those mountaineers as could be come at, were put to the sword. No news meanwhile coming from Mahmed-qhan-Turkman, the envoy, Nadyr-shah made a choice of a certain number of considerable Cab8lians, and sent them with a message to Mahmed-shah and his Ministers. The envoys making haste, went by Lahor to Shah-djehan-abad, where they delivered their message, but where none would hear it, or if he did, none would comprehend it. It is reported by men of consequence and persons of veracity and credit, that whenever these Cab8lians, or any other persons of understanding that came from those parts, would open their mouths, and mention any thing of Nadyr-shah, Qhandö8ran turned the whole into ridicule, and used to add: *That the houses of this Capital had very lofty roofs,*(282) *from which the citizens were enabled to see Nadyr-shah and*

(281) That fortress must have been so shockingly neglected as to have had not one Military man in it, for the Cutval is, properly speaking, a civil officer, a kind of Justice of Peace; he is the officer of the Police.

(282) The houses at Delhi or Shah-djehan-abad are in general built of free stone, and the roof which is likewise of stone, being always flat, people sleep there for six months in the year, as they do in most parts of India, wherever the houses are of brick. *See the note 75 of Section 6th.*

his Moghuls from afar. Himself with his friends and favourites looked upon this embassy and message of the Cab8lians as a farce contrived by the Vezir, by Nizam-el-mulk, and by the T8ranians at court, and especially by Zekeriah-qhan, the Viceroy of Cab8l, whom they knew to be a relation of the Vezir's; and they treated with contempt and with raillery those that pretended there was no contrivance at all, but that the whole was mere matter of fact. In a country where the Prime Minister is actually under such an infatuation of mind, and where the intellects of those about his person extend no farther, it is curious to see how they will manage to curb the aspiring Grandees, and how they shall introduce order and subordination in the affairs of the Empire! Nadyr-shah not tired with the repeated miscarriages of his envoys, dispatched from Cab8l another man under the escort of ten troopers. These being arrived at Djelal-abad no sooner alighted at a house, than they were set upon by a mob that assembled about them, and were all slain, after having been first disarmed. None escaped but the tenth, who found his way back to Cab8l, where he gave an account of what had passed. Nadyr-shah, who had been already full seven months in this province, busy in discovering bodies of Afghans, and in putting them to the sword, hearing of this affair at Djelal-abad, lost all patience; and marching to that place, he surrounded it on all sides, and ordered all the inhabitants to be massacred. It is very strange, but true, that many Qhylaats had been sent from Court to reward those concerned in the murder of those ten men, and nothing prevented their being put on by the perpetrators, but the general massacre that followed soon after. It is no less true, that on the first intelligence of Nadyr-shah's having entered the province of Cab8l, Qhandö8ran and Nizam-el-mulk had been ordered to march out and to oppose him; but they contented themselves with loitering their time in the city, after spreading several times the report of their marching out: a conduct which they thought to be a piece of refined policy, and a political stroke in the art of government. Nadyr-shah having sacked Djelal-abad, marched to Pishavor, in the environs of which place he was encountered by Nassyr-qhan, Governor of Cab8l, who, having joined to what troops he could muster a multitude of Afghans, which he brought together, resolved to make a stand in a certain defile and a narrow

valley, as difficult as that of Qhaïber,(283) and which he imagined to have put beyond insults. Nadyr-shah, hearing of his preparations, sent him this short message: *I inform you that I shall be on such a day in such a place, from whence you will do well to retire, until I am passed.* The message produced no effect. That very day Nadyr-shah appeared, and having put to the sword every one that attempted to stand before him, whether Indian or Afghan, Nassyr-qhan himself was wounded, and fell in the hands of the Cuzzul-bashes; but on his informing them who he was, they carried him to Nadyr-shah, who in a few days after sent for him and honoured him with a Qhylaat. That Prince from Pishavor, advanced to the Ateck,(284) which he crossed in boats, and he entered the province of M8ltan, the capital of which is Lahor. This unfortunate country exhibited already a scene of confusion and massacre. Several thousands of banditties, availing themselves of the weakness of Government, coalesced into two opposite bodies, and these waging war amongst themselves, had put under contribution and ruined several of the best districts. On the approach of Nadyr-shah, Zekeriah-qhan, proud of the troops he commanded, and of the artillery with which he could support them, came out of the city, and having choosen an advantageous post on the Ravi, the river that washes that city, he prepared for battle. But fools never know anything of either war or peace, but when it is at their own expense. Nadyr-shah, on descrying that multitude of Indians huddled together, spurred his horse into the water, and, with the few Cuzzel-bashes that were at hand, he pushed on to the opposite side, where he soon put to flight the foremost of those that seemed the best mounted and skilled; the rest, seeing this havoc, fled with the utmost consternation; and the Governor joined them, and took shelter within the city, whilst Nadyr-shah encamped close to the walls. Zekeriah-qhan, sensible now of his error, wrote a supplique to the Monarch to excuse the error of his conduct, and to offer a surrender. The offer being accepted, he came out, paid his respects, and was honoured with a Qhylaat.

Zekeriah-qhan, Viceroy of Lahor, is beaten and defeated.

(283) A narrow difficult valley in Arabia, east of Medina, where the Prophet suffered much in reducing the Jews that inhabited those parts. Nor are the inhabitants even to-day free from Judaism, being as fierce as ever.

(284) Ateck comes from *Atecna*, to stop; the Indus being in times of yore the last boundary of Hindostan towards Iran, a mighty river which none was suffered to cross without a pass from Cab8l; and Cab8l signifies consent, I agree.

From Lahor, Nadyr-shah proceeded directly to Shah-djehan-abad, from which city Mahmed-shah had likewise set out with his whole court and a numerous army. But he moved on with so much slowness, that in two months time he had only advanced to Carnal, a town seated at the head of the canal made by Aaly-merdan-qhan, and this was just four days journey from the capital. There he encamped, and having a numerous artillery, he ordered it to be placed round the camp, and the guns to be made fast to each other by chains. Nadyr-shah, on his march from Lahor, had two or three times sent a message to the Indian Emperor, informing him of Mahmed-qhan-Turkman's embassy to his Court, to all which messages no answers were given, nor was the Ambassador himself dismissed. He was kept in camp, without any one being able to guess what might be the intent of such a strange policy. Qhandö8ran had long ago wrote to Radja Djehi-sing-sevăi and to some other powerful Radjas, on the valour and prowess of whole Radjp8ts that Minister reposed the highest confidence, and whose assistance he reckoned as certain; but it failed him, and every Gentoo Prince contented himself with amusing the Minister with frivolous pretences, and far-fetched excuses. Every one kept himself at home, and not one of them did move a foot. The Emperor and his whole Court expected with impatience the arrival of Saadet-qhan, and the eye of hope was fixed on the ground he was to tread on the highway. What looks strange is, that although Nadyr-shah was now so very near, and his army was a numerous one, nevertheless not a man, either public or private, in the Hindostany army, knew for certain where he might be; and the first intelligence received, was from the grass-cutters,(285) and other army men, who going out of camp at about eleven in the morning for the purpose of bringing forage and other necessaries, had advanced about three or four cosses in the plain, where having been set upon by some detached troops of the enemy's, they returned wounded to camp, which they filled with mighty reports of the heaviness of the blows they had received, and of the prowess of the Moghuls. The camp was in a tumult

(285) Horses in the field are fed in Hindostan with a kind of quick-set grass, which the grooms scrape from the open fields with a proper instrument. This same grass is also dried into hay and sold in towns. Several kinds of corn are also added in the evening, as barley, and a variety of beans.

in an instant, and a general panic seemed to have seized every mind, and eager was every one to see Saadet-qhan arrive. At last news came, that he was at hand, and on a Wednesday, the fifteenth of Zilcaadah, in the year 1150, Qhandŏ8ran advanced out of camp to meet him, and having embraced him, he brought him to the Emperor, who received that General with distinguished marks of favour and attention, and ordered him to encamp close to Qhandŏ8ran's troops. That General repairing to the spot, was waiting for his baggage, when news was brought that his baggage had been set upon by some of Nadyr-shah's light troops, which were committing much havoc there. Saadet-qhan alarmed by such intelligence, sent Qhandŏ8ran notice that he could not help going to assist his people, actually engaged with the enemy, and he immediately advanced to the spot. Meanwhile this message having been imparted by Qhandŏ8ran to the Emperor, and by him to Nizam-el-mulk, the latter answered: "That it was already three "in the afternoon, by which time Saadet-qhan's people must be "spent by the length of their march, and that it was unreasonable, "therefore, to fight that day. Let His Majesty," added he, "issue "his commands to that General to contain his eagerness for a few "hours until tomorrow morning, at which time the army being "assembled, and in battle array with that numerous artillery in "their front, would march up to the enemy, and, under His "Majesty's auspices, would perform some glorious action." This answer of Nizam-el-mulk's having been imparted by a message to Qhandŏ8ran, the latter ascribed it to some neglect or jealousy in Nizam-el-mulk, and he returned for answer: "That Saadet-qhan "was already far off, and must undoubtedly be already engaged "with the enemy, and that it would be ungenerous, indeed, and "cowardly, to suffer so brave and so faithful a servant to be ex-"posed alone to the enemy. Such neglect," said he, "is very con-"trary to rule, and highly dishonourable to the service. Let others "do as they please, for my part I must go, and support Saadet-"qhan." He said, and immediately mounting his elephant, which was standing in readiness, he marched forward, being followed by his own troops and by some light artillery; and there remained only two or three hours of daylight, when he arrived on the field of battle, where he took his post on Saadet-qhan's elbow, at about one mile distance from him. Nadyr-shah, on seeing his van

engaged, left part of his army for the guard of his camp, and marching out with the main body, as far as the field of battle, he divided his troops in three parts—kept one with himself, and sent the two others to engage the two Indian Lords—when the brav Cuzzel-bashes spurring their horses, rushed upon the enemy, and fell a wounding, killing, and dismounting, and in a couple of hours, they did so much execution, that the troops of those two Lords were thrown into the utmost disorder and fled, especially those of Qhandö8ran's, who lost the bravest and most illustrious of his commanders. These with Muzfer-qhan, his brother, at their head, set out in a body for the regions of eternity. Of this number were Qhandö8ran's eldest son, Aaly-hamed-qhan, Sheh-zad-khan, Yad-gar-qhan, with Mirza-akyl-beg the cuirass-wearer,(286) and most of the men of his corps, as well as Mir-g818 son to Mir-mushreff, and Ratun-chund, son to Räy-qhoshall-chund. Qhandö8ran himself being severely wounded, and senseless, was carried away by a few friends who, on the dusk of the evening, arrived at the army, where in consequence of that discipline so conspicuous in the camps of the Emperors of Hindostan, they found nothing of Qhandö8ran's encampment, but an empty waste, with not even a tree to afford shelter to that Minister's senseless and expiring body. The whole including treasure, furniture, tents, equipages, horses, and cattle, had been plundered by the Hindostanies and his own people. At last a small tent was sent by some person, and Qhandö8ran was stretched at his length upon the ground; where the Vezir Camer-eddin-qhan, and Nizam-el-mulk, together with the principal eunuchs of His Majesty's seraglio, came to visit him to condole on his misfortune, and to supplicate Heaven for his preservation. Qhandö8ran, who was now come to himself, opened his eyes with difficulty, and finding himself going, he said these words: "As to me, my business is done. Indeed, we have done it "ourselves. Now take care of your own concerns. Let me tell "you only a few words: Beware of letting the Emperor go to visit

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(286) Cummel signifies in Hindostany coarse blanket; it also signifies a quilted coat of arms; and there was a body of three thousand men at the Capital, accoutred in that garb. There are two quiltings; one with cotton, and one with the rejected parts of the *cocoons*, always thrown away in manufactures of raw silk. This last bids defiance to the keenest sabre, and not seldom to the bullet. *See the Remark 82, Section 2nd.*

"Nadyr-shah, and beware of letting Nadyr-shah proceed to the "city. Better to avert that calamity from hence, and to make him "go back. Procure this by every means in your power." The two Lords, after hearing these words, and conferring a little together, returned to their homes; and Qhandö8ran, on the nineteenth of the same month departed this life, and repaired to the mansions of eternity.

Qhandö8ran slain.

Meanwhile Saadet-qhan was still in the field of battle, and those of his men that had escaped the slaughter had formed into a body, and surrounded him on all sides, when the Cuzzel-bashes forming a general attack, one of them, who was a young Turk from those about Nishap8r,(287) and of course, a townsman of Saadet-qhan's, having forced his passage, stood intrepidly before him, whilst the latter was shooting on all sides with his bow, and having recollected his features he cried out to him: *Mahmed-aamin, against whom art thou fighting and on what soldiers dost thou reckon? Art thou mad?* Saying this he fixed his spear in the ground, alighted, and making his horse fast to it, he got hold of one of the elephant's ropes, and mounted into the hăodah,(288) where he presented his poniard to the other's throat. Saadet-qhan, who knew the customs of Iran, made a sign of submission, and surrendering to the man, was seized as prisoner by the claws of destiny and carried to Nadyr-shah. That Prince spoke a few words to him, and used him with much kindnesss; and it growing dark, he quitted the field of battle, and retired to his camp. Saadet-qhan being now informed of Qhandö8ran's death, conceived that this was a favourable moment for succeeding to that nobleman's office of Prince of Princes, which he had always kept in view, and with that intention he made a merit of his opening a negotiation with Nadyr-shah. That Prince agreed to conclude a peace, and to go back to his dominions, on being paid two corors

Saadet-qhan taken prisoner by the Iranians.

(287) Nishapoor or *Nei-shab8r sapores his shrub*, from the rosy shrubs he found the ground beset with when he was rebuilding in Qhorassan, a town which had been ruined by Alexander. There are Afshars in Qhorassan as well as in Ader-băy-djan, a province at the western extremity of Persia. The Afshars are a Turkish tribe, as are the Qhadjars in Mazenderan, and the Fehlies, and Zendies, &c., &c., elsewhere.

(288) The hăodah is the throne or sedan on the elephant. It may admit two men, and with difficulty, three. It is made of boards, and often cased with iron or brass, and so high, as to cover a man's breast. The ambary is lower, and with a ceiling, and is for parade only.

of rupees; and it was stipulated, that as soon as Nizam-el-mulk should come and provide for the payment of that sum, Nadyr-shah's sabre would be returned into the scabbard. This good piece of news was announced in a note from him to the Emperor, and another to Nizam-el-mulk. The Emperor glad of the turn which his affairs had taken, at a time when both he and his counsellor, Nizam-el-mulk, had hidden their heads within the sleeve of trepidation and despair, and were at a loss what party to take, immediately dispatched Nizam-el-mulk with full powers to conclude. The latter being arrived in Nadyr-shah's camp, was introduced to that Prince by Saadet-qhan's mediation, where he promised to pay the two corors; after which, he returned in high spirits to his master, to whom he took care to set in the fairest point of view his own abilities and his zealous conduct throughout this treaty. The Emperor considering that this negotiation had turned out much more favourably than he had reason to expect, loaded his counsellor with encomiums and favours, and heard with patience his requesting, as his reward, the office of Prince of Princes, as well as the Qhylaat of that high dignity. That Monarch who hitherto had all along been agitated with fears for both his life and crown, thought it incumbent upon him to comply with this General's ambitious demand, and to keep him contented. He therefore sent immediately for a Qhylaat, and invested him with that high office. The next day being the twentieth, that Monarch on a note from Nadyr-shah, set out at day-break for the Iranian camp, with Nizam-el-mulk's advice and approbation. On his approaching, Nasyr-allah-mirza,(289) son to Nadyr-shah, came out by that conqueror's order to meet him, and on the young Prince's being descried at some distance, Mahmed-shah ordered his Taht-revan or moving throne to be set down, and from thence he embraced him as a son; and taking him in his Taht-revan, he proceeded to Nadyr-shah's quarters. That conqueror on descrying the Indian monarch, got up, advanced to the end of the carpet, and embraced him. After which he took him by the hand, carried him to his own Mesned or Throne, made him sit together with himself, and after having shewn him every mark of honour and distinction, he dismissed him with the utmost regard. As soon

(289) Nasyr-allah-mirza signifies the Royal Prince Nasyr-allah · but Mirza-nasyr-allah would only signify the writer, the man of letters, Nasrallah, Mr. Nasrallah

as he had set out for his own camp, news came to Saadet-qhan, that he had been supplanted in the dignity of Emir-ul-umrah, and that Nizam-el-mulk had been invested with it. This piece of news threw him into all the agonies of the most violent passion and resentment; and now listening only to his indignation, he waited on Nadyr-shah, to whom he represented "That no one in the "Hindostany camp had so much power as Nizam-el-mulk, and "none so much abilities to transact business; and what so mighty "a matter," added he, "is a sum of two corors, that your Majesty "should think of going back for so small a consideration. The two "corors in India are such a sum, as myself, your slave, can afford, "and which I will pay out of my own private purse. But immense "riches may be had from the Emperor's camp, from his Palace, "from those of his Grandees, and from the bankers and the "merchants of the capital, on condition only that you proceed to "that city. Nor is it so far off; only at forty cosses from hence. "Please to depart immediately." Nadyr-shah's eyes being opened by such a speech, and his views enlarged by such a suggestion, he wrote a note Nizam-el-mulk, commanding his attendance. The latter trusting to the treaty concluded, and to Nadyr-shah's word, set out without hesitation. Being introduced to the presence, he received orders to come back in the evening, and to bring Mahmed-shah with him as to a second interview. Nizam el-mulk represented that such were not the terms of the treaty, but was answered: "That the treaty was still subsisting. I have," said that Prince, "no designs against Mahmed-shah's Empire, nor against his life "or his honour; only it is proper that I should see him again." This order, with Nadyr-shah's pleasure, was transmitted by Nizam-el-mulk to his master. That Prince actually under the pressure of a set of circumstances which he could not govern, was fain to comply; and taking with him Emir-qhan, and Isaac-qhan, with a few pikemen, and some servants and eunuchs, he set out for the Iranian camp. Finding that his Lords and Monsubdars(290) with his whole household, were absolutely bent on following him, he stopped, and obliged them to go back; after which he hastened

(290) Military men, enjoying the grades of 250, 500, 1,000 to ten and twelve thousand horse, with the effectual command sometimes of so many troopers, but in general of only one-half of that number; and sometimes with the effectual command of so many troopers at two horses and even three horses each.

his pace, sitting on his moving throne. Being arrived, he was desired to alight at a tent that had been pitched up for him, and a moment after, he received this message: "Send for the veiled "ones of your sanctuary, together with your family, and hòusehold "and camp, equipage and furniture; and likewise for your chan-"cellery, and the officers attending the same. Live easy and satis-"fied with us in our camp." This message was followed by an order sent and published in the Hindostany camp, giving leave to every one to remain where he was, or to return to Shah-djehan-abad; and most persons took the latter party. Mahmed-shah having sent for his family and houshold, and for his other officers, an order was brought by a Nissikh-chy(291) to Camer-eddin-qhan, commanding his attendance; and the Vezir complied immediately. A little before this latter transaction, Saadet-qhan in company with Tahmasp the Djeläir, an officer who commanded the corps of that name, had set out for the capital with an order from the conqueror, and another from Mahmed-shah, enjoining L8tf-ollah-qhan-saduc, Deputy-Governor of that city, to open the gates of the castle, and to deliver every thing and every office to those two Lords. After their departure, Nadyr-shah himself set out with Mahmed-shah in his company. As to the Hindostany army most of the men, on hearing of their Monarch's detention, and of the Vezir's departure, took fright and dispersed; and they were all killed or plundered by the Iranian parties that were marauding, and many more by the peasants, who rose everywhere upon them. Most of them were slain, and those that were spared, were stripped to their skin. On the eighth of Zilhidj in the year 1159, Mahmed-shah entered the city and went to the castle, where two days after, Nadyr-shah followed and took up his quarters. Mahmed-shah occupied his old apartments attended by all the Lords of his Court and all his household, which took up their abodes in the places and posts to which they were accustomed. On the tenth of the month, which was the day of the Corban(292)

(291) A Nissikh-chy is an armed man enforcing an order. There were several thousands in Nadyr-shah's camp and court; some say six thousands. They inflict military punishments, and one of their duties is to stand in the rear of the army, and to cut down every one that dares to fly. Their arms are a battle axe, a sabre, and a bent poniard, called qhandjar.

(292) The Corban is a sacrifice of at least one sheep, which every Mussulman is on the tenth of Zilhidj obliged to sacrifice with his own hand, in commemoration of Abraham's sacrifice.

or sacrifice, the Qhotbah was recited(293) in the principal mosque for Nadyr-shah. And the next day a report spread everywhere that he was no more. Some said that he had died of a natural death, and some, as if to cover Mahmed-shah, said that he had been killed by a Calmac woman.(294) Be that as it will, this report which ran throughout the city, filled it in an hour's time, although he was actually full of life in the citadel, and the gates of it were open day and night. Some of his troops were encamped before those gates, many had taken up their lodgings throughout the city, and many had encamped on the strand which is betwixt the city and the river. Hardly had this false rumour spread throughout the city, than armed bodies of Hindostanies made their appearance in the principal streets, putting to the sword as many Cuzzel-bashes as they could lay their hands upon; and as the latter, uninformed of the report, and unacquainted with the country-language, were rambling about by two or more together, without suspecting any harm, they were massacred with ease; and although night came on, and it was expected that the tumult would subside, it took new force on the contrary; and those seditious, without taking a moment of rest, were more eager than ever. Nadyr-shah being informed of these matters, ordered his men to remain every one where he was, but armed and ready to take a revenge, and if attacked to repell force by force. It is observable, that of so many Indian Lords lodged or stationed all over the city, not one of them took the trouble to move about and to appease the tumult. Nay, some of them that had taken from Nadyr-shah a number of Cuzzel-bashes as safeguards to their families and houses, suffered them to be massacred in those very houses, or massacred them themselves; insomuch that although in the engagement at Carnal, there were no more than three men slain and twenty wounded in the Iranian army, this tumult cost Nadyr-shah more than seven hundred men. The day being now dawning, and the sedition raging with greater fury than ever, Nadyr-shah mounted his horse, and came out of the citadel with an

The Iranians set up and massacred on a report of Nadyr-shah's death.

(293) The Qhotbah is a form of a prayer pronounced every Friday by the Minister at the mosque. Amongst other matters, it contains an appreciation for the reigning Prince, and always amounts to an acknowledgment of his sovereignty.

(294) There are in the seraglio at Delhi, two guards of armed women. *Look at the Remark 106, Section 2nd.*

intention to appease it; but on beholding the slaughter that had been made of his people, he ordered a general massacre to be commenced from that very spot; and as bodies of cavalry and infantry were departing on that errand, he directed them to leave not a soul alive wherever they should discover the body of a murdered Cuzzel-bash. In an instant the soldiers getting upon the tops of the houses, commenced killing, slaughtering and plundering the people's property, and carrying away their wives and daughters. Numbers of houses were set on fire and ruined. At about noon, when the number of the massacred had exceeded all competition, a general pardon was proclaimed by Nadyr-shah's order, and the soldier everywhere sheathed his sabre. In a few days the stench arising from so many unburied bodies, which were filling the houses and streets, became so excessive, that the air was infected throughout the whole city, and the passage barred in many places. On information of this, the Cutval received orders to bury the dead, and to cleanse and clear the streets. That Magistrate, having brought all those bodies together in heaps, surrounded them with the beams and rafters of the ruined houses, and setting fire to the wood, the whole was consumed, without any distinction of Mussulman or infidel. A few days after, Saadet-qhan died of a cancer which seized his foot; but the two corors of rupees which he had promised, were paid by his nephew and Deputy, Ab8l-mans8r-qhan, and brought to Nadyr-shah by Sher-djung, who had been sent for that purpose with a body of a thousand Cuzzel-bash horse. That Prince not content with the treasures and wealth found in the Imperial repositories, raised immense contributions on the inhabitants. After which, he drew from the seraglio a virgin Princess from amongst the descendants of the Emperor Shah-djehan, and married her to his younger son, Nasyr-allah-mirza, a young Prince who accompanied him in that expedition and, as he was in haste to return to his dominions, he contented himself with severing from the Empire of Hindostan, and adding to his own, the whole of the provinces of Sind, and Cab8l, with some districts of Pendjab, that had always been set apart for the pay of the garrisons of Cab8l; but he restored the Empire of Hindostan to its owner. On his departure, he received from Mahmed-shah a sumptuous entertainment, in which this Prince had appointed a number of the Lords of his Court to perform, each

Nadyr-shah incensed, orders a general massacre of the inhabitants of the city.

a particular function. That of Emir-qhan-umdet-ul-mulk was to present the coffee.(295) On mixing the coffee in presence of the two monarchs, a sudden thought started in his mind, that if he did not present the first dish to Mahmed-shah, his master and Lord, such a neglect would be construed into a want of zeal and respect, and would create suspicions besides; and if he did, such a preference might give offence to Nadyr-shah, a Prince sanguinary and little scrupulous, and whose resentment no one could incur with safety. At last he filled up a dish, and putting it in the hands of Mahmed-shah, he said: *Your servant is too inconsiderable to put a dish of coffee in the hands of the King of Kings; let your Majesty, who are my master and his brother, present it yourself.* The two monarchs, pleased with the ingenuity of his expedient, loaded him with encomiums, and his conduct was applauded both by the Hindostanies and the Iranians. And in fact, he was a man of an elegant deportment, as well as exceedingly ingenious, and full of delicate taste in whatever he did. After this entertainment, Mahmed-shah being sent for with all his Grandees, which were formed into a circle, was presented with a Djica(296) by the hands of Nadyr-shah, who gave him also many advices and counsels, and returned him his crown of Hindostan; and that Prince having likewise decorated with a Qhylaat every one of the Hindostany Grandees, he, on the seventh of Sefer, in the year 1152, quitted Shah-djehan-abad, and departed for his own dominions.

After his departure, Mahmed-shah turned his views towards his own affairs. He was assisted by the counsels of the Vezir Camer-eddin-qhan, by Nizam-el-mulk, and especially by Ishac-qhan, a

(295) The manner of presenting and drinking coffee being so very different in Hindostan, from what it is in Europe, shall be explained in a subsequent note. The words made use of by Emir-qhan were more nervous and laconic in a work which the translator has seen of his bon-mots. It was these. After having nearly presented the dish to Nadyr-shah, he suddenly stopped like one who recollected some mistake, and gave it to Mahmed-shah, with this apology: "*Let an Emperor* do the honours of his house to a *King of Kings*. I am too inconsiderable for that office."

(296) The Djica is an ornament of gold studded with jewels surmounted by an aigret. It is carried on the right side, but vertically. The aigret itself is made either of the tail of a bird of Paradise, or of a sheaf of those glass-threads that come from Venice, and from England, and imitate all the hues of the most brilliant rainbow.

nobleman lately come within the circle of administration, but who by his personal attachment, and by the many important services he had rendered in the engagement at Carnal, and throughout the whole war with Nadyr-shah, had greatly endeared himself to the Emperor. He was made Divan of the Qhalissah or Exchequer-office. Emir-qhan was decorated with the title of Umdet-el-mulk or the greatest of the State, and the charge of third Paymaster-General; and that of Sedr was bestowed on Azim-ollah-qhan. On the twenty-ninth of the same month M8rteza-qhan received the Qhylaat of Mir-t8rki, as did Naamet-ollah-qhan, nephew to Nizam-el-mulk, that of *Caräol-beghy*. On the eighth of the first Reby, the elephant-office was bestowed on Hady-aly-qhan, brother to Emir-qhan, in a Qhylaat of six pieces; and Sëyd-selabet-qhan, son to Saadet-qhan, was made Superintendent of the Ahedian guards, as was Emir-qhan himself of the Ala-shahians. The Post-office and the Gazette-office were bestowed on the Physician, Maasoom-aaly-qhan. On the seventeenth of Shaaban the dignity of Mahi or fish was bestowed on Isaac-qhan, as well as on Selabet-qhan; Saad-eddin-qhan, Mir-ateshy, received the office of the registered favours.

After Nadyr-shah's departure Mahmed-shah endeavours to dismiss the T8ranian party from the administration.

After all these promotions, the Emperor turned his thoughts towards the management of his own affairs. He had long ago harboured suspicions against the zeal and fidelity, not only of Camer-eddin-qhan and Nizam-el-mulk, but against all the T8ranians in general; nor had these suspicions received any alteration by their conduct all along the troubles of Nadyr-shah's invasion. Resolved, therefore, to weaken their confederacy, he was fearful to act openly; but, as he had given his confidence to Emir-qhan and to Isaac-qhan, he wished to hear their opinion about what line of conduct he ought to pursue. Emir-qhan who joined a deal of courage to the most keen discernment, was for the Emperor's acting openly, and for his dismissing Camer-eddin-qhan from the Ministry; and in his private conferences with the Emperor, he used to tell him, that should His Majesty vouchsafe to extend the Princely hand of his goodness so as to overshadow the head of his faithful servant, and steadily to persist in that resolution, he entertained no doubts, but that he might bring the affairs of the Empire under whatever regulation he should think proper. The Emperor who now reposed the highest confidence in his zeal and

abilities, resolved to dismiss Camer-eddin-qhan, and waited only for the time when Nizam-el-mulk should be gone to his Viceroyalty of Decan. Nor was the latter less desirous of revisiting countries where his authority had suffered from his absence in consequence of the troubles and confusion occasioned everywhere by Nadyr-shah's invasion, and in consequence of that spirit of insubordination and independence which betrayed itself in the behaviour and conduct of his son, Nasyr-djung, whom he had left in Decan as his Deputy-General. Fearful of some disorders that would overset the tranquillity of those countries, he transferred his office of Prince of Princes to his eldest son, Ghazi-eddin-qhan, who was also son-in-law to Camer-eddin-qhan, obtained the Emperor's consent for such a transfer, saw the young Lord invested with the Qhylaat of his new office, and then obtained leave to depart; after which he went out of the city and took up his abode in tents. On his departure the Emperor sent secretly the scrutoire of the Vezirship to Emir-qhan; but this nobleman who was somewhat sanguine in his temper, having commenced doing some open acts, and holding about Camer-eddin-qhan some disagreeable discourses, that proved equally unbecoming the dignity and station of the one, as well as the eminent rank of the other, the latter, who was soon informed of these new matters, wrote to Nizam-el-mulk, who still was encamped in the suburbs, and asked what he thought ought to be done in such a conjuncture? The Viceroy answered: "That to resist His Majesty's will, or to "oppose the pleasure of one's master and Lord, was neither "proper nor laudable, and that he had nothing more to do, than to "ask His Majesty's leave, and to come with him in Decan." On this intimation, the Vezir addressed a supplique to the Emperor in these terms: "Your faithful servant is not conscious of ever "having been guilty, and is far from being guilty now; but as a "great alteration seems to have taken place in your Imperial "mind, possibly on the suggestions of interested men, and your "faithful servant is not a man to harbour thoughts of ingratitude or "of disobedience, he is going to Decan with Nizam-el-mulk. Let "your Majesty confer the direction of the public affairs on whatever zealous subject you shall devise." Camer-eddin-qhan, having forwarded this supplique, went to Nizam-el-mulk's encampment and took up his abode under tents. The Emperor, who

had little firmness and resolution in his temper, was surprised and confounded at the contents of this petition ; and sending for both Emir-qhan and Isaac-qhan, he asked them their opinion on the posture of affairs. The former made the same answer which he had already made some days before, and the Emperor said nothing, but dismissed that nobleman.(297) After his departure he asked Issac-qhan his opinion, and conjured him by everything sacred, as he valued his Emperor's welfare, and that of the Empire, to say without disguise, and without regard to persons or times, whatever he thought advantageous to the public. Issac-qhan, who owed his preferment to Emir-qhan, and had promised that nobleman that, in whatever circumstances he might chance to be, he would never give an advice contrary to his benefactor's opinion, declined answering, and remained silent. The Emperor, astonished at his reluctance, urged him with the most soothing entreaties, and the most sacred oaths. The other answered in these terms : "If I speak according to the dictates of my conscience, I commit a breach of a solemn promise, and break a "serious agreement ; and if I abide by the stipulations of that "agreement I become guilty of ingratitude to you, and likewise "commit a kind of treason with respect to the public. Better then "to say nothing, and your Majesty shall vouchsafe to hold me "excused." The Emperor astonished at these words, became more eager than ever, and made use of so many entreaties and so many sacred oaths, that Issac-qhan, unable to resist any more, delivered himself in this manner : "Although Emir-qhan is "undoubtedly a man of merit, and a man of courage and counsel, "yet he bears, amongst the Grandees of India, a certain character "of preferring a bon-mot to any consideration whatever, and of "acting with an unbecoming airiness of language and behaviour ;

(297) This dismission, unless a man be in disgrace, is always done by presenting him with, and putting in his hands, a biri of paan. This biri of paan is made up of one or two leaves of paan, (which the Europeans are pleased to call Betel or Beetle, a word unknown to the natives) and these leaves are elegantly folded up with a little *Chuna* or shell-lime, some sliced Catt or Catch8, and a few thin slices of *Sipari*, or *S8pi-ari*, which the Europeans are pleased to call Arec, another word as unknown as the Betel. All that is contained in a bit of *Kela*, *i.e.*, Banana leaf, *alias* Plantain, which is as shining and as soft as Satin, and this leaf is folded up in the form of a Pyramidal Cone, and made fast by a clove, as by a nail stuck in. *Look at the note 116, section 10th.*

"on the other hand, those who, like your humble servant, have "been introduced to preferment by his means and owe to his "recommendation the honour of kissing the Imperial threshold, "of paying their respects personally to Majesty, and of reaching "to the highest dignities and honours; those, as well as myself, "have not yet acquired any adequate weight in the eyes of the "Hindoo Radjas, and of the Grandees of Hindostan, or of the "Lords of the Court. In the eyes of all these powerful people, we "are still the men of yesterday, and our station, as well as rank, "is yet that of yesterday. Those same men look up to Nizam-el-"mulk and to Camer-eddin-qhan with the highest respect, and "accustomed long-hand to obey their dictates, and to conform "to their pleasure, submission is become natural to them, and "they think it an honour to be instrumental in putting their com-"mands in execution. To fall out then, with two such Ministers on "the bare strength of the abilities of such men as we are, can-"not, in the opinion of your servant's deficient mind, be product-"ive of any good. As to the rest, whatever you shall have "determined in your Imperial mind, will undoubtedly prove to be "the most advantageous party." The Emperor at these words recovering as from a profound sleep, abandoned his late purpose, and resolved to live upon good terms with both Nizam-el-mulk and Camer-eddin-qhan. The next day Emir-qhan came to Court as usual, and on observing an alteration in the Emperor's air and appearance, he with much surprise asked the reason of that change. The Emperor answered: "I have reflected on the intend-"ed proceeding, and find that to discontent the Tūranian Lords, "who are now the main hinge upon which my affairs turn, is not "a proper measure; nor can it redound to my honour. It be-"comes, therefore, important to the welfare of this Empire, that "they remain quiet and satisfied; and it is incumbent upon you "likewise, as you value your character of a zealous faithful "servant, to abstain henceforward from any thing that may raise "dissensions, or give them umbrage." Emir-qhan thoroughly sensible of the great change that had taken place these two days, hastened out of town, and going to Nizam-el-mulk he made him as well as Camer-eddin-qhan every apology in his power, and he desired them both to explain their intentions, as he was resolved to act in conformity to their pleasure. Nizam-el-mulk, after

having passed many encomiums on Emir-qhan, added, that as some coolness had of late taken place between him and Çamer-eddin-qhan, he thought it expedient that he (Emir-qhan) should repair for sometime to Ilah-abad, which, after all, added he, is your Government and office. Emir-qhan promised to comply with their advice, and took his leave from them; and having likewise obtained the Emperor's consent, he set out of the capital, and encamped in the environs, where having spent some time in providing a field-equipage, putting his affairs in order, and appointing proper Agents to act for him in his absence, he continued his voyage; whilst Issac-qhan, who remained at Court, acquired the highest ascendant over the Emperor's mind, was held in the highest esteem, and became extremely respected by both Nizam-el-mulk and Camer-eddin-qhan. After this departure, there were some other changes at Court. Ab8l-mans8r-qhan, son-in-law to Saadet-qhan, who had been honoured with the Government of A8d, repaired to that capital, and applied himself to all the arts that could support and increase the power of his Government. Zekeriah-qhan was suffered to remain in his Government of Lahor and M8ltan, in which he had been continued by Nadyr-shah himself, and that Governor's youngest son, who bore a character for courage and resolution, and who on his having accompanied Nadyr-shah and served him as guide in his expedition against the Afghan, N8r-mahomed-qhan-lëili, had been honoured by the conqueror with the surname of Shah-nevaz-qhani,(298) was suffered to continue in Pendjab, where he seemed to have no business but that of quieting the districts bestowed on him, and of enjoying their revenues.

After Nadyr-shah's departure, the scene that had been dull for sometime in the capital as well as in all the provinces, now became interesting in Bengal. Shudjah-qhan, whom we have seen Viceroy of Bengal, and Azim-abad, and Oressa, departed this life and repaired to the mansions of divine mercy about the time when Nadyr-shah arrived at Shah-djehan-abad. It would be difficult to mention all the good qualities of that worthy man, and still more difficult to describe even a few of them in this book. For there was not a man in his service whom he had not essentially obliged by some personal favours, and finding his

Admirable character of Shudjah-qhan Viceroy of Bengal.

(298) The cherished one of the King's.

dissolution at hand, he made a present of two month's wages to every nobleman, every man, Civil and Military, and to every soldier or trooper in his service, without excepting the servants of his household, or even the women that attended as menial servants in his seraglio; and a few days before his decease he sent to ask pardon from every one of them, entreating their forgiveness. His benevolence was such, that whoever had once chanced to have been of his acquaintance, was sure of receiving some favour, and even the old women he had seen at Burhan-poor, the place of his nativity, or which he remembered to have heard of, did not fail to experience his munificence, every one of them receiving a fruitable pension. He was so impartial an observer of justice, and a judge of so much benignity, that the poorest suitor was sure of being in his presence upon a footing with his very son; and the fearful sparrow, certain of finding in his bosom a shelter against the hawk's pursuit, flew towards him with a perfect reliance on his goodness. So that people acquainted with history, thought they lived in Nŏ8-shirvan's reign.(299) He was of so beneficent a temper, that whenever any person endowed with some little capacity, or even with the air and language of a gentleman, appeared in Moorshoodabad, he immediately received information of his arrival and of the subject of his coming, and he in general waited three or four days until he heard of the man's having some friend in his capital, upon whose application, he always granted the whole or part of the stranger's demand; else, if he observed that the man had neither acquaintances nor friends, he assembled his Court, and after having mentioned the man's arrival and his errand, he would observe: "That to all ap-"pearance not one man of the company knew any thing of the

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(299) Nŏ8 shirvan or rather An8b-shirvan, one of the last kings of Persia of the Sassanian race. He reigned forty-four-years, and proved one of the worthiest men that ever existed. The Prophet was born in his reign, and he even wrote him a letter, which the latter tore to pieces, passing upon him at the same time, as well as upon all the Arabs in general, those sarcasms in four lines to be seen in the Shah-nameh. They are so curious that the reader will forgive his being reminded of them.

"From feeding upon camel's milk and upon mice and snakes,
"Matters are so much altered with this Arabian fellow,
"That he casts a wishful eye upon the Throne of Kings.
"Spittle be upon thy face, thou Arabiain! upon thy face be spittle."

"stranger; otherwise," added he, "I suppose I should have received "some application on his behalf already." After these few words he would pause a little to give time to some one present to take shame to himself, and to apply, in which case he always gave a favourable answer; else, he sent to enquire of the man himself, and to inform him that, since he had come from so far, he ought to have given him some notice of his circumstances, and also have paid him a visit. After this he sent him underhand a supply of money. Nor was any of his servants daring enough to impose upon him in these matters; nor was such a custom in his household, as has taken so deep a root(300) and is practised everywhere and upon all occasions. I mean that the servants or chopdars, on carrying a thing from their masters to any one, should plague him for a gratuity, and in case of refusal, should very cavalierly right themselves: a vile practice which from becoming natural to such low-minded people, has spread amongst some others of the better sort, who are not ashamed to imitate them. Such exactions, if at any time put in practice, never failed to come to his knowledge, and the guilty was sure of being dismissed the service; whilst the informer received a further bounty. Hence such shameful practices were unknown in his household and Government. It is true that the people of his household itself were so generously used, that they never cast the eye of covetousness upon what was bestowed on others, and that living contented and in ease, they were little inclined to descend to supplications. Sometimes having got information of the stranger's necessities, he used to send for him, and if he perceived that he intended to take service with him, he admitted him with condescension and honour; and on his going home, he would immediately send him a sum of money with an apology in these few words: "In so very cheap a country as this, even so small "a matter may suffice; but God, in case of need, can do a great "deal more for you." To every one of the persons in his service, whom he knew personally, he used to send Qhoans or trays full

(300) The author seems to glance at the menial servants of the English, the best paid, and best rewarded servants upon earth, and yet through the carelessness of their masters, the most importunate and the most shameless exactors in India. But, however, had he seen those of Asef-eddôulah's, he would have found them noways inferior to the most begging servants of the English; and they are probably so many copies everywhere equal to their originals.

of a variety of exquisite victuals—to some every day, to others every other day, and to some twice a week—and whoever had once been complimented with such a piece of liberality, was certain of it for ever; nor is there an instance of its having ever been discontinued so much as once. Of all the persons personally known to him, whether gentlemen or others, he kept a note in a certain memorandum-book of his, made up of ivory-leaves, and it was his custom every night on his going to bed, to peruse it and to set down under some names such a sum of money, as he thought proper (and this was sometimes a large one); after which he sent for a Zemindar dilatory in his rents, or for his Agent, and he informed him that having appointed such an one to be Sezavul or enforcer of payment over him, he wished that such a sum might be his perquisite. This request was always complied with, and often with some addition from the Zemindar himself, who made it a point of honour to oblige a person so recommended. After sometime he always asked the Sezavul about what reception he had met with, and on a fair confession of his benefits, he used to hold the man in esteem and to increase his inclination to him; else, if he prevaricated, or concealed any thing, he from that moment ceased to repose any confidence in him. After having in this manner promoted the benefit of a certain number of persons, he effaced their names, and noted down another set; and this sacred practice of his he kept on foot during the whole course of his life. May God's forgiveness rest upon him, and may His goodness assign him a place amongst his elects! Amen.

That excellent man, after his decease, was succeeded by his son, Ala-eddö8lah-ser-efraz-qhan(301), who mounted the Mesned(302) and took possession of the three S8bahs; and it

(301) Ala-eddöulah is a title, and signifies the sublime of the Empire. Ser-efraz-qhan is also a title, and signifies the Lord with the sublime head or erect head.

(302) So often has this word been mentioned, that it becomes necessary to explain it. In the most honourable place of the hall is spread a small carpet, about six feet in length, by four in breadth. Over this is a quilted covering of one inch in thickness, and over that, a rich one, either embroidered or of brocade, fringed. The man is sitting upon this, with his back leaning on a very large thick pillow which is long and round, and very rich likewise, with two couples of small cushions on each side of him, at about his knees; he has before him, but a little to the left, a sabre

was he that received Nadyr-shah's letter which had been originally written to Shudjah-qhan. But Aaly-verdy-qhan who had been promoted to the Deputyship of Azim-abad by the latter, and did not much trust his son, whilst he saw distinctly the distractions that would follow in the Empire after Nadyr-shah's departure, paid little deference to his new master, being entirely engrossed by the thoughts of securing himself in his office. And with that view he was actually encamped on the frontiers of his new Government, not that he had much to fear from the new Viceroy of the three provinces. This proved to be only a pious man addicted to the practices of devotion, and extremely regular in his stated prayers. He fasted three full months besides the blessed month of the Ramazan, and was scrupulous in the discharge of the several duties prescribed throughout the year; but at the same time he proved greatly deficient in that keenness of discernment, and that extent of mind, so indespensably necessary in a Sovereign Prince. His soul wholly engrossed by those little practices of religion, did not pay a sufficient attention to the affairs of State, and did not reach to those niceties and those qualifications so necessary in a man of his station and rank. It is true, he did not offer any injury to the Räy-räyan, Alum-chund, Divan to his father; nor did he molest either Djagat-seat or Hadji Ahmed, two men of great abilities and influence, who with the Räy-räyan had had the absolute direction of affairs in the late administration, but he had resigned his heart and the helm of Government into the hands of some men who had personal wrongs to revenge. These were Hadji L8tf-8llah, and Merdan-aaly-qhan, and Mir-m8rteza, and some others, who incensed from long-hand against Hadji Ahmed, depreciated him everywhere, and teased him with taunting expressions that would have exasperated(303) any man.

He is succeeded by his son Ser-efraz-qhan.

in a velvet scabbard, and a Cattari or some other poniard at his right. Close before him there is sometimes a cambric handkerchief, folded up square, with a small knife used as a penknife, to rip open letters occasionally presented. Not seldom there is upon the Mesned a Pan-dan or vessel containing Betel, ready-made, and a handkerchief.

(303) Hadji Ahmed eternally intent on finding out new beauties for his master, Shudjah-qhan, who, it is a fact, could not live four hours without some woman or other, had attempted the families of those noblemen, who always spoke of him with contempt, whilst Ser-efraz-qhan himself hardly had any other name for him but the female of *C8tni*, the Bawd, the Procuris.

These incensed noblemen, intent on giving vent to their enmity and hatred against Hadji Ahmed, were every day busy in drawing his portrait in the most odious colours, and they went so far as to have produced in Ser-efraz-qhan's mind a total alteration on his account. This Prince took from him the seat of the Divan-ship, an office which the Hadji had enjoyed ever since Shudjah-qhan's accession, and he bestowed it on Mir-m8rteza. He wanted also to deprive Ata-ollah-qhan, son-in-law to the Hadji, of the Fodjdary of Rajmahl, in order to give it to his own son-in-law, Hassen-mahmed-qhan. Hadji Ahmed intimidated by the influence of his numerous enemies, and finding himself aimed at on all sides, used to write every thing to his brother, Aaly-verdy-qhan, and always with such exaggerations as magnified every unity into a thousand; and as he had already formed his design, he, under the cloak of zeal and attachment, persuaded the new Viceroy to disband great part of his forces, and to contract his expenses: an advice which the other had the weakness to accept; whilst at the same time through a natural indolence, and probably out of mistrust and fear, he listened to the counsel given him by Manocher-qhan, who proposed to arrest and confine Hadji Ahmed's two sons, namely, Zin-eddin-ahmed-qhan, who was coming from Azim-abad, and Sëyd-ahmed-qhan, who was arrived from his Fodjdary of Rungpore. But what strongly characterises the Viceroy's inconsistency of mind is that, after having listened to such an advice, he had the weakness to disclose it himself to Hadji Ahmed, and to pretend to make a merit of this confidence, in order to dispel the old man's apprehensions, and to regain his heart. But there was another strange absurdity in his management. After making such a confidence, he affronted him again in the most glaring manner. Hearing that Ata-ollah-qhan's daughter, that is, Hadji Ahmed's grand-daughter, had been betrothed to Mirza-mehmed,(304)

Is soon dispossessed by Aaly-verdy-qhan.

(304) Since called *Seradj-eddöulah*, or the Taper of the Empire, elder son to Zin-eddin-ahmed-qhan. The word Hadji, as a title of honour and respect, is always annexed to the names of those that have made the pilgrimage of Mecca, but never to the names of those that have only visited Medina, where the Messenger is entombed, or any holy place. Men coming from Mecca let grow their beards, and are reputed to have shaken off their past vicious habits, and to have assumed a new way of life; nor are all the rites used in that pilgrimage, and especially that of stripping themselves to the skin, and putting one's self for three or many more days in an Ehram, which after all is a winding sheet, and their abstaining as much as

grandson to the latter, who had been adopted by Aaly-verdy-qhan, he wanted to break the compact, and to marry the young bride to his own son ; and not content with forming himself in his court a party against his own interests, he contrived to procure it strength and support. He set on foot an inquiry into the management of the public money at Azim-abad, and he recalled the troops that had been given by his father to Aaly-verdy-qhan, and which these many years had conceived an attachment for the latter ; and on their seeming to hesitate about coming back, he set up a resumption of all the grants and favours which Shudjah-qhan had bestowed on them, and took care to discontent them thoroughly. All these matters were minutely recorded by Hadji Ahmed, and carefully transmitted to his brother, Aaly-verdy-qhan, with the usual exaggerations and additions of his own ; and to give more credit to his assertions, he used to superadd the sanction of Sëyd-ahmed-qhan's testimony and seal, who on that occasion submitted to the weight of paternal injunction. It was after such proceedings as these, that Ser-efraz-qhan expected to gain the hearts of Hadji Ahmed and of his sons.

"A strange policy indeed, and a strange plan of an impracticable design."

Aaly-verdy-qhan, thoroughly informed of these manœuvres, and sensible that his affairs had come to such a pass as hardly to be susceptible of any mending by the arts of dissimulation and forbearance, resolved to avail himself of his acquaintance and old connections with his friend, Issac-qhan, a nobleman who was now in complete possession of the Emperor's ear; and he wrote him a secret letter, in which he requested to have the patents of the three provinces transferred to himself, under promise of sending to Court a present of a coror of rupees, over and above the confiscation of Ser-efraz-qhan's wealth and estate, and over and above the yearly usual tribute of a coror. To this he added another request. He wanted an Imperial order directed to himself, with injunctions to fight Ser-efraz-qhan, and to recover the three

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possible from all actions appertaining to a living body, intended to convey any other idea but that of a man now dead to a former life, who raises to live a more virtuous one. The very length of the voyage, and the strangeness of the rites seem evidently calculated to wean a man from his accustomed habits. On the other hand, such extensive charities are imposed, and such a rigorous self-denial is required, that a man after such a voyage seems to have become another person.

provinces from his hands. After having dispatched these two letters, he published that he had intentions of marching against the Zemindars of Bodjp8r, a set of men famous in those parts both for their number and depredations, as well as for their refractory temper; and under that pretence he mustered and completed his troops which he always kept in constant readiness. At the same time he had the finesse of giving to Ser-efraz-qhan public notice of that pretended design of his, and meanwhile he stood up ready to avail himself of the first opportunity that should offer to promote his real views. At last, ten months after Nadyr-shah's departure for Iran, and just thirteen months after Shudjah-qhan's decease, he received the Imperial command, drawn up in the style he had requested; and being now resolved on marching against Ser-efraz-qhan, he had procured the day of his departure to be fixed by an eminent astrologer, on whose predictions he reposed an unlimited confidence. Meanwhile he laid such obstructions on the roads, that no traveller could advance towards Moorshoodabad, and he secretly wrote to the Djagat-seat,(305) Feteh-chund, his friend, that by such a day he would commence his march. The letter was dispatched by a trusty man who had orders to deliver it on such a day which was pointed out to him. All things being thus prepared Aaly-verdy-qhan, on the latter end of Zilhidj, in the year 1152, set out on his expedition to Bodjp8r, and he encamped about Varis-qhan's reservoir, which is at some distance from the city of Azim-abad. On his departure, he appointed for his Deputy and Lieutenant, Zin-eddin-ahmed-qhan, his youngest nephew and son-in-law, and he sent Sëyd-hedaïet-aaly-qhan-Assed-djung, the poorman's father,(306) to command in the districts of Seress and Coolombah, where the people were from a long time accustomed to respect his orders. Two days after that nobleman's departure, he wrote him a short note,

(305) It appears by this passage that the words Djagat-seat, which were thought to be a proper name, are a title, and we know that the word *seat* signifies, in G8djerat, the place of Feteh-chund's nativity, a merchant and a banker.

(306) Assed-djung, the Lion-in-war, was the title of Gholam-husseén-qhan, our author's father. The words, *the poor man*, in a polite style signifies *myself* or any thing belonging to me, and such expressions of humility are common and in great number; but they must not be confounded with the words, *the last of men*, or the lowest of men. For none but Sovereign Princes, or men of the highest rank, writing to persons of rank, have a right to speak so humbly of themselves.

informing him that, having taken the resolution of marching to Moorshoodabad, he recommended both him and Zin-eddin-ahmed-qhan to the Almighty God, and I hope, added he, "that you "shall manage so, as to live always upon good terms with him, "and that you shall act as emergencies require." The eve of his departure, he gave orders to assemble all the principal officers of his army, whether Mussulmen or Hindoos; and on seeing them together in large numbers, he produced two men in the middle of the assembly—one a venerable Mussulman of a known piety, with the glorious word of God in his hand, and the other, a Brahmin, who held a vase full of Ganga-water in his right and a twig of T8lsy or black-Rehihan in the other,(307) these two emblems being held in the highest veneration by men of that persuation, and the most sacred oaths being always taken on them. After a moment of silence, he requested the Mussulmen to swear by the glorious Coran, and the Gentoos to lay their hands on those emblems, and then he addressed the assembly in these words: *"I am now going to fight my personal enemies, and as I know "you for my old companions, on whose hands I must trust, and "from whose valour I must expect success, I request that, if you "intend to stand by me and to follow my fortunes, you please "every one of you, to take the most solemn oath that you shall "not abandon me whether I rush into the water or into the fire, "whether my adversary be an Afrasiab or a Roostem.*(308) *"Swear then, that you shall be friends to my friends. and "enemies to my enemies; and that be my fate what it will, you "shall stand by me inviolably with your lives and fortunes."* Such an unexpected speech produced its full effect. Those old warriors who had been bred in his camp and were long ago attached to him as having received numberless favours at his hands,

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(307) There are several kinds of T8lsy. That mentioned here is a shrub three feet high. with longish leaves of a dirty green above, and of deep purple underneath. It is a shrub of the family of Balsams or Basiliscusses, and exceedingly fragrant.

(308) *Afrasiab*, a famous Turkish Conqeror in the ancient Persian History, who reigned in Persia, after having conquered it. *Roostem*, and also *Rustun*, is a famous Prince of Persian extraction, with blue eyes, a red beard, and flaxen hair, who reigned in Sabulstan, an eastern province of ancient Iran or Persia. The word *Afrasi-ab*, signifying the man *of the other side of the water*, is Persian, and must be an appellative given by the Persians to their Conqueror, who was a Turk or Scythian, and of course, must have borne some Turkish name.

soon gave the example of taking a solemn oath, and of contracting the most solemn engagement. All of them swore, the Mussulmen, by carrying the glorious word of God to their foreheads and eyes, and the Gentoos, by touching the Brahman's feet, and the twig of T8lsy, and then drinking of the Ganga-water. They all joined in prayers for his prosperity, and with one voice, they promised to follow him, whithersoever he would lead. All this was done by the old officers who were already fashioned to his mind, and attached to his person; and their example was followed without hesitation by the new ones. Aaly-verdy-qhan being now satisfied as to that important article, disclosed to them the secret of his expedition, and he informed them that, "forced by the injuries offered to himself, to his brother, and to every individual in their families, he was marching against their oppressor, Ser-efraz-qhan, rosolved to put an end to that tyranny." These words startled some of them; but as they had taken an unconditional oath, and they were now too far engaged, they saw that there remained no other party for them, but that of abiding by their engagement, and of following his fortunes. It being already night, the assembly was dismissed, and the next morning, being the favourable day, he at day-break turned eastwards, and resolutely marched towards Moorshoodabad. He had a numerous well-appointed army of old troops, and a good artillery furnished with every necessary for action. By continual marches, without halting anywhere, he soon arrived at Shah-abad, which town has a fortification that shuts up the passage entirely from the hill to the bank of the Ganga. There he concealed his army in a valley of the neighbourhood, and pitching upon Mustapha-qhan the Afghan, an officer of approved zeal, and tried courage and conduct, he gave him a hundred horse, and put in his hands an order and pass of Ser-efraz-qhan's, originally destined for another commander, but which Aaly-verdy-qhan had found means to intercept. That officer had orders to advance in presenting his pass to the garrison, which being only of a couple hundred Musqueteers, were not upon their guard, and he was then to turn about and to overpower them, so as to render himself master of the passage. After which success, he was to strike up his Nagara, as a signal for the army to advance. Mustapha-qhan, advancing with his small troop within the valley, was hailed from the walls

according to the custom, asked who he was, and what for he came. and ordered to stand still. The officer sent one of his men with the pass and the written order, which being perused by a writer, the latter ordered the gate to be set open, and the troop to be admitted. Mustapha-qhan marched in, and ordered his Nagara or kettle-drum to strike up, to which signal were added some shouts by his people. This signal being soon understood by the vanguard, concealed behind the hill, they marched round, and suddenly made their appearance, advancing in battle array with ensigns displayed, and music playing. The garrison alarmed at such a sight, shut up the gate, and wanted to stand upon their defence, when Mustapha-qhan called out to them that, if they made the least motion, he would fall upon them directly and put them to sword. This threat having intimidated them, they all stood motionless, and suffered Mustapha qhan's people to set open the gate. After which, the troops of the vanguard passed without difficulty, took possession of all the posts, and this being the day in which the man entrusted with the letter to Djagat-seat, had received orders to present it, the latter on perusing the contents, and comparing the dates, concluded that Aaly-verdy-qhan, his friend, must be by this time on this side of the pass of Taliagary; and that in four or five days more he would be in the territory of Moorshoodabad. With an air seemingly alarmed, he immediately mounted, and with much consternation in his features, he presented to Ser-efraz-qhan the letter which he had just received from Aaly-verdy-qhan, whom he suspected, said he, to be now at Radjemahl; at the same time he produced another letter from Aaly-verdy-qhan to that Prince himself. The purport was this: "Since, after the many affronts received by my brother, Hadji "Ahmed, attempts have been made upon the honour and chastity "of our family, your servant in order to save that family from "further disgrace, has been obliged to come so far, but with no "other sentiments than those of fidelity and submission. Your "servant hopes, therefore, that Hadji Ahmed shall receive leave "to come to me with his family and dependants." Ser-efraz-Qhan, surprised and confounded at the intelligence, vented his resentment in fruitless reproaches, and then called a general assembly of his Ministers and general officers, where Hadji Ahmed having been likewise sent for, the hall of public audience

was set open,—and he gave Hadji Ahmed a severe reprimand, mixed with threats. The latter sensible of his danger, assumed a soothing tone of voice, and in his endeavours to pacify him, he advanced so far, as to promise that the moment he would be in camp, he would engage Aaly-verdy-qhan to return to his Government. This proposal was variously received by the assembly; some objecting to Hadji Ahmed's being dismissed to his brother's camp, and some thinking that he ought to be trusted, and his promise put to the test. The matter remaining in suspense, Mahmed-ghóuss-qhan, an officer of character and reputation, who had been these many years attached to Shudjah-qhan, and thought he owed the same attachment to Ser-efraz-qhan, his son, opened an opinion that differed from them all. That officer prided in his sentiments of fidelity, as much as upon his personal prowess. "I "do not see," said he, "raising his voice, what benefit can result "from confining and imprisoning this old man; nor is it at all "probable that Aaly-verdy-qhan, on his brother's being arrested, "shall discontinue his operations, or alter his mind. It becomes "then a matter of small moment, whether *Hadji Ahmed* be dis-"missed with full leave to repair to his brother or not. If he "proves as good as his word, it is very well; if he does not, I "do not see what harm he has done us thereby. If we are ready "and willing to encounter Aaly-verdy-qhan in the field, we little "care whether he is joined by his brother or not. Hadji Ahmed "is but a single individual, and nothing more. By his being in "his brother's camp, I do not see he can either add to, or detract "anything from, the enemy's strength." Mahmed-ghóuss-qhan's opinion having been unanimously approved, Hadji Ahmed received his dismission, and he instantly set out for his brother's camp. Whilst on his march thither he repeatedly wrote, and he insinuated by the means of his friends, that Mahmed-aaly-verdy-qhan (for such was his style) was in his heart as faithful and as zealous a servant, as ever. "Let not my master think of "marching with arms in his hands against a servant powerful, "but full of sentiments of attachment and respect. Let not your "Highness be at the trouble of moving from your palace. For he "wants only to enjoy the honour of kissing your Princely thresh-"old, that he may have an opportunity of explaining his "complaints, of preferring his supplications, and of approving

"himself a respectful, dutiful servant. This is his only aim. But "should your Highness, at the instigation of some interested men, "despise the counsel offered by me, your servant, and march out "against him, I fear the man in his despair, and in the necessity "of securing his life and his honour, will venture upon some "steps that will prove his shame both in this world and in the "other."

As very little effect was expected from dismissing Hadji Ahmed, there arose in the assembly a variety of opinions about the expediency of marching out, or of not marching, against the enemies. It was at last resolved to march out, and by the exertions of Merdan-aaly-qhan, who was greatly incensed both against Hadji Ahmed and Aaly-verdy-qhan, the army, with Ser-efraz-qhan at its head, marched out, and in three or four days arrived at Comrah. It was the twenty-second of Muharrem, in the year 1153 of the Hedjrah. At that town it halted a little, it being necessary to hear the report brought by two persons of note which had been sent by Ser-efraz-qhan to examine Aaly-verdy-qhan's views and designs. These were Sunnet, an eunuch, and Shudjah-cooly-qhan, a Fodjdar of Hoogly. They were on their return from the enemy's camp, and had brought with them another Deputy, who came on the part of Aaly-verdy-qhan himself; and this was the Physician Mahmed-aaly-qhan. Their report amounted to this. That he was still a submissive, dutiful servant, and to this testimony they added this message, as from his own mouth: "When people of Princely, generous dispositions vouchsafe to "raise any one to high stations and dignities, they look upon "him, from that moment, to be their pupil and ward, and think it "incumbent upon themselves to take care of his honour and "character in the eyes of the world. Now it is notorious that I, "your dutiful servant, owe my well-being to your illustrious family, "which vouchsafed to raise me from the humility of dust to the "splendour of high preferment (an obligation which I am proud "to remember); and as I wish to inform the public, and to gain "credit to my attachment (which I conceive to be equalled by no "one but your most zealous servants), I supplicate that you please "to grant me two requests. The first, that you condescend to "turn away from your presence, and to dismiss from your coun-"cils, some persons, who, having conceived a jealousy at the

His artful, insidious management.

"elevation of our family, are ever busy in filling your Princely "mind with new suggestions, like those that have already given "rise to the present troubles. These are Merdan-aaly-qhan, "Mir-morteza-qhan, Hadji Lootf-aaly-qhan, and Mahmed-ghóuss-"qhan. After their departure, your servant, thinking his person "safe, shall make it a duty to pay you his respects. The second "request is, that should you think this favour to be of a nature "not to be granted, then that you please to retire to your palace, "and from thence to issue your commands to them to march into "the field, and to fight me, your servant. If victory favours them, "let them avail themselves of its rights; they have gained their "point. If they are vanquished, let them retire, and I shall then "come myself, and lay my head at your feet. In token of my "sincerity, I herewith send you the volume of the glorious Coran, "on which I have taken the most sacred oaths."

The glorious volume was accordingly produced by the Physician Mahmed-aalý-qhan;(309) but as the noblemen in question were in possession of the highest influence both over Ser-efraz-qhan's mind and over his Court, and their minds were ulcerated against Hadji Ahmed, as well as against his brother and their children, the proposal for peace did not take root. But yet no proper preparatives were made for an immediate engagement, as the best officers suggested. Meanwhile, Hadji Ahmed being arrived at Radje-mahl, was received with open arms by his brother, who directly took him upon his elephant, being then upon his march. Hadji Ahmed, as if to fulfil the promise he had made at his departure, prevailed upon his brother to have his elephant turned about for some hundred yards, after which he returned to the road again. Ser-efraz-qhan hearing of the enemy's march, advanced to a village called Gheri or Gheriah, a noted spot upon the banks of the Bagraty, whilst Mahmed-ghóuss-qhan pushed forward as far as the spot where the enemy was encamped on the water-side at Sooty; by which means, the river, which was everywhere fordable and about one arrow's throw over, intervened between himself and Ser-efraz-qhan. Nor was the distance between him and Aaly-verdy-qhan's camp of more than five or six cosses. Meanwhile messages and messengers were continually

(309) This glorious volume was only a brick properly fashioned and covered with cloth of gold

passing and repassing betwixt the two camps; Ser-efraz-qhan offering to receive Aaly-verdy-qhan into favour again, and wishing to see him, and the other answering in the strain he had already done. "In grateful remembrance of the favours receiv-"ed from your father," said he, "once, I will never form any "designs against you; but it is under condition only that you "dismiss from your service those enemies of our family, who by "their rancorous suggestions have brought matters to that state "of diffidence and disunion that draws to a crisis. Else, deliver "them over to me; and if you are averse to this also, then stand "off, pitch your tent upon that eminence yonder, and from thence "look at our fighting against each other. If I am victorious, I "will certainly come to pay you my duty, and if I am vanquished, "you shall do with me whatever you shall think proper." As both parties seemed equally liable to difficulties, the interview did not take place. But although such friendly messages were daily exchanged, Djagat-seat was nevertheless busily employed in writing to every one of Aaly-verdy-qhan's commanders, and in conveying to them, every one according to his station, promissory notes, called Tips, usual amongst bankers, under the only condition of seizing his person and delivering it to Ser-efraz-qhan.(310) Some of these notes were received that very evening by many, and amongst others, by Mustapha-qhan. That officer, in company with some others, as zealously attached to Aaly-verdy-qhan as himself, carried them to him, and exposed the contents to his view. "*If fighting is the matter,* said that officer, *let us fight tomorrow morning, without loss of time; for the next day, matters may take a very different turn from what they are to-day.* Aaly-verdy-qhan having reflected on the advice, gave his approbation, and that very moment he ordered powder and ball to be distributed to the troops, being resolved to fight the next day. His army he divided in three bodies. One part under the command of Nandoolal, a Gentoo officer of character,

(310) We know for certain, and this is the universal report, that this manœuvre was played by Aaly-verdy-qhan himself, through Djagat-seat, his friend, against Ser-efraz-qhan's officers; and we have been assured by one of them, still living, that himself had received such a Tip for Rs. 4,000, and had been desired to load the artillery only with earth and rubbish The universal report at Moorshoodabad is, that in fact some guns were served in that manner, and by-the-bye not a word is said by the author of Ser-efraz-khan's artillery

who was also entrusted with Aaly-verdy-qhan's standard, was opposed to Ghóuss-qhan, and he gave him orders to engage the troops on this side of the river. With the two other bodies, he forded the river, and sent one of them in the rear of Ser-efraz-qhan's troops, with orders to fall upon them as sóon as they should see him engaged with his front, for which purpose he now advanced on Ser-efraz-khan, without quitting the river's bank. The body that had been sent forwards, had orders to keep themselves concealed, until they should hear the report of a gun, at which signal they were to fall at once both upon Ser-efraz-qhan's rear and camp. This body commenced its march in the darkness of the night at one in the morning, and was commanded by Nevazish-mahmed-qhan, Aaly-verdy-qhan's eldest son-in-law, who had under his command Abdol-aaly-qhan with Mustapha-qhan and Shimshir-qhan and some other Afghan commanders. Aaly-verdy-qhan with his corps followed, but at some distance; whilst Nandoolal in compliance with orders, marched slowly and silently opposite to Ghóuss-qhan. The engagement commenced at the dawn of the day, by which time Aaly-verdy-qhan being near Ser-efraz-qhan's front, fired one of his guns. On the report of which the body that had preceded, attacked Ser-efraz-qhan's troops, whilst Nandoolal engaged Ghóuss-qhan. Ser-efraz-qhan who was then at his devotions, got up immediately, mounted his elephant, and marched straight to Aaly-verdy-qhan, at the very time when some of the enemies getting at his rear, had penetrated to the middle of his camp, where much plunder was acquired, and much slaughter made; Mirza-iredj-qhan's son being slain amongst others. Meanwhile Ser-efraz-qhan kept advancing, and was already passed his Nagar-qhana or band of music, and the head of his army, when a bullet sent him to the mansions of eternity. He was accompanied by a number of men of distinction, amongst which were Mir-camal, Mir-ghádai, Mir-ahmed, Mir-seradj-eddin, Hadji Lootf-aaly-qhan, and Corban-aaly-qhan; and all these having in that game of hazard lost the capital of their existence, made haste to retreat into eternity. The Rǎy-rǎyan-aalem-chund being wounded, as well as Mirza-iredj-qhan, returned into the city. On the other hand, Ghóuss-qhan, who was engaged on the other side of the river with Nandoolal, gave him a complete defeat, in which that

Hindoo commander was slain. Whilst the enemy was flying on that side of the river, Ser-efraz-qhan's elephant, which his driver had now turned about, was descried stepping towards the city; and Ghóuss-qhan ascribing this flight to his master's want of courage, sent him a swift horseman with orders to bring the elephant back at any rate, and to inform his master that he Ghóuss-qhan had defeated and slaughtered the enemies, and that now was the time to join him and to fall together upon those that yet stood their ground. All this while Aaly-verdy-qhan, sensible at what critical point matters had come, was repressing the ardour of his people, and endeavouring to keep them together. He knew for certain that Ser-efraz-qhan had been slain, but he knew likewise that Nandoolal had been defeated and killed, and that Ghóuss-qhan, of whose valour and abilities he entertained no doubt, was at the head of a body that kept a firm countenance, at the very time when he had the mortification to see that the troops he had sent forwards to fall on Ser-efraz-qhan's camp, were actually plundering and sacking those tents replenished with a rich booty, and had dispersed everywhere without leaving to their commander a possibility of his rallying them again. Things were in that doubtful state, when the horseman dispatched by Ghóuss-qhan came and informed him that his Lord was no more. Astonished to the highest degree, he plunged into a sea of amazement and despair, and sensible that Aaly-verdy-qhan, to whom his hatred to his family was known long ago, would now carry every thing before him, and that he had nothing to hope for at his hands, he resolved to perish in the field. Calling for his two sons, Mahmed-c8t8b and Mahmed-pir, he commanded them to loosen his cuirass and coat of arms from behind, and then turning to them, he said these very words: "Children, nothing "remains now for us, but to be slain in the field. Our lives are "now as well as gone. We must wash our hands on that article, "and rush upon that body that surrounds Aaly-verdy-qhan to try "if we can come at his person." That Commander and his sons were in fact the overthrowing Lions of the field, and the irresistible Herculeses of their age.(311) With the few that chose to

Heroical death of Ghóuss-qhan, and his two sons.

(311) The original says the Roostems of their age; and we have already been apprised that Roostem was the Hercules of Persia. Like he the destroyer of monsters and the overthrower of tyrants; like he the progenitor of a long race of sovereigns;

stand by them, they advanced on the enemy with the greatest intrepidity; for the rest of Ghóuss-qhan's troops, that is, the greatest part of them, already apprised of Ser-efraz-qhan's death, had turned about, had quitted the field, and were retreating towards the city; and but a very few of them chose to stand by a man resolved not to survive a defeat. With these few, he kept advancing, and was already close upon the enemy, when he received a wound from a musquet-ball. Still he continued to advance, and calling for his horse, with a firm resolution to single out Aaly-verdy-qhan, he was alighting from his elephant when he was hitted again by two musquet-balls, which laid him dead on the field of battle. His two sons seeing their father dead, dismounted, let their horses loose, and taking to their sabre and buckler, they rushed on foot on the enemy, when on closing with them, they were shot at on all sides, and fell dead, weltering in blood and dust. Mahmed-c8t8b, the eldest, who bore a high character for prowess and bodily strength, finding himself going, sat on the field, without quitting either buckler or sword, and in that warlike posture, he breathed his last. He was afterwards buried in that very spot. Mir-dilir-aaly hearing of Ser-efraz-qhan's death, refused to survive his good master and friend, and with sixteen men that stood by him, he rushed on the enemy, was slain fighting valiantly, and took his journey towards the gates of eternity. In fact, few soldiers and few friends in Hindostan ever proved so zealous as those of Ser-efraz-qhan's. Mir-sherf-eddin, who, with the corps under his command, had bravely encountered Aaly-verdy-qhan in person, and hitted him with two arrows, finding that the day was lost, retreated and quitted the field. One of those arrows hitted the bow he held in his hand, and the other made a slight wound on his right shoulder. In a word, every one of Ser-efraz-qhan's men exhibited proofs of attachment and valour. Some fell in the field of battle, and some despairing of their fortune retreated towards the city; and victory having now declared for Aaly-verdy-qhan, he immediately dispatched his brother, Hadji Ahmed, to Moorshoodabad, with orders to soothe and

like he, he wore a Lion's hide, but it was in the form of a close coat, and like he, he had a club in his hands, but it was an iron one with eight angles. Moreover, the Persian Hercules had a moral character, which the European had not, and the last deserved only to be the first soldier in the other's army.

tranquillize the inhabitants of that great city, and to place guards on all the offices of the Government, and all the apartments of Ser-efraz-qhan's palace, with strict injunctions to establish order and safety throughout every quarter. Hadji Ahmed, in compliance with his orders, advanced with the swiftness of wind, and the rapidity of lightning; and being arrived early, he proclaimed everywhere the new Prince, and thereby put an end to the tumults that had already risen.

Aaly-verdy-qhan takes possession of Moorshood-abad.

Two days after the battle, being about the middle of Sefer, in the year 1153 of the Hedjra, Aaly-verdy-qhan marched slowly and leisurely into the city, but with the utmost pomp and magnificence. On his advancing to the palace, and before his taking his seat on the Mesned, he struck to the right, and went to the apartments where lived the Princess Nefisa-begum, daughter of Djaafer-khan, and mother to the late Ser-efraz-qhan. Stopping at the gate, he assumed a respectful posture, took a moving tone of voice, and having made a profound bow, in which he inclined his body to the ground, he supplicated the Princess's forgiveness, and sent in the following message: "Whatever was predetermined in the books of Fate, has come to take place, and the "ingratitude of this worthless servant of yours is now registered "in the unfading records of history. But I swear, that so long "as life shall exist in this blackened face of mine, I shall never "swerve from the path of respect, and the duties of the most "complete submission. I hope that the vileness and misdeed of "this poor humbled and afflicted slave of yours, shall in time be "effaced from the mirror of your forgiving mind, and that you "shall, at some distant period of time, condescend to accept in "extenuation of my crime those demonstrations of perfect sub-"mission, and those tokens of dutiful attachment which I am "resolved to exhibit."

His singular speech to Ser-efraz-qhan's mother.

After this speech in which he seemed greatly affected, and to which not a word of answer was returned, he continued his route to the Chehel S8t8n or Forty Pillars, a palace built by Shudjah-khan for public ceremonies, as well as for his residence; and being got within the hall of general audience, he took his seat in the Mesned of command, ordered the music to strike up,(312) and received the Nuzurs of the Crown officers, of the

(312) We have already observed, that this music, which is a mark of command

military men, and of the principal citizens of Moorshoodabad, who hastend to pay him that token of acknowledgment. But all this was mere exterior. His person, on account of the black ingratitude he had been guilty of towards his Lord and benefactor's son, was viewed with sentiments of horror and detestation; nor was all his merit known at that early period. But in time he displayed such a virtuous conduct, and so moral a character, treated the nobility and the Grandees with so much deference and respect, spread so indiscriminately the carpet of condescension and benignity for both stranger and friend, applied himself so earnestly in gaining the hearts of both the powerful and defenceless, exhibited such a quick feeling for the services rendered him by those attached to his person, so much regard for the rights of distant consanguinity or old acquaintance, so much commiseration for the poor, and so much attention for the oppressed, with such a turn of mind for forgiveness of personal injuries, in one word, he shewed himself so invaluable a man, that a total alteration took place in every heart, and those who at first could not bear to look on him, became in time so enamoured with his amiable deportment, and so attached to his person, that few instances have been observed in his time or in any other of so zealous an

Admirable character of the new Viceroy.

and sovereignty, and is allowed to all Soobahdars, consists of two or three Nagaras, or large kettle-drums of iron, twice as big as those in Europe, two or three D'-houls, or ordinary drums, two or three Zoornahs, or haut-boys, two or three Kerrenas, or trumpets, one or two Zills, or cymbals, an instrument lately borrowed by the Europeans from the Turks, but played by the Turks and by the Persians, as well as the Indians, in a more delicate, curious, and scientifical manner; lastly, a very long Kerrena, or rather speaking-trumpet. It is straight, and seven or eight feet in length upon two or three inches in diameter about the mouth. It imitates exactly the voice of a tall stout man, incomparably better than the speaking-trumpets at sea, which always convey an altered disagreeable sound. We have forgotten two or three Taasses, or flat-kettles; one, twenty inches in diameter, and four in depth, one lesser, and one of one-foot diameter, and ten inches in depth. All that is played either at the top of a main gate of a fortress, or of a palace, or upon a building raised on purpose upon three lofty arches, and called therefore *Tinpouliah*, named by the vulgar into Tirpouliah. All this forms a very animating music, and at a distance a pleasing one; and the long trumpet, distinctly heard at a mile distance, seems to be only the voice of a Nadyr-shah, thundering out his orders to his army. The concerto commences by one of the Taasses, which is joined successively by all; but each sort of drum plays by itself, and by intervals, being reinforced now and then by the others, and by the Nagaras. The long trumpet always sounds alone, or accompanied by a Taass.

attachment and so much fidelity or love. Upon the whole, although the slaying his Lord and benefactor's son was unquestionably one of the blackest actions that could be committed, and one of the most abominable events that could happen, yet it cannot be denied that Ser-efraz-qhan had no talents for government, and no capacity for business, and that, had his Government lasted but sometime more, such a train of evils, and such a series of endless confusions would have been the consequence of his incapacity, that disorders without number, and disturbances without end, would have arisen insensibly, and would have brought ruin and desolation on these countries and their inhabitants. The Marhattas had already cast their eyes upon these rich provinces. Shortly after, they attacked and invaded them on all sides, and lucky did it prove for the inhabitants of these countries that those merciless freebooters had to deal with such a man as Aaly-verdy-qhan, who by his talents for both war and government, and by the exertions of a keen sabre become indefatigable, as well as by the resources of his policy, found means to repress those ravagers, and at last to expell them entirely out of Bengal, as we shall succinctly mention in a short time in the course of these written leaves. Such exertions were not of a nature to be expected from Ser-efraz-qhan and his Ministers, nor were they men to oppose such a torrent with any effect; whereas his rival, to such a modesty of behaviour, and to so much purity of morals, joined political and military talents, and all the renown and power which victory and success could confer, the whole forming a character, which far from being equalled by any of his contemporaries or any of his successors, would hardly find a comparison in the records of past time. By a felicity peculiar to his government, his three nephews proved men of merit, and such as deserved to have such an uncle. Every one of them, decorated with the military rank of seven thousand horse, and raised to the highest dignities and offices of the State, seemed to have taken him for their pattern, and to have had nothing in view but the welfare of those entrusted to their care. But of every one of these, as well as of Aaly-verdy-khan's children and family, mention shall be made particularly, whenever the thread of history shall come to reach their time.

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AALY-VERDY-QHAN having rendered himself master of these eastern kingdoms, and taken possession of those riches accumulated by Shudjah-qhan and Ser-efraz-qhan, which were reckoned by Corors only, turned his attention towards tranquillising the country, and establishing his own Government. At the same time he received from the presence the titles of Shudjah-el-mulc and Hessam-ed-döulah, *i.e.* The Valorous of the State, and The Sword of the Empire; was honoured with the brevet of seven thousand horse, and decorated with the insignia of the *Mahi;* and the Court seemingly with a view to humour his tenderness for his family, bestowed high honours upon every individual of it. For his younger nephew and son-in-law, Zin-eddin-ahmed-qhan, whom he had left at Azim-abad, as his Lieutenant, and whom he had now rendered absolute in that province, was honoured with the brevet of seven thousand horse, and the titles of *Valiant, The Honour of the Empire, and The terrible in War,* together with the *Mahi*, the fringed Paleky, the kettle-drum and the standard. His eldest nephew and son-in-law, Nevazish-mahmed-qhan, whom he had appointed Governor of the province of Djehanghir-nagar-Dacca, with the annexes of Silhat and Islam-abad-chatgam, was now honoured with the office of Divan of

Bengal, and decorated with the insignia of the *Mahi*, and distinguished with the surnames and titles of *The Valiant* and of *The Magnificent of the State, always Valorous in War*. His middling nephew Sëyd-ahmed-qhan, who so early as the times of Shudjah-qhan and Ser-efraz-qhan, had enjoyed the Fodjdary of Rangpoor, where he had acquired great riches. was decorated with the same rank and dignities as his brothers, with the surnames and titles of *Performer of the Empire*, and *The Impetuous in War*; to all which was added a promise of the reversion of the province of Oressa, whenever it might be recovered from M8rsh8d-c8ly-qhan, son-in-law to Shudjah-qhan by a half-sister of Ser-efraz-qhan's, a nobleman who to the reputation of a man of sense and wit, joined the talents of an ingenious Poet, and gloried as much in the titles of *The Enthusiasmed* and *The Unfettered*, which he bore as a Poet, as in that of Rostem-djung,(1) which he had received as a nobleman of rank and a Governor of a great province. Mirza-mehmed, eldest son of Zin-eddin-ahmed-qhan, he adopted for his son, and he took care to have him bred near his person, after having bestowed upon him the title and surname of Seradj-eddöulah-shah-c8ly-qhan-bahadyr,(2) with the office of Admiral of Djehanghir-nagar-Dacca, which he had obtained for him from the presence. And as Nevazish-mahmed-qhan, his eldest son-in-law and nephew had no child of his own, he made him adopt Mirza-mehmed's younger brother, for whom he procured the surname of Badshah-c8ly-qhan, with the title of Ecram-eddöulah.(3) These two brothers were honoured, each of them, with the rank of seven thousand horse, decorated with the dignities and insignia annexed to so high a degree of elevation, and became high and mighty Lords from their very childhood. Ata-ollah-qhan, younger son-in-law to Hadji Ahmed, a nobleman who on Aaly-verdy-qhan's being appointed to the Lieutenancy of Azim-abad, had succeeded him in the Fodjdary of Acbar-nagar-

Grand distribution of rewards at the Court of M8rsh8dabad.

(1) The Hercules in battles.

(2) The Valiant Lord, Soldier of the Emperor, and flambeau of his Empire. The office of Admiral of Dacca consisted in building and fitting a fleet of large vessels and galleys, some of them as big as the biggest galleys in Europe, and sending them to Delhi. His expenditure was assigned upon eighty villages about Dacca, rated at 40,000 Rupees, but which in process of time yielded above three lacs.

(3) The words *Badshah-c8ly-qhan* are of the same import as those of Shah-c8li-qhan; but Ecram-ed-döula signifies the honour of the Empire.

Radje-mahl, so early as the times of Shudjah-qhan and Ser-efraz-qhan, was now advanced to the Fodjdary of Bagal-p8r, promoted to a Brigade of three thousand horse and foot, honoured with the degree of seven thousand horse, and decorated with several insignia, as well as the pompous titles and sounding surnames of *The Honoured of the Empire*, *The Immovable in a Day of Battle*. Hussëin-c8ly-qhan, Nàib or Deputy to Nevazish-mahmed-qhan, was honouted with the rank of three thousand horse, to which was added the distinction of a standard and a kettle-drum, and the surname of Bahàdyr or valiant. Ataa-yar-qhan, half-brother to Aaly-verdy-qhan, and Fakyr-ollah-qhan, as well as N8r-8llah-beg-qhan and Mir-djaafer-qhan, and Mustapha-qhan, with several other persons, whether relations, friends, or officers of consequence, were every one of them honoured with distinctions, advanced to dignities and offices, or promoted to commands. Chéin-räy, Agent to the Räy-räyan-Aalem-chund, Divan or Minister to the late Shudjah-qhan, was himself honoured with the title of Räy-räyan, and appointed Divan to Aaly-verdy-qhan, and Radja Djankiram, who was an ancient Divan of his, was appointed Divan of the bodies or musters, and Comptroller of the Registers. It was in contemplation to bestow the rank of three thousand horse, and the title of Bahadyr with the Paymastership-General, on Abdal-aaly-qhan, my uncle, who was also a cousin-german to Aaly-verdy-qhan, in the same manner as they had been enjoyed by that officer's father, Sëyd-zin-el-aabedin, my maternal grandfather, who was son to Aaly-verdy-qhan's aunt. But that nobleman, who expected to be promoted on an equal footing with the other nephews of Aaly-verdy-qhan, being displeased at the superiority given them, quitted the Court in disgust, and obtained leave to repair to Azim-abad where in fact he returned. Zin-eddin-ahmed qhàn, who governed there, thinking himself honoured by his arrival, gave him the Government of Turhut, in addition to to the Collectorship of Bahar and Besor, which he enjoyed already, desiring him moreover to live at his court as his friend. Abdol-aaly-qhan having absented himself for reasons of his own from the Court of M8rsh8dabad, the office of Paymaster-General which was intended for that nobleman, was bestowed on my aunt's husband, Nusret-aaly-qhan, and the second Paymastership was bestowed on Fakir-ollah-beg-qhan-bahadyr, who was one

of the persons most attached to Aaly-verdy-qhan. This Prince having now disposed of those many offices and honours according to the dictates of his gratitude and wisdom sent the Coror of Rupees and the Pish-kush, or present in money which he had promised to the Emperor. It consisted of money and precious goods, and was accepted by the mediation of Issac-qhan, Minister of State. As to the confiscated property of Ser-efraz-qhan's, he set apart as much of it as he thought proper for the Emperor's use; but hearing that M8rid-qhan, the Valiant, a Lord of the second rank in the Emperor's Court, had been sent from the capital for the double purpose of taking the possession of Ser-efraz-qhan's estate, and receiving the revenue of Bengal which had been arreared since that Viceroy's sitting upon the Mesned, he wrote him a respectful letter to request his taking some repose at Azim-abad, as he was himself setting out for Radje-mahl with intention to meet him at Sacry-gally,(4) where he would not fail to deliver into His Excellency's hands, both Ser-efraz-qhan's estate and the balance due on the revenue. As this request was calculated to prevent that nobleman from obtaining entrance into Bengal, Aaly-verdy-qhan in the month of Redjeb, set out for Acber-nagar-Radje-mahl, where after waiting many days he was met by M8rid-qhan to whom he delivered some Lacks of rupees in money, and Seventy Lacks in jewels, with much gold and silver furniture, a quantity of precious stuffs, and a number of elephants and horses; all which having passed for the whole of the confiscation, he put a written account of it in that nobleman's hands, made him a present every way suitable to his rank and to the occasion, and dismissed him with great honours and many civilities. After which he reviewed his army, being then intent on an expedition against Catec, the capital of the Oressa, a province which he intended to recover from M8rsh8d-c8ly-qhan, its actual owner.

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(4) Sacry-gally, or the gullet or lane of Sacry, is a narrow defile with the Ganga on one side, and a chain of woody hills on the other; and such is Talia-garry, which besides has a wall that shuts up the passage from end to end. The former defile may be ten feet broad, and being overhanged by woods, is capable of great defence, and seems to bar the passage from Bahar into Bengal; but the chain of hills that borders it, would on inspection, afford many other passages, and really there are many more. Rhago-dji in 1740 kept at his left both those defiles, and yet he penetrated with ease into Bengal.

For Aaly-verdy-qhan was now firmly seated in his Government, he had arranged and settled every branch of the administration; and being now easy on that head, he had prepared an army of victorious troops, and a train of artillery furnished with everything requisite for conquests, after having all this time made it his business to obtain a previous knowledge of the talents and turn of mind of his intended adversary. But M8rsh8d-c8ly-qhan who did not think himself a match for such an enemy, sent one Aga-mahmed-taky, of Surat, to probe Aaly-verdy-qhan's designs, and to manage a treaty with him; and this end was soon obtained, both from a regard to the acquaintance that had once subsisted between the two contractants, and also out of compliment to the envoy's talent, who behaved with great abilities, and was dismissed with honour and distinction. However, these good beginnings were soon marred by the intrigues of Mirza-bakyr-qhan, a nobleman who drew his pedigree from the Royal race of the Sefis of Iran(5), and was now son-in-law to M8rsh8d-c8ly-qhan, whose consort also joined her son-in-law in pointing out to him the rich prize of Bengal (a conquest, indeed, to which he was far from being equal) and the propriety of shewing a becoming resentment against Ser-efraz-qhan's murderer. These two incensed persons leagued together, found means to manage so well, that the treaty now almost concluded, was put an end to, although M8rsh8d-c8ly-qhan himself had set his heart upon it. Aaly-verdy-qhan being informed of this alteration in his mind, wrote him word that "he had not in his heart any inclination to offer that illustrious "Governor any injury or to bring him to any harm; but however, "that his staying any longer at Catec would be far from con-"ducing to the quiet of either party. He therefore hoped, that "His Excellency would find it expedient to withdraw his person, "family, and effects, and to repair with them into Hindostan, by "taking his journey through M8rsh8dabad, unless indeed he "would find it more eligible to go at once from Catec to the "neighbouring country of Decan." Such a message with any

(5) The Kings of Persia or Iran are called *Sophis* by the Turks from Shah-Haider, the founder of that dynasty, who pretending to be only a Dervish or Fakir, *id est*, a religious man, wore only *Sof*, or camblet. But the dynasty, however, took the name of *Sefis* from *Shah-Sefi*, his descendant, and the first who assumed the title of *Shah* or Emperor or King, and made conquests.

other man might have brought on an immediate rupture; but the Viceroy of Catec who dreaded the military talents, as well as the superior forces, of his adversary, was inclined to put an end to all his uneasiness by giving up the contest, and he had probably effected his purpose, had not his spirits been raised, and his self-love interested, by the repeated suggestions of his son-in-law, who being high spirited, would not bear such haughty language, and was besides spurred on by the prospect of once commanding in such a country as Bengal. These sentiments of resentment and ambition were strongly supported by the Viceroy's consort, a high spirited Princess, who joining reproaches to entreaties, was eternally teasing him on the infamy of suffering her brother's murderer to enjoy quietly both impunity and dominion. This Princess, who was much more respected in the province than her husband himself, proceeded from entreaties to threats, and she talked of no less than of abandoning so tame a husband, and making over her riches, influence, and pretensions, to her son-in-law, together with the province itself, a young man of a temper equally ardent and intriguing, whom she found perfectly fitted by nature for seconding her hatred to Aaly-verdy-qhan. The Viceroy overcome by the animated instigations of those two persons, altered his mind, and he sent word to his neighbour in Bengal, that he disavowed the preliminaries consented to, against his will, by his Agent; and that the sword only would determine their respective pretensions. The latter fully sensible that nothing was now to be obtained but by war, took his measures accordingly. He recommended the Government of Bengal, and the care of the city to both his brother, Hadji Ahmed, and to his nephew, and having reviewed his army, which amounted to ten or twelve thousand picked troops, he spied in the Stars a favourable moment for quitting the city, and set out for the Oressa.

Aaly-verdy-qhan marches to the conquest of the Oressa.

Such a piece of intelligence was soon conveyed to the Court of Catec, and M8rsh8d-c8ly-qhan, now resolved on war, thought it proper to sound the minds of those about his person. Having assembled his friends and the principal officers of his army, he made his appearance in the hall, and remained silent for a while; taking then his sabre from his own side, he laid it in the middle of the assembly, and after having represented in lively colours, the crime committed by Aaly-verdy-qhan, he reflected on that

insatiable ambition of his, which not contented with impunity, aspired also to despoil the murdered Prince's sister of what little she had left, and talked of nothing but war and of sacrificing every one to his own views. *"My cause being as just, as my case is critical,"* added he, *"there remains nothing for me now, but to know your own minds on this iniquitous contest. If you are for standing by me, let us set out together and fight together; but if you are of another mind, then for God's sake explain yourselves early and betimes, that I may act accordingly, and provide betimes for my own safety."* This short address having seemed to be received with approbation, the principal officer of his army, Abed-aaly-qhan by name, assured him in the name of the assembly, "that he might rely on their fidelity and on their detestation of "the murderer;" and having pronounced these few words, he stood up with all those present, and taking up the sabre lying on the ground, he girt it round the Viceroy's loins, and assured him of their attachment and zeal. Such a scene having tranquillised the Governor's mind, he thought only of preparing himself for the contests. Having mustered his army, and taken his son-in-law with him, he quitted Catec, and advanced towards the frontiers of his country. For this purpose he pushed beyond Balliser-bender (Balassor), crossed the river that flows by that town, and having advanced some miles beyond it, he took post in a spot which he judged capable of great defence. This was almost surrounded by a small river with steep lofty banks, that had within sight a country covered with woods and brambles. Not content with the natural strength of his post, he threw up some intrenchments in the least difficult parts, lined the whole with three hundred pieces of artillery, great and small, and gave his encampment such a menacing posture, that it became very dangerous to dislodge him. Such was the state of things, when Aaly-verdy-qhan moved from Midnapore, and having advanced towards Balliser-bender, he got a full view of a formidable post, of which he had only some idea from report. His natural daringness was at stand; to attack an enemy so incensed and so well intrenched, was impracticable. To entice him out of that strong post was the surest party; but his situation was now become critical. The Zemindars of the frontiers of Bengal became remiss in forwarding convoys to camp, and the few that would approach it, never failed to be

intercepted by the Zemindars or great landholders of the Oressa, who seemed to dislike his person, and to look upon his camp as an inimical ground. Some provisions sent by the Governor of Naràin-gur were intercepted likewise, and his sutlers being at a loss how to supply themselves, provisions became very dear, and at last scarce and bad. Such a state of things required only patience in the Governor of Oressa, and it was his intention to let the enemy consume himself. But such a delay was more than could be brooked by his son-in-law, who inflamed by the sight of the enemy, and informed of his distress, wanted absolutely to sally forth and to fall upon him. The Governor made many objections, but he was overborne at last by the impetuosity of Mirza-bakyr; and about the end of Zilcaad in the same year, he quitted his strong post, and advanced towards the enemy. This was precisely what Aaly-verdy-qhan had wished, and a blunder having been this very moment committed by the enemy, he availed himself of it to the utmost. Mirza-bakyr, in pushing blindly forwards, had unfurnished that part of his retrenchment, where was posted the greatest part of his artillery, and this having been soon perceived by the enemy, Aaly-verdy-qhan sent a party of troops, who pushed on a gallop, and seized the whole of it. Battle of Balassor. The engagement commenced, of course, and it was continued with musquetry and rockets. Vast numbers of brave men were falling on both sides, and yet the action bore a doubtful aspect, M8rsh8d-c8li-qhan standing his ground bravely. In this critical moment that same Abed-qhan, who had cut so conspicuous a figure in the assembly at Catec, and owed his fortune to his Governor, but had too much Afghan blood in his veins not to long after some signal perfidy; Abed-qhan, I say, was seen to move from his post. He had already made his bargain with the famous Mustapha-qhan, who was his countryman, and a favourite General of the enemy's. The perfide Abed-qhan having advanced, as to an attack, with his whole corps, struck to the left where he perceived the signal agreed to, and having ranged his whole brigade close to Mustapha-qhan, he stood stock-still, like one that should have come to see the fight as a common spectator. But even this defection did not appal M8rsh8d-c8li-qhan; his troops stood their ground, and he seemed to be everywhere, being followed by a body of Sëids of Barr, long ago attached to his person,

and who being desirous to shew their zeal, as well as jealous of their national character,(6) advanced the feet of daringness and made so vigorous an attack, that the enemy unable to stand their impetuosity, commenced giving way, and even some of the Bengal troops fled openly. The moment was come when Aaly-verdy-qhan was to forfeit his character(7) and to be covered with eternal disgrace. Luckily for him that Mirzà-bakyr, having just quitted his post at the right, and attacked the left wing of the enemies, which he threw into so much disorder that the troops were actually giving way, was himself disordered by his very attack. This wing was composed of the flower of the ënemy's army. Mir-djaafer-qhan, who commanded there, seeing how matters went, jumped down from his horse, and putting himself at the head of a strong body, he advanced to the assistance of the discomfited troops, where Musahab-qhan, as well as Dilir-qhan and Assalet-qhan, both Afghans, and both intrepid sons of the valorous Umer-qhan, were making a stand. Mir-djaafer exerted himself so manfully in that trying moment, that he on that day acquired high character for military conduct and soldier-like prowess. The combat became warm and bloody, and Mir-muhabbet-aaly, with Mir-acber-aaly, the two Commanders of the Sëids, having received several mortal wounds, which made them drink to the dregs the cup of bitter potion presented them by inexorable fate, whilst Mirza-bakyr himself was receiving several dangerous wounds on the neck, head and breast, their troops were appalled and gave way. Mirza-bakyr, unable to support himself, was carried out of the field, and the troops being deprived of such valorous Commanders, took fright, dispersed, and fought only how to escape the slaughter. M8rsh8d-c8ly-qhan, finding now that fortune had turned her back upon him, thought only how to secure a retreat, and taking his wounded son-in-law in a Paleky

(6) Barr is a town and district to the north-east of Delhi, and wholly inhabited by Sëyds (just as Sheh-p8ra in Bahar is inhabited by only Shehs); but these Sëyds, who pass proverbially for so many blockheads, are likewise known for being remarkably brave, and there are several such towns and districts in Hindostan, reputed brave nationally. Such are the Sheh-zadians of Lucnow, and the citisens of Belgram.

(7) His consort fled at two miles from the field of battle upon her elephant, and this animal was followed by that which mounted Aaly-verdy-qhan himself, whether he would or not.

he turned towards Balisser-bender, in which he took shelter with about three thousand men that still stood by him; not that he expected any thing from that handful, he was only intent on giving them the slip. Under pretence that he intended to intrench himself there, he marched them out of the town, where he threw up some earth on the outskirts of it, and turning at the same time towards the river, he alighted from his elephant, as if intending to take some refreshment. There happened to be then in the river, but close to the shore, a ship ready to sail, which belonged to an ancient friend, and ancient companion of his, being a native of S8ret-bender (Surat) as well as himself. This friend had this long while enriched himself by fitting out vessels for several parts of India, and he was just close by him; and the ship full of goods and grain, was unfurling her sails. Hadji-mahsen had fought by his side, and had his full share of the perils of the day. Now it must be observed that ships have always a vessel called *feness* (Pinnace), this is the young one of a ship and this serves for the purpose of going ashore; so that the people in the ship seeing on land a great concourse of people, sent their *feness* to inquire after M8rsh8d-cl8y-qhan's affairs, without suspecting all this while that their owner had been in the battle. This sight of the *feness* entirely altered the ideas of both the Governor, and the ship's owner. The latter pointed to the vessel with the finger, and after a pause, he observed, that the sending down such a vessel *looked very much like a special interposition of Providence in their behalf.* In an instant the Governor was of his opinion, and without consulting any one, or giving the smallest hint of his design to any one of the by-standers, he proposed to go on board as on a party of pleasure, and only to see a ship; and without taking any thing with him, he carried his son-in-law, and a few of the most necessary servants, and getting into the *feness,* he reached the ship, which immediately drew up her anchor and made sail. In six days more she reached Machli-bender (Masulipatam).

M8rshood-c8ly-qhan vanquished, flies to Masulipatam.

But the Governor's anxieties soon returned upon him. He had left behind his whole family, his consort, and his riches, which last had been hoarded from long hand, and now amounted to a vast sum; and this thought, but especially that of his consort and children, were enough to distract his mind. He, therefore,

sent his son-in-law towards Sicacol and Ganjam, which are on the frontiers of the Oressa, to try what could be done, as those towns have a great intercourse with Catec. But Providence which watched over that forlorn family, had already suscitated a saviour for it, and this was the Radja or Prince of Ratip8r, who is also Lord of Djagennat, a famous place of resort and pilgrimages from all India, and where the diversity of clans so remarkable amongst Gentoos, and the shyness from each other which it produces, ceases at once by an ancient law, to make place for a mutual intercourse deemed obligatory in a sacred place held in the highest veneration.(8) This Gentoo Prince, who was a particular friend of M8rsh8d-c8ly-qhan, seemed to be an exception to the general run of mankind, as if he had gloried in being one of those few, who in the adverse fortunes of their benefactors, and friends, remember of former benefits and of former connections, and act accordingly. Hearing of the late defeat, and concluding that the victorious would soon become masters of Catec, he sent a number of carriages, and a strong escort, with orders to bring every thing belonging to his friend out of that city. The whole was under the command of Sheh-morad, a trusty officer of his household, who arriving at the nick of time, took with him not only the forlorn family, and the treasures, but even the whole furniture, and every person or servant belonging to the Governor. Setting out without loss of time, he traversed the whole Oressa, and carried his charge safe to Inchap8r, which is a town and district dependant on Sicacol and Ganjam; and moreover he remained there on his master's part to execute the Prince's commands. By a further good luck, the Governor of the country happened to be Anver-eddin-qhan, who was an acquaintance of M8rsh8d-c8ly-qhan, and who received that forlorn family as his guests, and took care to furnish it with every necessary and every conveniency in his power. Bakyr-aaly-qhan arriving a few days after, and finding his consort and wealth unexpectedly arrived

(8) It is well known that the Gentoos not only abstain rigorously from what victuals have been prepared by an European, and also from his clothes, water, and utensils, and even house, but also, that they have the same shyness amongst the several clans themselves. But all that is over, the moment they are at Djagennat or even within sight of the Ox of Granite, which issues out of the steeple. There Gentoos eat in common with Mussulmen and (a mighty wonder!) victuals ready-dressed are carried about in the streets.

and freed from every danger, returned thanks to God Almighty for so signal a delivery. Fromthence he sent his mother-in-law to her husband, together with her funiture and treasures, and after tarrying a few days to hear from Catec, he returned to his father-in-law; who finding himself in a country that belonged to Nizam-el-mulk, Viceroy of Decan, thought himself happy to have obtained shelter in his dominions, and he made a stay there to recover of his fatigues. But Aaly-verdy-qhan did not think of repose.

Intent on availing himself of his success, he pushed on to Catec, where he stayed about a month to bring that country under control; and this was not a difficult task, as he had lived a long while on those parts in the time of Shudjah-qhan and had had connections with every one of the Zemindars. He now sent for them, and after having spoken kindly to them all, and conferred upon each in particular such favours as he seemed to deserve, he dismissed them contented. Sending at the same time for his second son-in-law, Sëid-ahmed-qhan, he appointed him Governor-General of the province, after having made him sit on the Mesned of command in his presence, and put on his shoulders the Qhylaat of that investiture. But as he did not trust altogether to the young officers which Sëid-ahmed-qhan had put at the head of his own brigade, he gave the command of it to one of his own veteran officers, called Godjur-qhan, with permission to raise as many more troops as his Governor might think convenable. After all these arrangements, he quitted the Oressa, and took the road of M8rsh8d-abad, the capital of his dominions, where he graced again by his presence, the Mesned of command and sovereignty.

Aaly-verdy-qhan leaves his grandson in the Government of the Oressa.

This time of recess he employed constantly in determining revenue matters, in disciplining and stationing his army, in easing the husbandmen, and obliging every noble, and every plebeian, that had access to his person. He kept under his eyes his nephew, Mirza-mahmed, whom he had adopted, as well as his brother, yet a child, which he had got adopted by his nephew, Nevazish-mahmed-qhan; and he made it a point to have at his Court all the principal nobles and the chief men of the country, as well as their principal relations and friends. As to the family of Serefraz-qhan, it was recommended to his elder son-in-law, who having obtained Nefissa-begum's consent, carried her to his

Great respect paid Aaly-verdy-qhan to Serefraj-qhan's mother and family.

palace, where he adopted her for his mother, as she did him for her son. He gave her the whole management of his seraglio, with the absolute command of his inner household. But what is extraordinary, this adoption did not extend to her ever appearing in his presence, or to her ever been so much as seen by him. There always intervened a veil or a curtain between them, even whilst she was rendering him an account of his family, and whilst the expressions of mother and son were continually interchanging. The Princess had even an inspection over his consort, who was daughter to Aaly-verdy-qhan, and her orders were executed without reference to him. She likewise conserved the Qhas-taaloock, or personal demesnes of Djaafer-qhan, her father, (a tract of ground that yielded a large revenue) with every land or house that had been bought by that Prince in his private capacity. To these Nevazish-mahmed-qhan never offered to touch, and she continued to enjoy them totally, being to the very last used with the utmost respect and deference both by him and by Aaly-verdy-qhan himself, neither of whom ever approached her without a profound bow, or ever offered to sit in her presence, without being bid. It happened that one of Ser-efraz-qhan's concubines was delivered of a son, the very day on which he was slain; and he was adopted by Nefissa-begum for her son, soon became an object of much regard for even Nevazish-mahmed-qhan, and care was taken to have him bred with as much attention as if he had been his own son. But as Ser-efraz-qhan had no married consort of his own rank, but only concubines, some of whom had been occasionally admitted to his bed, those that had any children by him were honourably dismissed to Djehanghir-nagar-Dacca, where he settled upon them such noble pensions, as put it in their power not only to live up to their rank, but also to assist others. In short, he declared himself the protector of all that had belonged to that unfortunate Prince, to every one of whom he allowed honourable salaries, whether they lived by themselves, or chose to take service with him, making it a point to render every one of them easy in his circumstances, and satisfied with his lot. And really Nevazish-mahmed-qhan's liberality was boundless. For I have heard it from people well informed and worthy of credit, that he spent Thirty Thousand Rupees per month in supporting secretly poor widows, and old decrepit people, exclusively of

those that had their names borne on the Divani-registers, and received pensions publicly. The bounties to all these people were every month put in bags in his presence, and respectively forwarded by trusty eunuchs and old women of his household. He was, as we have said, Governor of the province of Dacca, with its annexes, *to wit,* the Fodjdaries of Silhut and Islam-abad, but he lived at Court, as well as his Nàib or Lieutenant, Hussëin-c8ly-qhan. So that the immediate management of those countries devolved on a Divan of Hüssëin-c8ly-qhan's, who was called Räy-gocul-chund, a man of merit, who discharged that trust much to his credit and honour. At this same time Cassem-aaly-qhan, brother to Aaly-verdy-qhan's consort, was appointed to the Fodjdary of Rungp8r, where he acquired both credit and riches.(9)

Whilst such an important revolution was taking place in Bengal, Sëif-eddin-aali-qhan was Fodjdar or rather hereditary Governor of Paraniah, to which charge he had been appointed from the presence, so early as the times of Djaafer-qhan. This Lord, misled by appearances, had for some time taken Aaly-verdy-qhan for a rebel, and in expectation of being supported by armies and Generals from the capital, he had given out that he was going to march against him, and to punish his rebellion; but finding that he had greatly mistaken the case, and that no notice was taken of his intention, he concluded that such a rumour and such an intention had done him no good. To give, therefore, the best colouring to his behaviour, he counterfeited the mad man, and it was lucky for him that Aaly-verdy-qhan, who paid a great regard to his connections at Court, and to Emir-qhan, his brother, in particular, did not think it expedient to resent his conduct.

We have left Zin-eddin-ahmed-qhan in the possession of the Government of Azim-abad. This new Governor, who was a young man of great merit, and equal in every sense to the honours and the high office he enjoyed, having heard much of my father, Sëyd-hedäiet-aaly-qhan, who commanded these many years in several districts of his Government, requested his attendance;

(9) This nobleman was recalled under Mir-djaafer-qhan's first reign. He had concealed full one Coror in his zenana, some time before he had been put to death, as a near relation of Aaly-verdy-qhan's But Miren, son to Mir-djaafer, no sooner heard of the hoard, than he went himself to the zenana, took the money away, and moreover, deflowered two virgin daughters of the murdered nobleman.

and after having shewn him every mark of regard and esteem he offered him the office of Paymaster of the province. "Provi-"dence," said he, "having bestowed this country and this "power, on this your brother (meaning himself), it becomes us "to join our efforts in disciplining the army, and in adjusting the "arrangement of this country together; and it is incumbent upon "us to manage in such a manner, as that we may become an "object of envy to our jealous, and of approbation and exultation "to our friends and patrons." To these he added many other expressions of kindness, calculated to promote affection and zeal, and he acted up to his expressions, loading my father with honours and favours; so that their union became every day closer and closer. That young prince who sought merit wherever it could be found, applied also to Aaly-verdy-qhan, his uncle, for an able *Minister, who had been formerly Divan to himself. It was* Rāy-chintaman-doss; and as soon as he had him, he conferred on him the management of the finances of the whole province. Nor is so much discernment to surprise in so young a man. Although in the prime of life, he was endowed with many valuable qualifications; resolute and courageous, very sensible in his deportment, very regular in his transacting business, and very modest and decent in his way of life, firm in his command, yet civil, and of so engaging a behaviour as seemed calculated to acquire every one's love and affection. When his uncle quitted Azim-abad on his expedition to Bengal, he had been followed out of affection by several Zemindars of the province, for instance, by Radja Sunder-sing, the Brahman Zemindar of the District of Mog, and by the two Zemindars of Turhut-semâi, who were originally of the Bety clan, and had lately become converts to Mussulmanism. All these, after performing their part in the expedition, now returned to their home, loaded with favours, and rich presents in jewels, horses, and elephants; but so soon as they were arrived, they were taken in the Governor's service, where they became objects of his favour and attention, in proportion to the services they had rendered his uncle. And indeed gratitude, as well as a civility without bounds, seemed to be hereditary virtues in that family. For although both the uncle and the nephew had been suddenly raised to the summit of power and honours, they possessed this last qualification, as well as that

M8rsh8d-c8ly-qhan vanquished, flies to Masulipatam.

of benevolence to so high a degree, that not one of the noblemen, their contemporaries, and not one of the middling sovereigns of those times can be compared to them. A complete remembrance of every one's service, and a sincere regard to every one's merits, formed a leading feature in their character; nor do I remember to have seen, or to have heard, that they had been equalled by any one in my time, or by any one that I could hear mentioned of former times. This young Governor in particular was fond of shewig his gratitude; and as his mother and the poor man's mother were daughters of the same maternal uncle, and my mother in some fits of tenderness had often given him of her milk, he made it a point to shew his remembrance of that favour, by shewing me, the poorman, so much regard and attention, as hardly could have been expected from an affectionate real brother. In the middle of so much pomp and power, he was pleased to remember of it, so far, as to associate the poor man's whole family in the cares of Government, *i.e.*, in easing the husbandman's burthens, rendering justice attentively, and in obliging every one according to his rank. My father, his two brothers, the poor man's unworthy self, and all our relations, partook of his attention and power, and were we or any other, as historian, to launch out in the laudable qualifications, which nature had bestowed on Aaly-verdy-qhan, and his three grandsons and nephews, or to hint at the many encomiums which they so richly deserve, our mention would swell into the size of a book, and our sincerity, although so well grounded, would incur suspicion, or be ascribed to interested motives. We shall, therefore, leave the reader to make his own mind on that subject, by kindly attending to our narrative of the principal events of their administration.

Valuable character of the members of Aaly-verdy-qhan's family.

We have left Aaly-verdy-qhan, conqueror of the Oressa, but anxious to return to his capital, and leaving in his new conquest, a young, unexperienced grandson and nephew, to whom he thought he had formed a council of administration. Strange to say, the young Governor listened to counsels of parsimony and frugality. He undertook to diminish the pay of the troops, and to curtail the salaries and emoluments of all those that had been left near his person, on purpose to insure his personal security, and the welfare of his Government. But such schemes of parsimony could find no favour, and even no acquiescence, with men

who had quitted their friends and homes, in hopes of bettering their fortunes, and thought themselves entitled to more regard, as being ancient servants of the family. On the other hand, the natives of the new conquered province, who offered their services in their stead, could not but relish a scheme that added a salary from Government to all the conveniencies of living at home. No wonder after that, if most of the officers and soldiers, that had come over with the young Governor's uncle, and had been left with him, quitted the service one after another, and saw their places successively filled by people living in the province. To this error in politics was added another equally pernicious. A number of officers and commanders, who had made their fortunes with the dispossessed Governor, were suffered to remain in the city of Catec, where they lived quietly, but where they secretly cherished an attachment to their old master, and especially to Mirza-bakyr, his son-in-law; nor was the conduct of the young Prince in other respects calculated to diminish their disaffections. There came at that very time to Catec, a certain Fakir, or vagabond friar, called *Shah Yahya,* a man who having once been in the same school with the young Prince, at Shah-djehan-abad, had of course acquired an intimacy with him. This man after running all over the Decan, now made his appearance at Catec, where he soon became a favourite, and a bosom friend with his old acquaintance. This Fakir was far from being either a virtuous man or a good natured one, and as the young Governor was then in the fervour of youth, and surrounded by every allurement that could intoxicate with the fumes of power and sovereignty, he was the readier to catch the infection infused by his new favourite. This man instilled into his youthful mind certain notions of inventing accusations against rich men, as if guilty of concealing money or wealth belonging to the dispossessed Governor. Such accusations afforded pretences, not only for confining and ill-using their persons, but also for sending garrisons into their houses, and carrying women from thence, for the pretended purpose of hearing confessions, and extracting inquiries. This manege went so far that a rich man was sure of being reputed to have an inimical hoard at home, and a woman, reported to have a beautiful face, or an elegant shape, or even a skin particularly satined, never failed to be sent for. The Fakir had, besides, a

Enormous Oppressions at Catec.

skill at ferreting out such beautiful women, wherever they could be heard of; and by such and the like arts, he ingratiated himself so deeply in his master's favour, that his orders came to be universally obeyed. His house had become a tribunal of inquisition, where the business of scourging and torturing went on regularly. So that the cries of the oppressed reached the cupola of heaven. Matters went so far, that numbers of men of station and character, who after having once been concerned in the management of the old Governor's finances, had been forgiven certain balances said to be due by them, were now taken to task, and obliged to pay those balances to the treasury of the new Government. So many violences excited a general indignation. The Government became detested, conspiracies were formed, and the citizens of the conquered capital, resolving to rid themselves of so much oppression, joined together unanimously; and one would have taken them to have had amongst themselves but one head, one tongue, one heart, and one arm. Nor was this union difficult, or the execution of such a project dangerous. By this time very few of the old servants had remained with the new Governor; even G8djur-qhan's troops did not amount to above three hundred horsemen. His new servants had filled all the departments, and the few musqueteers and troops kept on foot, were mostly composed of natives, *i.e.,* of old servants of M8rsh8d-c8ly-qhan's; and to crown all that, both military and citizens were in their hearts idolising Mirza-bakyr's character and person. The conspirators, therefore, found it no difficult matter to concert their measures, especially as the young Governor, who had already lived a whole year in the country without hearing of any commotions, thought himself perfectly secure. It was at this last moment of slumber that the heavens that seemed hitherto so serene, were overcast at once, and produced that storm which we are going to mention in detail.

Produce a strong conspiracy.

Mirza-bakyr, refugied in Decan, had not given himself up to resignation and rest. Instigated by his own fiery temper, he was eternally instigating his father-in-law. The recovery of his Government, the conquest of Bengal, and a full retribution for Ser-efraz-qhan's murder, were points dear to his heart, and objects on which he was continually brooding. But M8rsh8d-c8ly-qhan, more experienced, and more mistrustful of the times,

did not think either his own power, or even his talents, equal to such mighty schemes; and wrapping his feet within the quilt of resignation, he disapproved of all those ambitious views. The young man repulsed here, resolved to try his fortune on his own private account, and he exerted himself with so much skill as well as warmth, that he found means to attach to his cause a number of persons of all sorts in those southern countries, and even to establish a regular correspondence between himself and the city of Catec. As there were several Zemindaries and several Lordships, that bordered on the Oressa, he came and settled in those parts; and he found means to ingratiate himself so well with the courtiers, merchants, bankers, and commanders of those frontiers, that he was daily informed of what was going on at Catec. Finding that both the military corps, as well as all the departments of the State, and even the young Prince's household, were composed mostly of natives, he established a regular correspondence with them, and by their means soon found out how much the new Government was detested, and how much the old one, and his own person, were regretted. All these matters having been thoroughly investigated, and all the concerned ones having been confirmed in their views by promises and a variety of incentives, he one day informed them, that the *business in question* would never be brought to perfection, unless a way was found to fall upon G8djur-qhan and his troops; or they contrived some other method to rid themselves of them, by rising suddenly upon them, as well as upon some others that were not of their mind. The hint was approved, and one day they raised a sedition. The people assembled everywhere, crying against oppression. The tumult grew considerable, and the new Governor being awakened from his lethargy, sent G8djur-qhan, with orders to inquire into the subject, and to appease the tumult by fair words if possible. But the tumult had risen to a height; cries were heard in every street, and the sedition blazing out in every place, seemed to threaten a revolution. It was too late to think of remedying such evils. A general detestation of tyranny, with an indignation, universal, had pervaded all ranks, and this, nothing could equal, but the universal desire of returning to their old masters, and of having again Mirza-bakyr. Among the conspirators, none cut so capital a figure, as that same Sheh-morad,

who had saved M8rsh8d-c8ly-qhan's family at the very nick of time. From a simple equery to Ser-efraz-qhan, he had worked himself into so much consideration all over the country, that he was now one of the most considerable men in the province, and he headed a party very inimical to the new Government. In short, Heaven itself seemed to favourise the revolution, and this seemed to have been deferred only by one day. For the next morning, as G8djur-qhan was going to the Governor's palace, with his ordinary retinue, he was set upon by the seditious, and torn to pieces in the middle of a street. In an instant, the seditious spread a rumour thoughout the city that Mirza-bakyr was in town. By this time the sedition became general, and proper persons having been dispatched to that young nobleman, who had been always upon the wing, and who possibly was even within the province, he soon made his appearance in the outskirts of the city. From thence he sent word to his confederates, that as the gates were in the possession of some old soldiers of the enemy's, they must manage so, as to frighten them into a surrender of the keys; or, if possible, so as to gain them to their party, as this would prove conducive to the scheme of seizing Sëyd-ahmed-qhan's person. Instantly the citizens, and the people about this young man, who were all of the complot, sent word to the few musqueteers that held the gates for him, "That if they "set them open directly, quarter would be given them; else, if they "waited until Mirza-bakyr should force them open, then they "might depend upon receiving the treatment they deserved." The poor people, sensible of their small number, and intimidated by the threats of the multitude that surrounded them, paid no attention to the entreaties and promises of their young master, and they opened the gates; after which most of them mixed with the insurgents. Mirza-bakyr, who was at hand, and very active in his motions, immediately entered the city; and going to the palace, he seized and confined Sëyd-ahmed-qhan. After which he sat on the latter's Mesned, received the respects of the principal men of the city, ordered his prisoner to be close confined to his apartment, and then took possession of his treasures and furniture. He likewise sent the prisoner's consort, children and family into confinement at the fortress of Bara-baty. Some time before the revolution, notice had been taken of the alteration in

Mirza-bakyr seizes the new Governor.

the countenance of the new troops, as well as of Mirza-bakyr's approach; and the whole, as well as G8djur-qhan's death, had been imparted to Aaly-verdy-qhan, who on the first intelligence received, had quitted the city and encamped in the outskirts; from whence he was going to depart in haste, with what troops were at hand, in order to support his nephew, when a rumour spread that he was a prisoner; and this intelligence being confirmed by spies, it made him suspend his departure. He had doubts in his mind, and could not understand how such a mighty revolution could have been compassed without its being secretly supported by Nizam-el-mulk, Viceroy of Decan, who possibly might be still at the bottom of this affair. Such an interference rendered the matter of the utmost consequence, and required to be maturely weighed, and vigorously provided against. Being, therefore, uncertain in his own mind, he held consultations with his Ministers of State, and his principal relations, amongst which last the young Governor's mother held a very high rank in Aaly-verdy-qhan's opinion, who paid her as much respect as if she had been his own mother. The young man was the most beloved of her three sons, and had engrossed her affections so far, that she had totally set her heart upon him. The Princess being joined by her husband, Hadji Ahmed, spoke much of the revolution, exaggerated its consequence, and at last she entreated the Viceroy to leave the Government of Oressa to Mirza-bakyr, as a compensation for his releasing his prisoner, with his whole family; and they both contended that this was the best party. Aaly-verdy-qhan was by no means of such an opinion. He firmly believed, that to yield to Mirza-bakyr would affect his honour, and shake the columns of his power and administration; and on the other hand, Mustapha-qhan who was his principal Commander, and a man strongly attached to him, was of the same opinion, and urged him to come forth, and to avenge his cause by main force, and with sabre in hand. Aaly-verdy-qhan having taken some days to perpend the matter in his own mind, preferred war to peace, and gave his orders accordingly.

As there was a suspicion that Mirza-bakyr was underhand supported by Nizam-el-mulk, and the releasing the young Governor was thought a difficult object, which enhanced the importance of the expedition, the greatest efforts were made in raising and

assembling troops, and in providing stores. The Viceroy enjoined to his ancient Commanders to assemble such corps as were at hand, without waiting for those new troops that might be forthcoming, in hopes of getting service; as they might join by the way. Accordingly, Mustapha-qhan was ordered to augment his brigade to five thousand horse, Shimshir-qhan to three thousand, Serdar-qhan to two thousand, Umer-qhan to three, Ataollah-qhan to two, Haïder-c8ly-qhan, Fakir-ollah-beg-qhan, and Mir-djaaffer-qhan, to a thousand each, Mir-sherf-eddin, and Shah-mahmed-maas8m to five hundred each, and Amanet-qhan, of Narnõul, to a thousand and five hundred, Mir-cazem-qhan to two hundred, and Bahadyr-aaly-qhan, Inspector of the heavy artillery, to five hundred. Fateh-rão the Paymaster, and Chehidun, with some other Gentoo officers, were ordered to raise fifty thousand musqueteers. All these preparatives being made, Aaly-verdy-qhan took his leave of his brother, Hadji Ahmed, as well as of his consort. He seemed deeply affected, and at parting he was heard to say: *That if he ever returned at all from that expedition, it would be with their son; else, he would never shew them his face again.* He left his eldest nephew, Nevazish-mahmed-qhan, in the city at the head of five thousand horse and ten thousand foot, with orders to take care of the Government in his absence; and after having spied a favourable moment in the stars, he departed at the head of twenty thousand horse, old troops, and he advanced by continual marches, dragging along his light and heavy artillery. On approaching the frontier, he published that he would give One Lac of Rupees to whosover would rescue his nephew, and bring him to camp, and if it should happen to be a Commander of a corps, he would, over and above that sum, present each of his men, with two months' pay. Such mighty preparatives could not long remain concealed from Mirza-bakyr. The enemy's superior power had intimidated him; he seemed to have abated much of confidence, and was at a loss how to manage. However, as he was now thoroughly embarked in the enterprise, he resolved to stand it out. For this purpose, he drew out of the city of Catec what forces he could muster, and choosing a post beyond the Maha-nudda, at a small distance from the city, he intrenched himself there with his back to the river, whilst his front was surrounded by his lines and defended by

Aaly-verdy-qhan marches into Oressa.

small and large artillery. His camp and baggage he left at about three or four cosses behind, together with his prisoner. The latter was in a Rutt, or four-wheeled carriage, covered all over with a white cloth, which was surmounted by a network of strong cord, that embraced the whole coach. Two T8ranian Moghuls were placed with the prisoner within the coach, with orders to fall upon him with their poniards, and put him to death, the moment they should see any of the enemy's troops at hand. Five hundred Decanian troopers were likewise placed round the coach, with orders, the moment they should see the enemy draw near, to run each his spear through the coach, and then make the best of his way to their main, if they could; else, they were to provide for their own safety, in what manner soever they should think fit. Aaly-verdy-qhan being informed of all these particulars, set apart some trusty officers and troops with orders, the moment they should perceive a fluctuation and a disorder in the enemy's ranks, to run full speed, wheel round their rear, and fall upon that part of the camp where they would spy the white coach; after which it would become easy to rescue the prisoner. Having said so much, he set out himself after midnight, and by the dawn of the day, he found himself close to the enemy's intrenchment. This sight surprised the intrenched troops, and their spirits were daunted at the enemy's numbers and military array. The dismay was so great, that hardly a few cannon-balls and rockets had been sent amongst them, than they fell into confusion, and thought only of saving themselves. The enemy emboldened by this trepidation, rushed into the river, attacked the intrenchment by its rear (and this was covered only by the stream) and broke into it in shoals. The intrenched troops daunted at so much daringness, thought only of retreating and flying. By this time Mustapha-qhan and Mir-djaaffer-qhan, who had been appointed for rescuing the prisoner, had already advanced on the rear of the enemy, and were now at half an hour's distance from the wished for spot. But here Mahmed-aamir-qhan, brother of Mir-djaaffer-qhan's consort, parted company with them, and with two officers, called Assalet-qhan and Dilir-qhan, both sons to Omer-qhan, and a few others, who to the number of ten men, resolved to share his danger, he advanced some hundred paces before the rest; and he was the very first who broke into the

Bakyr-aaly-qhan defeated.

enemy's camp in search of the white coach. This was pointed out to him by a young man, whom he found there, and who happened to be son to a person in the prisoner's service; and to that part this daring troop turned directly. This was no sooner observed by the five hundred Marhatta troopers, than they came close to the coach, and each of them ran his spear through, and turning about, put spurs to his horse immediately and fled with all his might. These numerous spears run through the coach, had no other effect, than that of killing one of the two Moghuls, who were sitting with the prisoner, with orders to dispatch him, and wounding the other. The wounded man seeing no end to the repeated strokes, and finding that spears were endlessly run through the coach, stretched himselt at whole length, and covered his body with the corpse of his companion. By one of those good lucks, for which there is no accounting, it happened that the prisoner himself squatted likewise as low as he could, and received no harm at all. At this critical moment those twelve heroes arrived, and cutting through the network, they lifted up the curtain, and were immediately recollected by the prisoner, who thanked them for their timely interposition, and loaded them with encomiums. Mahmed-aamin-qhan, who thought the moment precious, jumped down from his horse, and taking the prisoner by the hand, he bid him mount instantly; but whilst they were exchanging a few words, with their backs turned, the wounded Moghul jumped out at the opposite door, and nimbly vaulting upon the horse, he fled with the rapidity of lightning, and soon had joined the Marhattas, leaving the twelve men much surprised and confounded at the man's alertness. The surprise was followed by a peel of laughter, and even by the sense of admiration, at the man's presence of mind. However, as another horse was wanting, Dilir-qhan alighted, and made the prisoner mount; and as the Bengal detachment was now in sight, Mir-djaaffer pushed forward, and having been reconnoitred by Mahmed-aamin-qhan and his troops, they felicitated him on the recovery of his kinsman, and brought him to the coach. That General no sooner fixed the prisoner, than he alighted instantly, made the prisoner mount on the elephant, and mounted himself behind to protect his person. It was thus that by a singular dispensation of Providence, a youth devoted to death long ago, and which waited only for

The young Prince, against all probability, is found alive and safe.

the fatal stroke, is the next hour seated on an elephant, carried in pomp and ceremony, viewed with awe and admiration, and held up as a Lord over mankind. People who came to hear of so strange a delivery, thronged in shoals to have only a sight of him; and as soon as they could descry him from afar, they would incline their heads to the ground in token of respect, and kiss their thumbs to express their wonder and attachment. Admirable are Thine ways, Oh Almighty Lord, owner of all the kingdoms on earth! (10) *He bestows dominion on whom He pleases, takes it from whom He pleases, raises to honour whom He chooses, and depresses to the ground whom He chooses. Every one is in His hand, and truly His power is capable of everything.* Instantly some swift horsemen were dispatched to Aaly-verdy-qhan with the tidings that his beloved grandson was safe, and the young man making his appearance a few moments after, alighted and made a profound bow to his grandfather and uncle. The Viceroy, on his drawing nearer, drew him to his bosom, embraced him tenderly but in silence, and he filled brimful the measure of his wishes, by keeping the youth for some minutes close to his breast; after which giving reins to his satisfaction, he ordered his tent to be pitched on that very spot, commanded the military music to strike up, and sent the young Prince to the bath, where he was to be dressed in a clean apparel. As soon as he saw him come out of that place, he got him dressed in a Princely Qhylaat, and after adorning his person with a variety of jewels of immense value, such as a Serpich, a Djica, a Calghi, and a Chaplet of large pearls, he took him by the hand, conducted him to the Mesned of command and dominion, made him sit thereon, and ordered the principal persons of his Court and army to offer him their Nuzurs, and to pay him their homages. This ceremony having produced a large sum of money, the whole of it was distributed to a number of needy persons, who were requested to look upon it as a charity of good omen; and as soon as they were retired, some accommodations and carpets were spread for those present, and all joined in offering up a thanksgiving prayer for so signal a

(10) Sentence of the Coran in Arabic. The kissing of the thumb is not a custom of Indian origin. It has been imported by the Mahometans of Arabia, who kiss their thumbs of the Noon-day prayers on Friday, when apprecations are pronounced for Mohammed.

delivery. Immediately a number of carriages were dispatched under a strong escort to Bara-bati, for bringing from thence the young Prince's consort, with his children and family; but this, however, could not be effected without much difficulty. The garrison left in that fortress by Mirza-bakyr, was divided in two parties. Those that had ill used, and even insulted their prisoners, and feared a return in kind from the conquerors, were for keeping their gates shut up; those, on the contrary, who had used them kindly, were for setting them open, in hopes of being rewarded on both accounts. This party, however, prevailed at last; the gates were set open, and the prisoners delivered to the escort. These were the young Prince's consort, with his family and dependants; and these being put upon veiled carriages, were brought to the camp of the victorious, where a set of convenable tents had been pitched within an enclosure for their use; and it was then that those parched hearts, that had wandered so long in the dreary desert of absence, and sobbed in the wilderness of separation, now quenched their thirst by gulping down in long draughts the cooling sherbet of a completion of wishes. A few days after, the Viceroy presented his nephew with such articles as he stood in need of, and were necessary to a person of his exalted rank, such as elephants and horses, arms and accoutrements, saddles and trappings, a wardrobe, complete, a set of jewels of various sorts, and a great number of other conveniencies; and when he saw him convenably equipped, he dismissed him with a deal of distinction, wishing him a happy journey to M8rsh8d-abad, where he was to pay his respects to his parents, to overwhelm their hearts with a flood of joy, and above all, to rescue from the pangs of separation and the agonies of deep-felt woe, a disconsolate mother who since his captivity had abstained from the light of the day, and had reckoned herself as one in the grave. The unfortunate Princess did not know as yet, that Providence, in compassion to her sufferings, had by ways of his own, brought about an opportunity of lighting the taper of content and joy to the wick of his long-wished arrival, and to illuminate by the beams of his presence, that night of darkness that had surrounded her existence. As soon as the young Prince was departed, he was followed by part of the army and by the Viceroy's heavy baggage, who thought proper to tarry in the country with a body of five

thousand horse, and his best officers; his intention being to see the country entirely quieted, and its revenues and finances upon a proper footing. As soon as this end was obtained, he conferred the Lieutenancy of the country on an officer of distinction, called Moqhless-aaly-qhan, whom he appointed Deputy to the young Prince, gave him a body of troops, and took his departure for Bengal. However, a few days after, he altered his mind, and on the recommendation of Mustapha-qhan, an Afghan General, for whom he had the highest regard, he recalled the Deputy of his own nomination, and gave his office to Sheh-mahmed-maas8m of Panip8t, a friend of the Viceroy's and a Commander of eminence, who bore a great character for both valour and conduct. The new Deputy-Governor followed for some days the Viceroy in his journey to receive his instructions, and also his Qhylaat of investiture; and as soon as this end was accomplished, he returned to Catec with such a body of veteran troops, as were thought adequate to his exigencies. The Viceroy, after having dismissed this Commander with distinction and honour, continued his journey, shortening his distance every day. He had with him his consort, with his grandson and nephew, Mirza-mehmed, since Seradj-ed-döula; and he turned his journey into a continual sporting, shooting and hunting, being exceedingly fond of that amusement.

Whilst Aaly-verdy-qhan was occupied in conquering the Oressa, and in rescuing his grandson and nephew from the bonds of captivity, Zin-eddin-ahmed-qhan, his other grandson and nephew, Viceroy of Azim-abad, was undertaking an expedition against those restless refractory inhabitants of the Bodjp8r, in the province of Shah-abad, where Radja Gorut-sing, and Bab8-advent-sing, two powerful Zemindars or Princes, had been committing this longwhile the most enormous excesses, acting entirely, as if they had been independent. So much guilt, and so much contempt of authority deserved to be chastised in an examplary manner. But as my honoured father, the illustrious and valiant Hedaïet-aaly-qhan, had great possessions in that country, and these as well as his high character, added to the authority which always attends a command of long standing, had given him a victorious sway in that province, it was expected that he would not fail to cut an eminent figure in that expedition. But it was for these very advantages he had become an eyesore to

Chintamen-das, ancient Divan and servant of the young Viceroy, a Gentoo, whose pride was wounded besides by the high influence which that nobleman had likewise acquired over the whole army as well as over the young Viceroy, in virtue of his office of Paymaster-General (Major-General) of the forces. So many advantages, and so much lustre in a single man, was that the cankered heart of the Gentoo could not bear, and he made use of his ascendant over his master's mind, to thwart my father's views of illustration and fame, and to bring him under the lash of some well-managed mortification. As he had his master's ear at command, he gave him to understand "That Sëyd-hedaïet-aaly-qhan was so much "respected by all the Zemindars of that country, and likewise "so much considered by his master, that these people had very "naturally turned the eye of hope towards that nobleman; and "that the latter having from a length of time connections with "them, he would to all appearance become a powerful intercessor "in their behalf, so soon as he should see them in some danger; in "which case His Highness would find that, after spending a deal "of money, and undergoing much bodily labour, in a campaign "likely to be very fatiguing, he would be obliged to grant those "people a full pardon, and to reinstate them in their possessions, "without reaping any other fruit from all his toiling but a few "concessions on their part, and some barren submissions. That "such would prove the end of his campaign, no man in his senses "would deny, who knew that how ready soever Zemindars might "be to shake the yoke and to assume an independence on the "slightest, it was a standing rule with them to submit on the "slightest reverse which they experienced, and to spend rather "immense sums to procure a protector, than to pay to their "master a small sum as his due. It is then expedient," added he, "that Hedaïet-aaly-qhan, who certainly shall interfere, were it "but to raise his character, and to whose solicitations you shall "not be willing to resist, should take his residence at some "greater distance from you; and this you may easily compass, "by making use of soft expressions." Such insinuations operated their full effect on the young Viceroy's mind, and as he had already thoughts of sending that nobleman into the country of *Narkut-semdi*, to accustom those people to order, and to insure the revenue, he requested his repairing thither as soon as

possible; and he invested him for that purpose with full command. He added, "That as his mind was not easy on those "districts, as well as that of *Mug*, where Radja Sunder-sing, a "powerful Zemindar, was possessed of a great extent of ground "at the foot of the hills, and had but too many connections with "the powers on the other side of that chain, he wished to have "there a person of character and abilities, accustomed to manage "Zemindars. That he requested, therefore, his repairing to that "command immediately, and his keeping a watchful eye on that "spot, as this would prove the only expedient for easing his "mind, and letting him depart satisfied on his own expedition "about Shah-abad and Rhotass. But that as on the other hand, "his absence would cause many inconveniencies to him, he had "contrived to lessen them, by requesting that meanwhile his "younger brother, Mehdi-nessar-qhan, might exercise, as Deputy "to his elder, his office of Paymaster-General of the army." Such a speech from a master and Lord implied a full command, and Hedaïet-aaly-qhan, although fully apprised from whence came the shaft, smiled consent, and appointed his younger brother to act as his Deputy in his absence; after which he departed to the spot allotted to his care. Meanwhile the Governor having set out on his expedition with a good army and a train of artillery, soon found means to humble entirely the refractory Zemindars of that country, who really deserved all the ruin that befell them. Few of the merchants of that district, few of its inhabitants, had not felt their exactions, and hardly any traveller could venture to pass through their lands, without being stripped, and in case of resistance, murdered. It would require a volume to enumerate the many violences, and the many extortions they were perpetually putting in practice against all mankind. At last after two engagements, that cost much blood, and two sieges that consumed much time, the refractory Zemindars were driven from their strongholds, their castles and habitations were destroyed, and the country was freed from their incursions and eternal violences. The young Viceroy having rid himself of these troublesome oppressors, turned his views towards quieting the country, tranquillising the minds of the husbandmen, establishing a revenue, and resuscitating the finances.

uccessful expedition of the young Viceroy of Azimabad, against Zemindars Shah-abad.

These had been this longwhile entirely governed by an officer

of consequence, called Roshen-qhan-terahi, an Afghan, who bore a character amongst his countrymen for valour and conduct, and had acquired a great renown in the contiguous provinces of Ilah-abad and Azim-abad, where he had great connections with all their Zemindars, being a complete master of the art of always seeming to be of their opinion, and of uniting with them, whenever he could not subdue them by main force. This man had objections to the extirpation of the Zemindars of Shah-abad on his own private account, and he thought it inexpedient besides, and dangerous, if not impossible, as to their unbounded influence in their own extensive possessions, they joined connections of long-standing with the independent Zemindars and Princes on the other side of the mountainous country. He, therefore, made several visits to the young Viceroy, to whom he urged strong representations on the subject. He enlarged upon the many inconveniencies that would attend the expedition, or necessarily result from it, and made it a request that a full pardon should be granted them, and that they might be reinstated in their principalities. The request was not of a nature to be suddenly granted, the more so, as meanwhile letters and messages were perpetually passing and repassing between the Zemindars and him. But independently of that, his requests were urged with so much forwardness, and uttered with such a tone of voice, as could not but give offence to a young man naturally haughty and imperious, both from actual possession of power, and from a consciousness of adequate abilities. His displeasure becoming the more sensible, as the representations became more importunate, his sense of them was soon perceived by some others who took care to envenom matters. One day the dialogue between the Viceroy and the Afghan becoming much warmer than usual, the Afghan who looked only on the Viceroy's years, without stretching his apprehension further, made use of such expressions as the other neither could nor would bear. The man, accustomed to live in the country, had the rustic boldness to express himself in these very terms: *You are yet a child, and have not seen the world; nor have you any idea of the revolutions so common in it; nor do you yet know of all the difference between day and night. Believe me, listen to my requests to-day; else, a time may come when you shall wish to have done it.* Such expressions, delivered with so much rusticity

and freedom, could not but shock the Viceroy; his very independence took the alarm, and he resolved to make an example of that ferocious insolent man. For that purpose, he made use of an officer who had always commanded with honour, and this was Mir-codret-ollah, son to Shah-shukur-ollah, the Cadyri Fakir; and to him he joined another resolute man, Hassen-beg, who had been Governor of the Castle of Mongher. The opportunity soon presented itself. The Afghan having come in the evening to pay his court to the Viceroy, and waiting with some impatience the moment of his appearing in the tent of audience, he was suddenly set upon by those two men, who dispatched him in an instant. He was become so very corpulent that he could not get up from his seat, but was overthrown at once; and it was in that situation he plunged at one dip into endless eternity.

Roshen-qhan, an Afghan of importance, murdered.

It was in that expedition that the Viceroy, after exhibiting himself proofs of valour and conduct, thought proper to remember my paternal uncle, Mehdi-nessar-qhan, who had rendered considerable services in it, and had so much recommended himself to his notice that, with the consent of my father, he was invested with the high office of Paymaster-General of the forces. Not content with giving him that investiture, with the usual ceremonies of a Qhylaat, or dress of honour, an elephant, a sabre, a horse, and some other presents, he took care to distinguish him by the richness and elegance of the dress, to which he added, in full audience, ***a request to live with him as his friend, and to be of his family.*** The offer was received with becoming respect, and he was henceforward treated with a consideration which soon distinguished him from all his friends. And indeed, he richly deserved that distinction, and should we attempt to dwell on the encomiums due to that honoured uncle of mine, we would swell this work by a whole section, and our attention, meanwhile, might incur the reproach of a family partiality, or of some other interested motives. Although a resolute soldier, he was remarkable for the modesty of his deportment, and although little inclined to ask a favour, he made it a point to support not only his friends, but also his countrymen and relations, for whom he always approved himself equally grateful and zealous. Nothing could equal his generosity and munificence, but his readiness to do a good office, unasked. On the other hand, the purity of his private life, and

Admirable character of Mehdi-nassar-qhan.

the decency of his public conduct, as well as his fidelity to his word, and his liberality to his friends, could be equalled by nothing but his bravery and his military talents. To so many endearing qualifications, he added a facility of utterance, and a flow of elegant expression which commanded attention and captivated every heart; and although remarkably alive on the point of honour in his public conduct, in his private life he was as remarkable for patience and forbearance. May God Almighty's mercy and forgiveness repose upon him for ever!

We have left my honoured father employed in subduing the Princes of the hilly country. As he sought to raise his character and to acquire a renown, the Radja of Ramgur became, of course, the object of his attention. This Radja was the most powerful Gentoo Zemindar of the hills, and so considerable and warlike, that the Viceroys of the province had hardly any control over him. He was joined in that design by Radja Sunder-sing, and by Radja Djái-kishen-ray, both Zemindars of the Palamow country, as well as by some other Zemindars of Seress-cotombah and Shirgáoti. My father, supported by such a confederacy, laid siege to the fortress of Ramgur, and at last took it. After which he advanced some journeys more into the hilly country, and after having settled it, he was taking some rest from the fatigues of that expedition, when on a sudden, intelligence was brought by some trusty persons, that Ragodji-bhosla-pandet(11) had sent his own Pardhan at the head of forty thousand horse to conquer Bengal, and that in a few days they would pass close to him through the hills in their way to that country. This intelligence, such as it seemed to be, was with a scrupulous exactitude transmitted to the Governor-General of Bahar, who forwarded it with letters of his own to Aaly-verdy-qhan. This Prince not trusting the intelligencer, paid little attention to the letter, and he answered his nephew, by desiring him to be easy in his mind, and to apply himself to his business; adding, *that whenever the Marhattas should make their appearance, care would be taken to give them a good reception.* This answer of the Viceroy's having The Marhattas invade Bengal.

(11) *Rago-dji-bhosla* was Prince Sovereign of the *Barar*, a country of a large extent, south-west of Bengal, but feudatory of the Marhatta Empire. *Pandet*, which in Decan signifies clerk, writer, or learned man, is a title which those Princes join to their names, and *Pardhan* probably signifies General in the Marhatta language.

been forwarded to my forgiven father, he held consultations with his friends, as the forces he had with him were by no means equal to the task of barring the passage to such invaders. They all advised him to quit the hilly country, and he accordingly descended and encamped at the foot of that chain. In a few days the Marhattas rushed through it, and turning towards Pachâet and Mohor-bendj, they fell upon the Midnip8r country, before any intelligence had reached Bengal of their approach. The Viceroy at that time was advancing towards M8rsh8d-abad with about five or six thousand men, spending his time in hunting, sporting, and seeing the country; and he had reached that day an excellent spot near Midnip8r, when one of the Crown-collectors of those parts, a man of trust and much sense, having requested to be introduced, gave him notice, "That the Marhattas were not "at twenty cosses from thence; that Baha-sukur-pandet, at the "head of forty thousand horse, was advancing rapidly; and than "to-morrow in the evening, or the day after at day-break, he "would probably be at the very spot." He added, "that the "intelligence being so important, he had quitted his post to bring "it himself." The Viceroy happened to be then at his noon prayers. Without being intimidated by the smallness of his own numbers, without betraying the least trepidation, without seeming to be much affected, he was heard to answer the intelligencer by these very words: "*Where are those infidels and where is the "spot where I could not chastise them?*" This singular circumstance of the Viceroy's intrepidity is what I hold from the very man who gave the information, and who even then could not help expressing his amazement at so undismayed a coolness; and he used to add, that he could not discover in his looks the least perturbation, nor the least alteration in his complexion or features: an instance of fearlessness, that even then excited his amazement after so much lapse of time. The particulars of this invasion are as follows:—Ragodji-bhosla was a Prince nearly related to the Radja Sah8, and one of the most renowned Commanders in the Marhatta Empire, where he possessed the country of Barar, of which the Great-Naigp8r is the capital. This Prince either instigated by Nizam-el-mulk, or prompted by what he knew of the weakness of the Empire, undertook to make an irruption into the kingdom of Bengal. His views were either to make a conquest

of it, or at least to establish in it contributions to the full amount of the Chôut, *i.e.*, one-quarter of the revenues, an odious yoke that had become established in many countries of Hindostan and Decan, but from which Bengal had yet remained entirely free. For this purpose he made choice of his own Prime Minister, Bhasukur-pandet, and gave him the command of an army of twenty-five thousand horse, which renommee had swelled to forty-thousand; and that army had passed with ease through the mountainous country and difficult passes, which like so many gates, shut up the entrance of Bengal, but where, as we have already observed, no body had thought of opposing their passage. For this General having been disappointed in looking out for a convenient passage through the mountains of Oressa, had turned to his left, and sought one through those valleys that stretch at eight days' journey to the west of M8rsh8d-abad. This intelligence was brought to Aaly-verdy-qhan, whilst he was encamped at about Sahcra, being close to a spot called the fortunate stage, and there he was told for certain that the Marhattas had already passed through the valleys of Pacháet, and were going to fall on the Bardevan. It was difficult to be more unprovided than he was against so unexpected an irruption. As he had already given orders for disbanding part of his army, and great part of the disbanded forces as well as many other troops were gone to M8rsh8d-abad on the assurance that the expedition was at an end, and that all was peace, it happened that at the moment the intelligence was ascertained, he was found to have no more than three or four thousand horse, and about five thousand musqueteers about his person. Instantly he took the resolution of advancing into the Bardevan, a country, for populousness and plenty of provisions, superior to most in Bengal; his intention being to encamp with his back to this capital, and his front to the enemies. Full of this notion, he quitted the Mubarec-menzil, or the fortunate stage, and the second day he arrived on this side of the city of Bardevan, whilst the Marhattas were arrived on the other, to which they set fire directly, so that the greatest part of it was consumed. Here some skirmishes happened between the two armies and each party in the evening returned to its camp. Bha-sukur finding by the countenance of the enemy, and by the daringness of their General, that he had not been misinformed as to the bravery of

his troops, and the personal conduct and valour of their Lord, he conceived that it would be better to get something from him without fighting, than to put everything to the hazard of a battle; and he had thoughts of returning back to his country after having secured his honour by that contribution. He therefore sent the enemy word, "That as the Marhattas had come from afar, and "were fatigued and jaded with their long marches, they would be "glad to return to their own country, if he would but present them "with so much as ten lacs, which small sum would be just enough "to entertain them as his guests." This proposal was far from producing the desired effect. The Viceroy found his honour wounded by it, and it shocked Mustapha-qhan likewise, who was always for fighting and killing, as the only way in which he knew how to support a character, and the only one which could raise the importance of the military in general, and his own in particular. The Viceroy conscious of personal abilities and valour, and instigated also by his General, rejected the proposal with disdain, and he bid the enemy advance, if they dared. This answer having animated both parties, both parties for some days fell a skirmishing; but as such small engagements did not suit Aaly-verdy-qhan's temper or interests, he resolved to leave his baggage, such as carts, wheel carriages, large tents and other such articles, in his camp, and with his troops thus disencumbered to rush upon the Marhatta horse and try what they could do in a day of battle. At day-break he mounted, after having published under severe penalties, that no one of the camp-followers or of the baggagemen should presume to mingle with the troops on their march; but his injunctions availed nothing, and hardly were the troops marched, when the camp-followers, afraid of the enemy, flung themselves amongst the troops and encumbered them exceedingly. This was the opportunity which the enemy wished In an instant the Marhattas made their appearance on all sides and attacked everywhere; but the Bengal army standing their ground, the business of killing and wounding went on briskly, and brave actions were performed on both sides. In this conflict Musaheb-qhan, eldest son to Umer-qhan, was surrounded and slain. This was a young man who joined to the bravery of his family, an heroical prowess of his own. He was already an officer of renown and character, and wanted to signalise himself in that trying day

Aaly-verdy-qhan resolves to fight the Marhattas.

but having advanced too far through the thickest of the enemy, he succumbed under repeated wounds, and fell speechless, after having performed actions worthy of himself. Still the army was gaining ground on the enemy; when the day commencing to decline towards the evening, the Viceroy who conceived his rear to be covered by Mustapha-qhan and Shimsher-qhan and Serdar-qhan, with their troops, observed with surprise that they lagged behind. As such a behaviour was so very different from their usual conduct, he concluded that they must be dissatisfied with him, and from that moment he suspected that the battle was going to put on a strange appearance; but as he was already far from his own camp, and still farther from the Marhatta main, and night was coming on, he perceived that he could not, fo. want of followers, either fall upon the enemy's camp, nor indeed recover his own. Sensible of his impotence, but not dismayed, he stopped where he was, and it proved to be a bad spot, consisting of stiff clay, that had been rendered miry by a preceding rain; so that there was no fixing one's foot anywhere, and unfortunately no conveniency was at hand, but three or four Palekies, and a small tent which was immediately pitched upon a higher plat of ground. It was at about six or seven cosses from Bardevan. That day the whole baggage with all the riches it contained, was seized and plundered by the Marhattas, who cut or wounded every one of the laggers; nor did any escape the massacre but such as found means to abscond in the neighbouring fields. As for the troops that remained yet with him, after the defection of the Afghans, they were surrounded in every direction by the Marhatta horse, who continued repeatedly their attacks until the dusk of the evening, at which time the two parties remained where they were. That night the people about the Viceroy were in such a confusion, and the cries of the distressed were so confused and afflicting, that these scenes seemed to give an image of the Day of Judgment. As for Mustapha-qhan, Shimshir-qhan, Serdar-qhan, and all the other Afghan Commanders, they seemed to herd together more than usual, had retired by themselves with downcast looks, and had shewn in these repeated engagements very little inclination to expose their persons or even to run any risk at all. The truth is, that they had several reasons for being discontented, and seemed evidently to hold councils amongst themselves. The principal

Some of his Commanders lag behind.

of their subjects of discontent was this: That the levies made for the last two or three expeditions, had been disbanded as soon as the expedition, however short, had been over: an iniquitous practice that ruined many Commanders, discouraged every officer, and discontented the whole army. For it is observable that in the last expedition, which ended by delivering the Governor of Oressa from confinement, Mustapha-qhan had represented, "That His "Highness had already more than once ordered new levies to be "made under mighty promises, and so soon as the time of danger "was over, had suddenly dismissed them again without the least "regard to the wrong done to so many deserving officers, as well "as to their men; and he added openly that as he spoke not only "for himself, but also for others, he requested that at this time "no infraction of agreement, nor breach of promise should take "place." Such a heavy complaint at the beginning of such a campaign had appeared ominous. Aaly-verdy-qhan had thought it expedient to stop their murmurs, and to regain Mustapha-qhan's good will, as well as that of the others, by giving him his word that the subject of their complaint would not happen again; and nevertheless, so soon as the last expedition to Catec had been over, and the young Governor was rescued from his danger, all the new levies had been disbanded to a man: a proceeding which did not fail to break the hearts of the whole army, and highly discontented Mustapha-qhan and all the Afghans. Nor can it be denied, but that such a duplicity of behaviour, and such a glaring breach of promise, highly disparaged the Viceroy's character, and shockingly tarnished the lustre of all his good qualities; nothing being uglier in a man of command, than to sophisticate his word, and nothing more dangerous in a Sovereign, than to let it transpire that there is no truth and no fidelity in his promises. An attachment to his word will at all times gain the hearts of his dependants and even of all mankind, will enforce his authority, and inspire the world with a respectful awe for his person. But this breach of promise in the Viceroy, odious as it was, was not the only grievance of which the Afghans had to complain; they also complained of the death of the Afghan Commander, Roshen-qhan, who for a very unadequate misdemeanour of his had been precipitately put to death by the young Viceroy of Azim-abad, although he was a military Commander of eminence,

and a Fodjdar or military ruler of the province of Shah-abad, and of the whole country of Bodjp8r. So unjust, so hasty an execution had been resented by all the Afghans in the service, and the general cry had been, that it was an ugly action that needed no commentary. But as if all these subjects of discontent had not sufficiently operated on their minds, the Viceroy had added another of late, which gave general offence, and in particular sunk deep in Mustapha-qhan's mind. It was this: As the army in its late expedition to Oressa was passing through the possessions of the Radja of Mohur-bendj, it had been exceedingly harassed by that Prince, who had vowed a personal attachment to Mirza-bakyr, and seemed ambitious to give proofs of it at this particular conjuncture. He had even been guilty, they say, of some excesses. A conduct so characterised could not fail to render him an object of wrath for the Viceroy, who on his side, resolved to make an example of him on his return from the expedition. The Radja sensible now of his danger, had thrown himself into the arms of Mustapha-qhan, who interceded vigorously for him. But this intercession of his had been taken so ill, that it had even produced some very severe looks, with a severe reprimand. A few moments after an order was given to Mir-djaafer to dispatch the man, the moment he should make his appearance in the hall of the audience; for the Radja finding his application to the General had produced nothing but further tokens of wrath, had resolved to risk a visit on his own bottom; and he came without a safe conduct. But the hall being already taken possession of by Mir-djaafer-qhan, who filled it with armed men, the Gentoo no sooner made his appearance, than he was set upon instantly, and hacked to pieces; whilst all his attendants were sought out and knocked down, as if it had been a hunting match. After this execution, his country had been thoroughly plundered and sacked to the great regret of the General, who conceived his honour deeply wounded in this whole management. All these transactions having taken place a few days before the arrival of the Marhattas, had discontented not only the General himself, but every one of the Afghan Commanders, who as well as their soldiers, looked out for a favourable moment for quitting the service, nor did they make any secret of their intentions; so that the Viceroy was soon informed of it, and he now accounted for

All the [Af]ghans in [the] army incl[ined] to a defect[ion]

their backwardness in the late engagements. He was appalled and confounded by such a general air of defection at so dangerous a crisis. The General was not only his best friend, but also the boldest and most forward of his Commanders, and his personal influence over all his countrymen (which constituted one full half of his troops) was boundless. Such a general discontent was not of a nature to be remedied suddenly or with ease, and his situation was become so critical, that he was now pent up within a narrow circle from whence there was no coming out without being hacked to pieces by the enemy, and to which there was no coming near with anything like victuals or provisions. Become now fully sensible of the extreme danger of his situation, he resolved to leave no means untried for extricating himself, and, first of all, he sent underhand to the Marhatta camp an officer of character, called Mir-qhair-ollah-qhan, who was himself a Decani, or born in Decan, and now enjoyed the office of Paymaster to the Radja of Bardevan's forces. He was entrusted, as from the Radja himself, with a message which advised the Marhatta General to give his preference to ways of pacification. This was Bha-sukur the Pandet, who had just plundered the whole baggage of the Bengal army, and of course knew all the extremities to which it must have been reduced. He received the message with much indifference, and he answered in these words:—*Tell your master from me, that the Viceroy of Bengal is now stripped totally of his baggage, and totally surrounded by my troops; nor is there a possibility of his escaping. How then can you talk of a treaty and agreement? Still, as he is one of the greatest Sovereigns of India, I consent to spare him for the sake of his station. But let him pay down one corror directly, and surrender all his elephants; and then we shall open all our ranks, and allow him to pursue his journey to his capital.* Such a message was highly disgraceful; but the Viceroy's circumstances were full as critical. Out of about three thousand five hundred horse that remained to him from the last engagement, most of them, on finding to what extremities he was reduced, were inclined to desert to the enemy, or at least to come to some terms with him; and it was after receiving such an intelligence, that the enemy's answer came to hand. It was in the presence of Djankiram, a man of merit, who kept the accounts of the army,

figured amongst the trustiest and most zealous of the Viceroy's friends, and acted as his Prime Minister. On observing the Viceroy's silence, he took upon himself to speak first. He observed: "That the few men that remained to His Highness, were disheartened with their losses, and so surrounded by the enemy, that "there was no possibility of any man's escaping with life, or of anyone's obtaining a single day's subsistence; that the times required a compliance with the demands of the enemy; that elephants were no mighty objects in Bengal; that there were many "better ones in His Highness's offices at the capital, and as many "more in the stables of his officers and servants; and after all, "that there came yearly a whole herd of them from his own "dominions. As to the coror of rupees, that the treasury could "muster forty lacs instantly, and that he took upon himself to "find the sixty others." Aaly-verdy-qhan was highly shocked with the tenor of this advice. However, he contented himself with answering: *That so long as his soul should stick to his body, he would never submit to such an infamy, and that he still hoped with the handful of men, now under his command, to give a good account of those freebooters, and to retrieve the honour of his arms. And why should he pay so much money to his enemy, and strengthen his hands by such an access of power? Would it not be much better to bestow it on those that had accompanied him in that expedition, and had at all times been ready to shed their blood in his cause?* Here he paused awhile, and then turning to the Minister, he added, *I am glad, sir, to hear that you have so many lacs by you. Then set apart ten of them; for I intend to distribute every rupee of them to my faithful officers, and to the bravest of my soldiers.* Having said this with a deal of composure, he dismissed the Minister.

Aaly-verdy-qhan refuses to ransom himself out of the hands of the Marhattas.

By this time the day was quite spent, and a night pitchy dark, had overspread the ground; so that numbers of the camp-followers, especially those that had lost their all or their master, availed themselves of the darkness to mix with the Marhattas, and none remained but noblemen, officers, men of known faces, and soldiers of character; and as Mir-qhàir-ollah was passing from one army to another, and a report had spread of an approaching treaty, most of these also were looking out for an opportunity of making their private agreements. Amongst these

was Mir-habib, a man of distinction, who being highly discontented with Aaly-verdy-qhan, had already commenced a connection with the enemy, and waited only for a favourable opportunity to desert. For about the close of the night, the Marhattas had pitched a pair of colours in a conspicuous part, as a sign of quarter and forgiveness; from whence they were calling out, that whoever wanted to be safe in his life and property, had only to repair to it. At sight of the colours, those that had not a spark of honour in their constitution, and were not ashamed of themselves, commenced under a variety of pretences, to steal off by whole bands; and this was enough to demolish the Viceroy without a single blow. Luckily that the Marhattas themselves provided against so general a desertion; for on observing that none of those deserters came, but with their hands full, they fell a plundering and a stipping them, and by such a proceeding effectually put a stop to any farther defection. The Viceroy finding it impossible to stop the torrent, or to contrive an expedient to retrieve his affairs, quitted his tent in the middle of the night; and without any attendant, or any taper-bearer, he took Seradj-eddŏulah by the hand, and went on foot to Mustapha-qhan's tent, where he desired him to get up, as he had something to tell him. The General, astonished at what he saw, and amazed at what he heard, got up in an instant, and going into one of the two recesses of his tent, he sat himself down, and asked what were his commands. The Viceroy answered: "*Hear me, friend Mustapha-qhan. Nothing is dearer to man than his life; but my situation is such now, that the easiest and the foremost business I have to do, is to die. Needless it is for you, then, to contrive far-fetched expedients for the purpose of getting rid of me. Are you dissatisfied with my person on account of some matters that have come to pass? Here I am, ready at your hands with Seradj-eddŏulah, who is dearer to me than my ownself. We are alone; dispatch us immediately. Do your business at one stroke, and rid yourself at once of all your incertitudes. But if some remembrance of a friendship of long standing, and some gratitude for benefits received, have yet a place in your heart, and you can afford to forgive some transgressions of mine, that are now past; if you are inclined to stand by me in this desperate moment, then renew your engagements with me, and do*

"*swear anew that you shall not forsake me: this being the only* "*way to make me easy on that head, and to leave me at liberty* "*to think of what is to be done with the Marhattas; as I am* "*firmly resolved to leave nothing unattempted rather than to* "*submit.*" The General cofounded at the suddenness of the address, and moved by the importance of its purport, anwered: "That he could not speak alone on those heads, but must "consult the other officers, his countrymen; and that then he "would report their answer." The Viceroy, without being disconcerted by so much coldness, answered: *Then do*; *I have no objections.* Upon which the General sent to Shimshir-qhan, to Serdar-qhan, and to the other Afghan Commanders, desiring their immediate attendance. As soon as they were assembled, he turned towards the Viceroy, and addressed him in these words: "Let your Highness say to these officers what you have just said to your soldier;" and this being complied with, the assembly heard in silence, but said not one word. Upon this the General addressing himself to them all, spoke in these very words: "Brethren, why do you not answer? Say what you have in your minds." To this both Shimshir-qhan and Serdar-qhan, in the name of all the others, answered: "That he, Mustapha-qhan, being "their chief Commander, and the principal man of their nation, "whatever he should answer, would be reputed their own answer." Upon this the General said: "Friends, since you want to hear my "particular sense of this scene, I shall tell you frankly, what-"ever I had hitherto in my mind, I have only had, and it is past. "At present, my head, and life, and that of my family, and of "whosoever belongs to me, I have thrown at the feet of that my "master and cherisher, and so long as this head shall stick to "this body, I have made a legacy and gift of it to Aaly-verdy-"qhan, to his children, and to his family. Nay, so long as "Mustapha-qhan is alive, he shall acknowledge that his head is "made fast to the horse-shoe of the least of His Highness's "slaves,(12) I tell you so myself. But our case is not desperate;

Aaly-verdy-qhan recovers the affection of the Afghans.

(12) Care must be taken not to interpret this word slave, by American, or even by European, notions. Amongst the Turks, a slave, if a male, becomes in general the son-in-law; and if a female, the bride of the family; and if an Habissinian or Nobi, he becomes the Steward of the house, and sometimes the bridegroom of it. In India, a slave, whether Georgian or African, becomes in general the right-

"nor need you, my friends, to be informed anew of that adage so "well known amongst us: that if *forty sabres should come to "agree together, they might bestow a kingdom.* We are still "more than three thousand horse, and of course, we can fight; "for to look so dismayed, and with such an air of despair, is the "heighth of cowardice. I hope, by the blessing of God, that we "shall thresh those infidels, and that victory shall be ours, after all. "Now, Gentlemen, I have told you my mind. Do take your own "party, and act as you shall think best." This speech having been listened to with attention, they all came into Mustapha-qhan's opinion, and the party of standing by the Viceroy prevailed. Upon which the General having by a sign(13) offered to pronounce a short prayer on the resolution just taken, they all stood up, and joined him. The Viceroy pleased with what he had seen, returned to his tent, and slept a hearty nap. In the morning he dispatched a particular friend of his, called Gholaam-aaly-qhan, with orders to visit the General, to examine by himself the looks of the Afghans, and to report his observations on that subject. Gholaam-aaly-qhan was a nobleman of character and distinction, who had for some time acted as Divan of the province of Azim-abad, and his son, Y8ss8f-aaly-qhan, had espoused a daughter of Ser-efraz-qhan's, and was intimately connected with the Afghan General. This nobleman having repaired to Mustapha-qhan's tent, spent some hours in conversation with him, and he was getting up, when a man sent by Shimshir-qhan announced "That the ensigns and standards they had asked from the Mar-"hattas in the agreement of yesterday, would be coming to-day; "and that he wished to know what he intended to do now." The General answered, by repeating the whole transaction of last night, and he ended by these words: *Whoever is the son of an Afghan will stand by the agreement of yesternight.* The envoy having heard so much, returned to Aaly-verdy-qhan, to

hand-man of the family; and hence the word slave signifies only a *man thoroughly devoted to another;* and this is the accustomed interpretation of the words *abd* and *gholam* in Arabic, as well as in Turkish, Persian and Indian.

(13) This sign consisted in standing up, turning towards the *Kybla* or Mecca, taking a composed, respectful air, joining both hands upon the navel (this is for the Sunnies; for the Shyahs let them hang at length on both sides) and pronouncing with the lips only the *fateha* (*id est,* the overture) or first chapter of the Coran, which answers to the Dominical oration, or the Lord's prayer of the Christians.

whom he reported punctually every thing he had heard, to the great satisfaction of the Viceroy, who being now easy in his mind, resolved to fight the enemy. And truly to hear such expressions at so critical a moment from a powerful and zealous friend never fails to inspire with fresh courage, and to afford an additional degree of daringness. The Viceroy then after a short consultation, resolved to cut his way through the enemy, and to effect a retreat to M8rsh8d-abad; from whence he expected that, after having dried his wings, and trimmed his feathers, he would be able to come out again and to oppose a front to the enemy. By this time the evening was come again, and the Marhattas having planted upon a tree a field-piece that had fallen in their hands in the first plunder of the Bengal camp, were incessantly showering balls throughout the enemy's ranks, as well as throwing an infinity of rockets; so that nothing was heard throughout the army for the whole night, but cries and screams. Insomuch that Manic-chund, Divan to the Radja of Bardevan, having taken fright at such a scene of slaughter and confusion, thought proper to disappear at day-break, and to make the best of his way to his master. At that very time, and in the darkest part of the night, the Marhattas fell again upon the Bengal army, and attacked it on all sides; so that the Viceroy had hardly time to mount his elephant, and face the enemy. As the attack was so sudden, and every one had run to arms in confusion, there remained no possibility of arraying ranks, or of recovering from the disorder into which the troops had fallen, for the Marhattas had already penetrated to the very centre; and there Mir-habib, who had not been as alert as the others, was surrounded, wounded in three places, and felled to the ground, where he was taken prisoner; after which he joined the Marhattas and took service with them. In this extremity, Haïder-aaly-qhan, who managed the field-artillery in the Viceroy's service, proved exceedingly useful, by sweeping down vast numbers of the enemy. On the other hand, Mustapha-qhan, and Shimshir-qhan, and Umer-qhan, and Serdar-qhan, and Rahem-qhan, although fighting pell-mell, were performing such feats of prowess, and killing and wounding so many of the enemies, especially of the bravest and most forward amongst them, as effectually damped their ardour, and their Commanders intimidated by so much valour, ceased to surround them on all sides, and forming themselves

The Viceroy fights his way through the enemy.

into one body afresh, they wheeled round and fell upon the army's flank. This movement having afforded the Bengal troops time to take breath, they formed into a compact body, and continued their march to Catwa, fighting their way through the enemy's ranks. But now the remainder of the baggage was gone, and no clothes, no accommodation whatever, no victuals remaining at all, two or three thousand men, mounted on famished horses, and five or six thousand musqueteers, fainting with hunger and fatigue, were in full march, fighting all the way, and all the way starving. The Marhattas were every way round them, and every way harassing them with continual attacks, and eternal skirmishes that endlessly succeeded each other. But these did not dismay the Bengal troops. Encouraged by the firmness of their General, and animated by the prowess of their Commanders, they faced about every way, and constantly repulsed the enemy; and they went on fighting and advancing, and always intimidating the enemy by the brave actions they were continually performing. But these brave troops suffered as much for want of accommodations, as for want of victuals. Luckily that there is in the high road of Bengal to Djagennat, an infinite number of reservoirs of water and artificial ponds, which the Gentoos are at much expense in digging, as they reckon such works to be of the most meritorious kind; and luckily that every one of these ponds is always surrounded by a mound whereon grows a multitude of trees. As soon as night was coming on, after every day's march, one of these ponds served the whole army for their quarters. Every one, whether soldier or officer, sat himself down on the bare ground, and after having stuffed his bowels with a repast of tree-leaves and field-grass, every one stretched himself at length, and took some rest, without having all this while any other carpet than the bare ground, or any other covering than a rainy sky. Nor did any nobleman, or General in the army, fare much better than the common soldier; for every night the Marhattas were wonted to surround the enemy, as they did by day, but without approaching so near as to be hitted by a wall-piece; and as every tent, and every piece of baggage, and every ustencile, as well as every sort of provision, had been plundered by them, and they made it a practice every morning to send scouring parties on every side, and to burn and sackage every village at ten or twelve cosses

round, the Bengal army found it impossible to procure any thing eatable; and the men commenced despairing not only of victory, but of their very existence. Jaded by daily marches and famished by daily abstinence, they could no more support themselves under their arms, and still less move with any vigour. Nor did the Generals and mighty Commanders prove to be in better circumstances themselves with all their gold, being barely able to support nature, and no more; the rest of the army crammed themselves with leaves and barks of trees, with ants, and with such other food; particulars incredible, but which have been carefully recorded by that same Y8ss8f-aaly-qhan, who has left us memoirs of his campaigns, and in particular, of that hazardous retreat. He mentions that in their three days' march to reach Catwa, all he could do was only to procure once about three quarts of a seer of *kichery*,(14) and that this fare was shared between seven noblemen accustomed to all the delicacies of a plentiful table. Another day they were supported by seven pieces of Sheker-para,(15) a kind of confectionary. Another day the same men could procure only half a seer of carrion amongst themselves; and whilst it was broiling, several others came in for a single mouthful, which could not be refused. It was in such misery as this, that the Bengal army was advancing on its march. All the artillery, small and great, being lost, and the enemies constantly hovering about them, only at so much distance as could insure their not being hitted by a wall-piece, nothing eatable could be procured on any terms. Such a state of things threw several Commanders into a kind of frenzy; and once in particular, Mustapha-qhan, angry and shocked at their cautious backwardness, said to those about him (and it was already dark): "What a shame "to the Mussulman religion, and what a disgrace to the Afghan "name, that the vilest of those Decanians should surround and "press you on all sides every day and every night! And that "instead of advancing upon those infidels, and seeking for a "prompt delivery amongst them, you should suffer yourselves to "be consumed by famine and by a lingering death!" Such a speech had its effect; and those about him, being most of them

(14) A seer is about two pounds avoirdupois, and *Kichery* is a mess of boiled rice mixed with pulse.

(15) No piece of Sheker-para weighs above half an ounce.

men of tried valour, they answered: "That he was their Commander, and that if he would but lead them on, they would follow." Mustapha-qhan finding them in this mood, took up his sabre and bucler; and he advanced at their head little by little, dispersing his troops in small parties, as if they had been only so many spectators. Over against them was a body of Marhattas, who far from expecting such an attack from famished wretches, were all naked, had actually laid their arms and clothes on the ground, and were preparing for their devotions and their victuals, little inclined to mind those that were drawing so near. Mustapha-qhan and his people availing themselves of this security, drew their sabres, and rushing at once upon those proud infidels, they killed so many of them, that the others fled with all their might, leaving their kettles upon the fire, victuals ready-dressed just by them, and bags full of grain and provisions. Mustapha-qhan's people seeing now the field free, loaded themselves with as much provision as they could carry, and returned to their camp; and this having been observed by others, they took the hint, and all returned loaded with grain and victuals. So that the famished ones, that had been fasting these three days, ate their full that day, and recovered from their feebleness. This adventure, however, served to put the enemies upon their guard. Having felt the blows of Mustapha-qhan's people, they became more cautious and did not press so close as before, but nevertheless they kept still at a distance; and it is through so much wretchedness, that the army was pressing its march to reach Catwa. In one of these marches the Bengal troops were suddenly attacked at the dawn of the day, and before the men had time to fall into their ranks, or the Viceroy to mount his elephant. the Marhattas making suddenly a vigorous attack, at once penetrated everywhere; and it being impossibe to form or to join in one body, every one fought by himself just where he chanced to be; and surrounded by the enemies, every one thought only of extricating his own-self without minding how to succour his neighbour, or to come their Lord's assistance. This Prince was himself under the same predicament, and fought alone, and surrounded. He was undone, unless a miracle was wrought instantly, and a miracle was wrought. Providence came that day to the assistance of the distressed by a memorable interposition. It was customary for two elephants

loaded with standards and insignia, to march always precisely before the Viceroy's elephant; and their tusks were always loaded with a thick chain, with the jingling of which they seemed to amuse themselves. (16) These animals seeing close to them so many strangers of an unusual appearance and smell, at once listened to the word of command given them by Providence; and skilfully managing their chain, they dealt it around at so dreadful a rate, that every stroke of theirs carried destruction to either man or horse. The Marhattas surprised at the strangeness of the sight, and not daring to approach, ceased to press so close; they retired at some distance, and gave time to a number of people to run to their master's assistance, and to surround his elephant. Other troops availing themselves of this moment of respite, hastened to the Viceroy's relief, and having now formed in great numbers, they fell upon the Marhattas that surrounded other corps, and extricated them likewise; and now the army having recovered from its disorder, the troops went on with their march; and the enemy that had broke amongst them and had penetrated everywhere, was driven out again with much slaughter. It was through such scenes of misery, slaughter, and wretchedness, that the army had to advance on a road strewed with mighty dangers, and infested by endless difficulties and unforeseen perils, but still repelling the enemy, and facing about everywhere. At last by the Divine assistance they arrived at Catwa, a town and castle at two days south of M8rsh8d-abad.

Two elephants save the Bengal army.

As they were approaching, every one who had a beast to spare or a bag to muster, made haste to repair thither in expectation of finding, as usual, that town full of grain and all kinds of provisions, but the enemy had been beforehand with them, and had a little before fallen upon that town, and sacked and plundered it, setting fire to such grain and provisions as could not be carried away. This was the resource found in that populous town, and the half-burnt and half-parched grain feasted the eyes of those famished wretches, like a table spread with a quantity of unexpected victuals. Aaly-verdy-qhan having taken up his quarters at Catwa, wrote to Hadji Ahmed and to Nevazish-mahmed-qhan, Governors of the city, to inform them of his situation, and

(16) This chain may be twenty feet in length, and of three hundred pound weight.

to request their taking care of the city and country, but above all, their sending his second nephew, Sëyd-ahmed-qhan, to join the army immediately with a supply of provisions and everything necessary. The news of this arrival filled that family with joy. At first they had entirely lost every track of Aaly-verdy-qhan, as they had received no intelligence at all from him this longwhile; so that they had given him up for lost. When therefore letters came from him, and they heard of his being so near the city, they prostrated themselves before that Supreme one who finds means to bring together the parted and distant, and to save those that seem without resource; and they returned thanks to that Providence, that had brought him back safe and in health, after so long a campaign. After which they dispatched Sëyd-ahmed-qhan with a train of artillery, and a convoy of provisions, followed by all kinds of tents and every other necessary; and he in a few days joined his uncle with a reinforcement of old troops and his convoy of provisions. This sight overjoyed every one, and these famished men on beholding plenty succeed to hunger and distress, returned thanks to the Almighty disposer of events, and reposed themselves after so many toils and dangers. And now sutlers and merchants with provisions of all kinds flocked to camp from all parts, to the great amusement of the soldiers, who after having suffered so much from famine and hunger, now crowded to see the cart-loads of grain and victuals pass by, as if it had been some unusual sight, and some uncommon spectacle capable to excite curiosity.

So glorious a retreat could not fail to raise Aaly-verdy-qhan's character; it overjoyed the hearts of his subjects, and intimidated his enemies. The Marhatta General was alarmed. Matters were now greatly altered. The Viceroy had before him a country abound ing with everything that could be wished; and it became problematical even with the enemy, whether an army that had withstood him when struggling through so many difficulties, would not prove now an overmatch for his men? Concluding therefore, that it would be highly difficult now for him to keep his footing in Bengal, especially as the rainy season was set in, he had thoughts of returning home through the country of Birbohom. But this was opposed by Mir-habib, who by rendering continual services, and exposing continually his person, had found means

to render it respectable, and to speak with authority. That man who had come a simple pedlar from Iran, his country, and was so low bred, as to be unable either to write or read, had now by dint of merit and services rendered himself considerabe ; he had found means to figure as a man fertile in expedients, and a General of much resolution. His animosity against Aaly-verdy-qhan would not allow of his parting with Bengal on so easy terms ; and he went so far as to tell the Marhatta General, that if money was his object, he (Mir-habib) would undertake to find a great deal of it for him, and that he requested only the disposal of some thousand Cavalry, with which force he would so far avail himself of Aaly-verdy-qhan's lying at Catwa, as to advance suddenly to M8rsh8d-abad, which is a city without walls, and without any defence, where by plundering only Djaget-seat's house,(17) he would bring him money enough to satisfy all his wishes. This advice having been supported by a strong reasoning, Mir-habib was furnished with some thousand picked horse, and he departed immediately on his expedition. But this could not be done so secretly, as that the Viceroy should not have intelligence of it ; and as he knew the circumstances of his Capital, and did not trust to the talents of either his brother or nephew for the defence of it, he determined to advance himself to its relief ; and he set out directly with much expedition. But Mir-habib having already performed the journey in a single day,(18) was beforehand with him, and he had already plundered Djagat-seat's house, from whence he carried full two Corors away, and also a quantity of other goods. Some other parts of the city were also plundered ; and Mir-habib having advanced as far as his own lodgings, took away his own brother, Mir-sherif, but did not venture farther. For the Viceroy's palace, and also the quarter where lived his nephew, who was Deputy Governor, and likewise the quarter of Ata-ollah-qhan, a general officer, were filled with too many troops

The Marhattas commanded by Mir-habib plunders one part of M8rsh8d-abad.

(17) This was Djagat-seat Aalemchund, the richest subject of the world. His house which even now (1786) contains no less than two thousand souls, was plundered of full two Corors or two Millions and-a-half sterling, (and what is singular, this was all in Rupees struck at Arcot) ; but so amazing a loss which would distress any Monarch in Europe, affected him so little, that he continued to give Goverenment Bills of Exchange *at sight* of full one Coror at a time ; and this fact is too notorious in Bengal to need any proof.

(18) About forty miles.

to be liable to insult ; and meanwhile the enemy hearing that the Viceroy was at hand, instantly departed the city. It was about the middle of the day, and in the evening, the Viceroy arrived himself, to the universal joy of his friends, of his whole Court and of all his subjects. All these events happened in the month of Sefer of the year 1155 of the Hedjra.

It is remarkable that whilst the Viceroy was advancing to the relief of his Capital, the Marhatta General, intimidated by the violence of the rainy season in Bengal, was retreating towards his own country ; and he was already arrived in the Birbohom, when Mir-habib overtook him, bringing with him his two Corors, his booty, and much good advice. He reproached the General for his quitting Bengal on so earsy terms ; and he even threatened to informe the Court of Nagp8r of his precipitation and backwardness should he persist in a retreat. Mir-habib spoke with a deal of warmth, but yet with so much reason, that the General convinced by his reasons, and overcome by his reproaches, retrograded at once, and in a few days encamped at Catwa, where Mir-habib who had pledged himself for the success of his expedition, undertook to procure provisions for the army. He had even the art to open a correspondence both with the Zemindars of the country, and with the inhabitants of H8gly, who after many letters and messages had passed between them and the Marhatta General, at laft made use of Mir-habib's mediation to come to terms. The principal of those were Mir-abol-hassen and Mir-abol-cassem, two eminent merchants, who were intimates with Mahmed-yar-qhan, half-brother to the Viceroy, and Governor of H8gly. These having taken care, by Mir-habib's advice, to arrive at H8gly in the night time, when the gates of the castle were shut up, sent in a forged story as if they had some matter of importance to impart to the Governor ; and the credulous man having ordered the gate to be opened, about fifteen men got in with Mir-habib at their head, and as the Governor was alone, they seized his person, and put it under confinement. The conspirators had already applied to the Marhatta General, and had obtained from him an officer of consequence, named Siss-rão, with a body of troops, that had concealed themselves close to H8gly. To him they immediately sent notice of their having seized the Governor, and the Marhatta officer making haste, arrived early in that city,

He gets possession of H8gly.

and sat on the Mesned of command, where he received the compliments of the citizens, after having contracted a close connection with the conjured. Their example was proposed by Mir-habib to many other Moghul merchants, who all followed it; so that the city was tranquillised. But this expedition having produced much money, which arose from contributions or from the revenues of the country, or from the port duties of so celebrated a mart, the Marhatta General commenced perpending all the consequences and all the value of his sojourning in Bengal, and he resolved to make Catwa his head-quarters, from that time Mir-habib became his Prime Minister; and that transfuge who was a very active man, used to transact business sometimes at Catwa, and sometimes H8gly.

Whilst all this was passing in the southern parts of Bengal, the Viceroy, whose forces had been greatly reduced both by a campaign of twelve months and by labour, sickness and famine, concluded that as the rainy season was at hand, it would be too late to think of driving the Marhattas out of his country; and that the only party left for him was to content himself with conserving the city and its territory. He therefore came out and posted himself at some distance from it, in a suburb called Amany-gundj and Tarracp8r. But by this time the rainy weather had set in; and the river of Bhagraty ceasing to be fordable, Catwa remained on the other side, and the country on the M8rsh8d-abad side was become safe from the enemy's incursions. But then, the same circumstance afforded them a full opportunity of extending their ravages all over the Bardevan, and the Midnip8r, pushing their contributions as far as Balisser-bender, and even this port fell in their hands. However, all this did not intimidate hither Mir-calender, the Fodjdar of Midnip8r, who founnd means to secure his fort, or Mir-ma'usom, the Deputy-governor of the Oressa. The latter seeing the province attacked by numbers that were four times superior to his own, retired in the mountains, where he provided for hin safety, but left his country defenceless. In this manner the Oressa, the Midnip8r, the Bardevan, and part of the Radj-shahy, and even the town and district of Acbar-nagur-radj-mahal, became possessed by the enemy; and nothing remained to Aaly-verdy-qhan, but the city of M8rsh8d-abad, and the countries on the other side of the Ganga. The peaceful

The Marhattas ravage all Bengal, south of the Ganga.

inhabitants of this great capital, who far from having ever seen such devastations, had uot so much as heard of any such things, and whose city had not so much as the cover of a wall, became exceedingly fearful for their properties and families; and they availed themselves of the rainy season to cross over to the countries on the other side of the Ganga, such as Djehan-ghir-nugur, Malda, and Ramp8r-b68lia, where most of them built themselves houses, and where they passed their lives. Even the Deputy-Governor himself, Nevazish-mahmed-qhan, crossed over with his family, furniture and wealth, and lived at Godagary, which is at one day's distance from the city, and where he laid the foundation of an habitation for himself and family. Aaly-verdy-qhan's furniture and effects were likewise sent over; from whence, however, the Deputy-Governor returned to the city, where he continued to live with his uncle, Aaly-verdy-qhan. This Prince, resolved now to gain the heart of his troops, and to reward them for their fidelity, made them a present of the ten lacs of rupees which he had promised; and by such a well timed liberality, he sowed in their hearts the seeds of love and gratitude.

It must be observed that on his arrival at M8rsh8d-abad, the Viceroy had wrote to his nephew, the Governor of Azim-abad, and also to the poor man's grand-uncle, Abdol-aaly-qhan, who was a cousin-german of Aaly-verdy-qhan's, to represent the state of things, and the necessity of their coming to his assistance with whatever forces and artillery they could muster, adding: that the safety of them all depended on his being enabled to repell the invaders. In the margin of the letter directed to Abdol-aaly-qhan, he wrote with his own hand these words: *If you take any concern in your old uncle's welfare, this is the time to shew it.* The young Governor was confounded and displeased at the command of repairing to Bengal, as he had spent a deal of time and all his money in his expedition against the Bodjp8r country, had compassed his end, driven the Zemindars away, taken possession of their homes; and he was going to reap by proper arrangements all the benefits of so much toil and labour. Just at this time came the order from Bengal. He was now obliged to leave all that work, unfinished, and to return to his capital, not a little embarrssed how to satisfy his troops for the arrears, and how to provide necessaries for the intended campaign. After a few days'

repose, he quitted the city in his expedition to Bengal, and encamped in the eastern suburb at Djaafer-qhan's garden. There he sent for the poor man's father, Hedaïet-aaly-qhan the valiant, and for some other friends; and he held consultations with them about the means of getting rid of the army's arrears, and of providing for his future expedition. But nothing could be concluded on that subject for want of money. Such a state of things having put the Governor upon looking out for expedients, he once took Hedaïet-aaly-qhan into a closet, and there he represented to him that it was incumbent upon him (the Governor) "to repair by all "means to the assistance of an uncle who was the author of the "fortune of his family; that his character depended on his making "haste to Bengal; but that he was at a loss how to satisfy the army "for their arrears, and uneasy at his being obliged to leave behind "a country lately conquered, and after all unsettled; he was also "embarrassed on the dispositions necessary after his departure, "and was at a loss on whom to entrust the important task of "governing the country in his absence, of collecting the revenues, "and of keeping the inhabitants quiet." He added: "I reckon "upon your wisdom and abilities. Should you be able to open "some expedient, and to extricate me out of my difficulties, you would lay me under the greatest obligations; as unless I satisfy the troops, they will neither follow me on my expedition, nor let "me depart the cit; and on the other hand, you know that my "honour, as a soldier, and my character, as a dutiful nephew, "depend, in the eyes of the world, and in the eyes of my relations "and kinsmen, on my repairing in all haste and with a proper "number of troops and necessaries, to the assistance of a man, who "is at once my master, my superior in command, and moreover "the founder and author of the welfare of our whole family and "race. Hedáiet-aaly-qhan answered: That he reckoned himself "to be one of the men most attached to his family and person; and "that he would be ready to execute to the best of his abilities, "such commands as he would lay upon him, as he felt the import- "ance of the occasion, and would pride himself in his being able "to lighten in that crisis, such part of his burthen, as would be "allotted to him." The Governor pleased with this glimpse of hope answered: "That at present there were but two articles that "galled him exceedingly. The first was the discharging such

" arrears as were due to the troops ; a piece of justice, without " which they would not suffer him to depart, and without which " nothing could go forward. The second was the propriety of his " leaving the Government in such able, trusty hands, as would put " it in his power to appear before the Viceroy, his uncle, with " such a number of troops and such a quantity of artillery, as " would prove adequate to his station and rank ; in one word, " with such a force as might ensure the exertions expected from " him, as a soldier, a General, and a worthy nephew of such an " uncle." Such an unexpected proposal being liable to many difficulties, Hedáiet-aaly-qhan answered : "That he (the Govenor) " could not be ignorant how circumscribed were his means, and " how unadequate were his finances to the business of discharg-" ing the arrears due to the troops. That nevertheless, being " zealously attached to his person, he was ready to go all lengths " to serve him ; but that however the utmost could do, would be " to refer one part of those arrears to the principal receivers of the " finances, and to borrow the other upon his own private credit " from bankers and money-lenders ; taking upon his own account " the balance that would still remain due, and undertaking to " come to an agreement on that subject with the army agents, " to whom he would pay it at such times as might be agreed " between them." He added, " That as to the tranquillity of the " country, and the peaceable behaviour of the inhabitants, he would " take that article totally upon himself, and would answer for " anyone's presuming to excite troubles, or turning refractory " Such a speech could not but please the Governor. It tranquillised his mind, and he answered by returning his acknowledgments, and by assuring him that "this was what had always been upper-" most in his thoughts: to satisfy the soldier, and to keep the " country quiet ; and that now, that such a point was secured, he " felt himself perfectly at ease, and as he was thoroughly con-" vinced that none but himself could discharge that important " trust with honour, so he would not cast his eyes upon any other " for bestowing it, being sensible that no one but himself could " render an important service in a delicate conjuncture." Hedáiet-aali-qhan having answered according to the propriety of the case, and the dignity of the two speakers, went home ; and sending for his younger brother, Mehdi-nessar-qhan, Paymaster-General

of the forces, and for the several Commanders with all the army-agents, he took upon himself the payment of their arrears; but obtained their promises that they would stand by their Governor in these times of difficulty, and would follow him in his expedition to Bengal. After this, he engaged them to leave their agents with him, that they might receive their respective balances, and furnish their respective receipts. This difficult business having been brought to an end, and the Governor being now easy in his mind, he made choice of a fortunate day, and set out for Bengal with five thousand cavalry, and about six or seven thousand infantry; carrying with him all his friends and favorites, and leaving the government of the province to Hedáiet-aaly-qhan, to whom he gave the investiture of that office in a rich Qhylaat. He took with him my paternal uncle, Mehdi-nessar-qhan, and also my maternal grand-uncle, Abdol-aaly-qhan, who having stretched every nerve to satisfy out of his private fortune all the men in his brigade, had engaged them by that effort to follow him to Bengal. It will not prove disagreeable to the reader to be told that a little before his departure, this nobleman had received another letter from Aaly-verdy-qhan, his kinsman, which contained the same invitation as the former, but where that Viceroy had wrote with his own hand in the margin this verse of the poet:

"We expected from our friends some proofs of their attachment;"

And here he had stopped short, without adding the second verse which would have closed the distich; but when the two noblemen arrived at M8rsh8d-abad with such numerous troops, and they went to pay their respects to their uncle, the latter on embracing Abdol-aaly-qhan, closed the distich, and added:

"But what we had been suspecting, proves to be an error."

Notwithstanding such a reinforcement, the Viceroy thought it prudent to assemble more forces; and he made additions to the several corps commanded by his Generals, taking care, however, to proportion the new levies to their respective merits. Mustapha-qhan's brigade, which was of five thousand men, was carried to eight thousand; his military degree was raised to five thousand horse, and his name received the epithet or title of the *Tiger in battle*;(18) and to that distinction was added a fringed Paleki and

(18) Babr-djung.

a kettle-drum. The title of ***Bahadyr*** or valiant was also conferred on Fakyr-ollah-beg-qhan and on N8rollah-beg-qhan, as well as on Mir-djaafer-qhan, who was allied to the Viceroy, and on Háider-aaly-qhan, who was brother to Husséin-c8ly-qhan ; and to this distinction, was added the more substantial one of an augmentation on the numbers of their respective brigades. This latter favour, together with a higher pay, and several marks of honour and distinction, was likewise bestowed on Bahadyr-aaly-qhan, who commanded the artillery ; and on Omer-qhan, Shimshir-qhan, and Serdar-qhan, who were Afghan officers. To these precautions was added that of repairing thoroughly the artillery both light and heavy, and of making some augmentations in it ; and at the same time, some war-elephants were trained to march close to the Viceroy's elephant and on his front. In short, no preparative that could be thought of having been omitted, Aaly-verdy-qhan waited with impatience the end of the rainy season.

It was in this critical conjuncture that a mobleman from the Imperial Court announced his arrival in Bengal. It was M8rid-qhan, who came on purpose for enforcing payment of the revenue of that country, which of late had proved much arreared. The Viceroy who had objections both to his errand, and to his entrance into Bengal, requested his stopping at Azim-abad, where he was to wait until the Marhatta invasion could be brought to a conclusion. Meanwhile, he wrote to the Emperor (and this was Mahmed-shah), " That at present his faithful servant had it no " in his power to forward, as usual, the Imperial revenue, being " totally disabled by the Marhatta's invasion ; which also had " obliged him to dismiss the Valiant M8rid-qhan, from M8r-" sh8d-abad (a city now become the theatre of war), and to desire " him to tranquillise himself at Azim-abad, until an end was put " to the Marhatta ravages ; but that with God's blessing, he " hoped that, under the fortunate auspices of His Majesty, he " would give a good account of those freebooters, especially if at " such a critical time as this, it should be his Imperial pleasure to " send some nobleman of the presence, or any other General to " assist his own efforts ; as it was feared that should any accident " happen to him in this warfare, the enemy would not fail to " possess himself of the country, and to occasion thereby a heavy " loss to the Imperial treasury and wardrobe, which both wer

"chiefly supplied from the revenue and manufactures of Bengal. "So that to assist his faithful servant, and to pay a proper atten- "tion to the state of things, were considerations highly important, "and highly deserving the care of the Imperial mind; being in "their nature such as would prove highly conducive to the wel- "fare of the whole Empire." The petition having been perused by the Emperor, and the truth of what it contained, ascertained beyond dispute, Mahmed-shah became apprehensive of the consequences; and he not only held consultations with his Ministers, but he also asked Emir-qhan's advice, although that nobleman was now far off at his Government of Ilah-abad. Such being the opinion entertained of his attachment and abilities, that the Emperor wrote him a letter with his own hand. Emir-qhan, in his answer, agreed with all the Ministers on the propriety and necessity of succouring Aaly-verdy-qhan, whose merits were unquestionable. The Emperor, therefore, wrote a letter in his own hand to Ab8l-mans8r-qhan, son-in-law and successor to Saadet-qhan in the province of A8d. That General commanded in a country contiguous to those governed by the Viceroy of Bengal; and he was known to be master of a good army and a good artillery. The Emperor commanded his marching immediately to Aaly-verdy-qhan's assistance; and he wrote also to Emir-qhan, to urge Ab8l-mans8r-qhan's departure, and to afford him every assistance in his power. He also wrote to Baladji-rão, who was Commander-in-Chief of all the Marhatta forces, and he laid his commands upon him to this purport: "That as great sums accru- "ed to his benefit from the payments made him by the Imperial "treasury on account of the Chöut, and those payments were "likely to suffer greatly from the ravages made in Bengal by the "insolent freebooters, sent thither by Rago-dji-bhoslah, under "the command of Bha-suker-pandet; it was proper he should "repair thither to inflict such a chastisement on those plunderers "as might deter them from ever renewing their insolencies again."

The Emperor sends Ab8l-mans8r-qhan and Baladji-rão to succour Bengal.

Whilst the Emperor was writing to the Viceroy, and exorting the Marhatta General, Aaly-verdy-qhan was assembling a numerous army with a great train of artillery; and having invoked the assistance of the Omnipotent succourer, he quitted the city, accompanied by his two sons-in-law, by his kinsman, Abdol-aaly-qhan, and by a great number of persons of distinction,

attached to his person. Nevazish-mahmed-qhan, his elde nephew, was left in the city with his brigade and a sufficie number of troops for the protection of that Capital, in which he was appointed Deputy Governor. So that the Viceroy quitted the suburbs on the decline of the rainy season, indeed, but whilst the ground was yet miry and intersected by an infinity of waters; such being his eagerness to fight Bha-sukur, and his settled resolution to drive those ravagers out of Bengal. In a few days' march he arrived at the wished for spot which was over against Catwa, from which he was parted only by the Bagrawty, the river that flows at M8rsh8d-abad. For eight days together, the two armies cannonaded each other across the river, Bha-sukur being encamped on the other side; but he had also troops on this side the river which fronted Aaly-verdy-qhan. The main of his army was on the other side with the Bagrawty on his flank, and the lesser river of Adji on his front; and so well was he served by Mir-habib, that he had also a sloop anchored on the middle of the river, the artillery of which played on the flank of the Bengal army, and proved a great bar to their crossing the river. So that Aaly-verdy-qhan ordered his troops to cross over in a dark night upon a bridge of boats; after which they were to cross the Adji also, upon another such a bridge, and then to fall immediately on the Marhatta camp. As the country extending from the Adji on both sides of the Bagrawty was free from Marhattas, the Viceroy found means to form a bridge with large boats, and to carry his whole army over with a great deal of ease and in one night; after which the boats of the middle of the bridge being let down the stream, by one and two at a time, were ranged at the mouth of the Adji. It happened that the Marhattas were fast asleep, (and so was their fortune) and that no body did hail the boats, or if any did, the boatmen would give them an answer, and then would continue to slide down. By such a manœuvre, a number of boats were assembled in the Adji, where they served to make a bridge over it, and it was completed a little before day-break at about half a cosse above the Marhatta camp; nor did the Marhattas get any intelligence of this double manœuvre, or even suspect anything of either, and therefore they made no kind of opposition. The second bridge then being finished, Aaly-verdy-qhan ordered his best Commanders with their brigades to pass on

foot and in silence. These were Mutapha-qhan, and Shimshir-qhan, and Umer-qhan, and Rehem-qhan, and Djaafer-qhan. He was himself at the head of the bridge, and recommended to them to cross over briskly, and to fall at once upon the enemy, without giving them time to recover from their surprise, assuring them at the same time that, whilst they should be engaged, himself with the main of the army would cross the river, and support them betimes, without giving the enemy time to form and to remedy the disorder. The scheme was well laid; and the bravest and most forward of the army, resolved to gain honour, were already passing over the bridge, when by an unforeseen accident, one or two of the boats in the middle of the bridge gave way, and sunk. The night being dark and those on the bridge making haste to advance, whilst those behind were heedlessly pushing forwards, vast numbers of men fell in the water, and were swallowed up in the eddies of an unexpected death. It is credibly reported that fifteen hundred brave men lost their lives by that accident, and some say much more. It was after losing such a number of men, that the breach at the bridge became known, and people stopped short where they were, in expectation of seeing it repaired. But Aaly-verdy-qhan was so well served, that the breach was made up instantly by other boats; and the foremost and bravest passed on eagerly. The day was going to dawn, and hardly two or three thousand men had passed, when these having consulted together, concluded that if they gave time to the enemy to take a view of their numbers, the affair might take a bad turn; but that if they should fall to immediately, everything might be expected from the surprise. The valorous chiefs, after a short consultation, took to their sabres and bucklers; and making a short prayer, they pushed on at full speed, and in an instant broke through the enemy's encampment. Cries arose immediately that Aaly-verdy-qhan was arrived, and that mighty army of Marhattas, without further inquiry and without further intelligence, mounted immediately and fled on all sides; whilst the braves that pursued them, with sabres as destructive and as sudden as lightning, were slaughtering them by shoals, and strewing the ground with their dead. Aaly-verdy-qhan having crossed the river in his boats of pleasure, sent them back to ferry the people over; and in a little time elephants and cannon, and heavy

A bridge breaks and occasions a great loss of men to the Viceroy.

artillery, and numbers of troops were already on this side, and eager to engage the enemies. Their General having ranged them in order, departed immediately, overtook his vanguard, and continued the pursuit, making a great slaughter of the enemies. The Marhattas with all their boasts and all their power, having just taken up what any one could carry upon his horse, left the remainder where it was, and continued flying incessantly, without ever looking behind, or taking notice of the small number and disorder of their enemies. After having run over a deal of ground and distanced their pursuers, some of them took time to breathe, and on looking behind, they observed the small number of their pursuers; upon which they turned about and skirmished in advancing about one mile; when having discovered that Aaly-verdy-qhan was in full march with his whole army and artillery, ready to chastise them, they made no stand, but turned about and continued their flight.

The Marhattas severely handled.

Aaly-verdy-qhan was the more inclined to ascribe this victory to the particular care of Providence, as the accident happened to those unfortunate men at the bridge, might have been of the utmost consequence, his vanguard being composed wholly of their friends and relations. He therefore gave his troops some rest, and for that day encamped in the Marhatta camp. The dead bodies were fished up, disengaged from their arms and clothes, and washed and purified, according to law, and committed to the earth. It was observed that they had a bluish appearance. Doubtless it was because the weather was so very hot, it being the end of the rains; and because the unfortunate people being straightened by their arms and clothes, had undergone a kind of strangulation and choking. This remarkable victory was obtained in the month of Shaaban of the year 1155 of the Hedjrah; and Bha-sukur sensible that he had done as much as could be done, took to the valleys of the Pachaet country; his troops in the utmost fear and confusion, evacuating the districts of H8gly, Bardevan and Midnip8r, and all the other countries, which they had taken possession of. They were flying everywhere, and everywhere pursued by Aaly-verdy-qhan, who intent on their destruction, did not take a day's rest. Bha-sukur intimidated by the enemy's eagerness, struck into a tract full of brambles and thorny broken grounds, where the pursuers and the pursued were

hardly differenced by a distance of six or seven cosses. In a few days they both arrived in a woody tract full of snakes and large red ants, but so incredibly beset with tall trees and underwood; that in no part of the forest could two horsemen pass abreast. Insomuch that it became impossible for the officers to know where their own men were. So far from being able to hear of the enemy, Bha-sukur unable to open his way to his own frontiers, through such a difficult country, and at a loss how to manage with such an enemy at his heels, found himself obliged to leave the management of the march to Mir-habib; and that able General found means to bring him back to the woods of Bishenp8r, from whence he proceeded through the plain of Chendracona, and at last emerged about Midnip8r. From thence he sent troops to oppose Sheh-maas8m, in Oressa, a Commander who encamped at Hariarp8r with a handful of men. The Marhattas informed of the feebleness of his force, fell upon him, after having several times offered him terms, which he has often refused; so that the brave officer listening only to his sense of honour and fidelity, came out of his lines with his handful of men, and after a furious engagement which cost much blood, he fell like a brave man, selling his life to the highest bidder.

Meanwhile Aaly-verdy-qhan informed that the Marhattas having given him the slip, had shown themselves in the Midnip8r, marched back from that difficult country; and having crossed the whole Bardevan, he advanced with a resolution to attack them. So much expedition and perseverance could not but add to the fears of the Marhatta General, who far from being recovered from his panic of Catwa, fled again from Midnip8r, and then to Balisser-bender (Balassor), all this while without being able to get rid of his pursuers, as the Viceroy was continuing the pursuit without giving himself any rest. The Marhattas tired with so much obstinacy, faced about and resolved to try his chance again. The action was warm, and cost the lives of a number of brave men on both sides; but still with a greater loss on the side of Bha-sukur, who finding that his difficulties increased upon him, fled again, and was still pursued by the bravest and best mounted of the Bengal army; whilst the Viceroy followed with the main and an artillery of such large cannon, as would have shaken the globe. Matters came to such a pass,

that the Marhattas often cut down, and then endlessly pursued, and often experiencing the heavy blows of the enemies, at last lost courage, and could not be brought to face about, or to stand their ground for half an hour; and their General eternally pursued, fled again, until he reached the last boundaries of Oressa, and even through the frontiers of Decan; so that the Viceroy continued the pursuit as far as the Chilca Lake, where finding no enemy before him, and even no traces of their laggers, he returned crowned with glory to Catec, where hearing how bravely and faithfully he had been served by Sheh-Maas8m, he sent for his family, condoled with it, and took care of its well-being. The post of that brave man was given to Abdol-nebi-qhan, uncle to Mustapha-qhan, on whose recommendation his military degree was raised up to three thousand horse, to which distinction was added an augmentation in the effective men of his regiment, a kettle-drum, a fringed Paleky, and the title of Bahadyr or Valiant. A number of other troops were commanded to attend him, and he received strict orders to keep a watchful eye over the enemy's motions. This officer, on his nephew's invitation, had quitted Samana, the place of his nativity and that of his ancestors: and with a choice body of men, composed entirely of his own nation, and officered by his own family, he had joined the army a little after the battle of Bardevan, where he had offered his services to the Viceroy. His brigade, which was of no less than five thousand men, was ordered to remain with him; and to this was added a body of musqueteers, and as much artillery and necessaries as the time and place seemed to require. But as the man, being a rough soldier, understood very little of administration, the son of the first Minister, Djankiram, was ordered to attend to that business under the title of his Pishcar or agent. This was Radja D8l8bram.

It was after those arrangements had already been taken, that news came of Ab8l-mans8r-qhan's arrival at Azim-abad, and also of some disobliging actions of his, which rendered it necessary to find a remedy, unless he came to some concessions. Such an intelligence having hastened the Viceroy's departure from Catec, he recommended the country and inhabitants to the care of the new Governor, hung at his ear two pendants of wholesome advice, and set out on his return to M8rsh8d-abad, carrying with him his

two sons-in-law, his friends, and the rest of his troops. He traversed the Midnip8r and Bardevan ; and it was in this last place he received intelligence that Ab8l-mans8r-qhan had returned to his own country. This was at the very time when Aaly-verdy-qhan was taking measures to drive him away. The singular behaviour of that pretended succourer had made such an impression on his mind, that some days before, he had put this question to Mustapha-qhan : "General," said he, "you hear that the Viceroy "of A8d acts very much like an enemy. He disposes of every-"thing in my country, with as little ceremony as if he were at home. "Should it become necessary to make him change his manners, "how are we to manage? For the Marhattas find me work enough." The General, without hesitation, answered, *that he did not see there any matter that should require much deliberation ; let your Highness tear this man to pieces,* added he, *and let me scamper after the other ; and rest assured that a good account shall be given of him.* Whilst the Viceroy was musing on this answer, news came that Baladji-rão, the Marhatta Generalissimo, having set out by the Emperor's order for succouring Bengal, was arrived at a few days from M8rsh8d-abad; so that the Viceroy hastened his march, sensible that he would hardly have landed in his palace, before he should have been obliged to leave it again.

By this time the news of the victories over the Marhattas had reached the Imperial Court, and the Emperor, perfectly satisfied with the Viceroy's conduct, wrote him with his own hand a letter full of encomiums, bestowed on him the title of *Hessam-el-mulk,* or Sword of the Kingdom, and added to that favour that of a rich Sabre and Poniard, with a *Serpich* or circlet, and *Djica* or Aigrette, and a chaplet of large pearl ; and not content with those honours, he sent him a whole dress of his own wearing. He at the same time complied with the petition he had sent up, and conferred new titles and new honours on the principal persons of his family. Nevazish-mahmed-qhan, who enjoyed already the title of the Valorous in Wars, was decorated with that of the Respectable of the Empire ; Säyd-ahmed-qhan, already the Impetuous in Battles, was proclaimed the Important of the Empire, and Zin-eddin-ahmed-qhan, already the Imposing in Battles, became the Honour of the State. At the same time the epithet of the Honoured of the Empire was bestowed on

Ata-ollah-qhan, and those of *Qhan* or Lord, and *Bahadyr* or Valiant, on Mustapha-qhan, who also received the patents of a command of three thousand horse.

But as we have only been hinting at the extreme impropriety of Ab8l-mans8r-qhan's conduct at Azim-abad, it becomes our duty to explain that subject more fully. His arrival at that city happened about the beginning of Shevval, 1155, and his departure about the end of the next month, precisely about the time when Aaly-verdy-qhan finding no enemies to contend with, gave the pursuit over at the lake of Chilca, and returned victorious to Catec, where he received those letters from Azim-abad that excited his indignation. But he was already in the neighbourhood of M8rsh8d-abad, when there appeared on the opposite neighbourhood of that city, two Marhatta armies, full as dangerous the one as the other, although Rago-dji-bhosslah, who commanded the one was come to ravage Bengal, and the Generalissimo Baladji-rão, who was at the head of the other, had orders to protect and succour that country. This was in the year 1156. It was at such a conjuncture, that those whom the prosperity of our family had rendered jealous found means to throw a very invidious light on the nature of the connection between my honoured father and Ab8l-mans8r-qhan. So slight an acquaintance, which had been forced upon him by the necessity of the times, was converted into a crime within Aaly-verdy-qhan's hearing, and especially in the presence of his nephew, who was Governor-General of Bahar. Such an imputation drew consequences after it, which did not fail to put an end to the intimacy that had hitherto subsisted between those illustrious persons, and to turn sentiments of love and attachment into mutual disgust and heart burnings. This misunderstanding happened in the following manner: As soon as the rainy season was over, and the miry roads were already drying up, Ab8l-mans8r-qhan set out of A8d, his capital, and advanced towards Azim-abad. He was at the head of a very respectable force, consisting of about ten thousand Hindostanies, all stout men, well mounted, and well accoutred; and seven thousand Moghuls, all well armed, and all mounted on horses of their own country. These were mostly deserters from the army of Nadyr shah; all old soldiers, accustomed to long marches and frequent successes. He had besides a numerous artillery well served; and it was followed by a camp amply

furnished with everything that could be desired.(19) On his setting out he wrote in these terms to Emir-qhan, Viceroy of Ilahabad, who was his friend and patron: "Your respectful friend on "His Majesty's special command, backed by your own advice and "request, is going to succour the Viceroy of Bengal, who is hard "pressed by the Marhattas. But as such an expedition shall to "all appearance be liable to a variety of difficulties and obstacles; "and on the other hand, it is well known that my own Govern-"ment is a continual scene of insurrections and troubles, and full "of Zemindars, accustomed to insubordination and independence, "whose refractory necks, of course, require continually a curbing "hand; my situation at the very setting out becomes perilous. "I can neither leave my consort and family amongst them, nor "carry them decently along with me; nor do I possess, or see "about me, any such place of shelter where I might leave them "with safety. Your humble servant supplicates, therefore, that "you vouchsafe him the fortress of Chennar; after which favour "your respectful suitor having his heart set at ease about these "two delicate articles, shall proceed with peace of mind on his "expedition." Emir-qhan on perusing that letter, complied with the request, and sending Ab8l-mans8r-qhan the patent of Governor of Chennar, he ordered his own Governor to evacuate the place, and to deliver it to him. Ab8l-mans8r-qhan furnished with such credentials, threw a bridge of boats on the Ganga, at Banares; and having crossed over, he went with his whole family to see and admire the fortress of Chennar;(20) after which he placed

(19) These expressions of our author about artilleries well served, ought not to mislead the reader; for although those expressions occur frequently, it is certain that all those artilleries were as cumbersome and as ill-mounted and served as were the artilleries of Europe three hundred years ago. It is only since the year 1760, that some Indians have put themselves upon the footing of having an artillery mounted and served *nearly* in the European manner; although it is indubitable that they had gunpowder and firearms so early as five thousand years ago, as it is indubitable that silkworms, Grecian fire or gunpowder and *Bombikinas*, or *Pambakinus*, that is, *Pamback*, or cotton came together from India to Europe in Justinian's time, about twelve centuries ago.

(20) Chennar, or as it is pronounced by the Natives Chennar-gur, although a fortress upon a rock, as are almost all the fortresses of India, is not to be compared to Gôaliar, Rotass, Gandicotta, and so many others. It has no ground within itself capable of furnishing for years together to the subsistence of a garrison; nor has it so many conveniencies. Nevertheless it is so happily seated on a neck of land,

in it a garrison and a Governor of his own, and continued his route to Azim-abad, together with his consort and family, his design being to send them back immediately to Chennar, should there be a necessity of fighting the enemy at Azim-abad. He marched with a pomp equally warlike and imposing. The poorman's father, Seid Hedáiet-aaly-qhan, Bahadyr, was at that time Deputy Governor of the province of Azim-abad, where he soon received from his master, Zin-eddin-ahmed-qhan, a letter in these terms: "Ab8l-mans8r-qhan, *the Impetuous in Wars*, is commanded by the "Imperial Court to come to the assistance of His Sublime Highness, the Formidable in Battles, who is the Intrepid of the State, "and the Sword of the Empire. Whenever that General shall "have come near the city, you are to go out to meet him, and "to do everything which you shall deem proper for receiving, "entertaining, welcoming, and obliging him; and let there not "happen anything that may give him displeasure."

Ab8l-man-s8r-qhan, marches to succour the Viceroy of Bengal.

As Ab8l-mans8r-qhan was approaching, a panic seized all the inhabitants of Azim-abad, who dreaded the character which those deserters from Nadyr-shah's army bore all over those parts for their insubordination and their ferocity. This character of theirs was so well known, that the citizens were as consterned, as if they had been called up for the last judgment. They had heard of the cruelties exercised at the general massacre of Shah-djehan-abad, and knew that their Deputy Governor, although furnished with a body of troops suitable to his office and station, was by no means equal to a contest with so formidable a guest, who was followed by an unbridled soldiery, of whose fury and resoluteness they had conceived the highest opinion. Nor was the Deputy-Governor himself without his apprehensions on that account, as he had not the least connection with that General; and the necessity of providing for his own honour, dictated the propriety of seeking out some mediator. Luckily for him, he now recollected that M8rid-qhan, the nobleman sent from Court, and relegated by Aaly-verdy-qhan at Azim-abad, was a Sëyd of the race of the Tebatebas, as well as my honoured father himself; and as this circumstance had soon produced an acquaintance which had occasioned much intercourse, and then a strict intimacy, he was

almost surrounded by the Ganges, that it commands effectually that river, and the plain on both sides of the water. It is about fifteen English miles from Banares.

thought by my father the fittest person for the office of introductor and mediator with Ab8l-mans8r-qhan: for he was himself a Lord of the presence, and had been at Delhi a great friend of Ab8l-mans8r-qhan's. To M8rid-qhan, therefore, he disclosed his apprehensions in a distant indirect manner; and this nobleman having quieted his mind on that head, took upon himself the task of introducing him to that General. With that view he quitted the city, and went to meet that new comer, from whose camp he in a few days wrote to my father to inform him "that he might "come by all means, without any fear and without giving himself "the least uneasines on what he had so much apprehended." This letter was accompanied by one from the General himself, which was conceived in terms full of kindness and expressed a desire to see him. The Deputy Governor, encourged by these letters, advanced as far as Monir, where he paid his respects to the General as he was passing, by whom he was received and spoke to with much kindness and affability; after which he came with his retinue to Azim-abad, where one of Ab8l-mans8r-qhan's first order was, *to clear the castle of every thing and person belonging to the Governor-General, Zin-eddin-ahmed-qhan*. He had already sent a guard of Moghuls to take possession of the gates; so that it became impossible to bring anything out of the Governor's lodgings. However, when night came on, my father sent me with a number of trusty men, who found means to bring together in one place the furniture and things belonging to his master; from whence they were carried with silence and precaution out of the castle to a house that had been appropriated to that service, but from whence it became necessary to carry them farther again into a house close to our own lodgings, where they remained safe. The next day Ab8l-mans8r-qhan made a pompous entry into Azim-abad; and without stopping anywhere, he repaired to the castle, where he placed a number of his own men, after having taken a slight survey of it; from thence he went to perform his devotions at the mausoleum of his maternal-uncle, (monument that goes by the name of Saadet-qhan's father) and after having religiously visited the place, and pronounced a short prayer, he returned to his camp, which had been pitched at Baky-poor. Thither he was followed by every one of the Crown-officers, by the heads of office, by all the Mansubdars, and

Overbearing behaviour of Ab8l-mans8r-qhan's.

Zemindars, and Djaghirdars, and by all the men of distinction in the city, who made it a point to figure amongst the foremost of those that presented him their Nuzurs and respects. But as he was exceedingly proud, and assuming, he barely received their homages, without paying any more attention to the highest than he did to the lowest of them: a disdainful behaviour that made every one of the visitors return home very much dissatisfied with the success of this visit; nor did he use the Governor-General less cavalierly. There were then at Azim-abad some war-elephants, perfectly well trained, which the Governor-General had left there as a resource against the Marhattas; but Ab8l-mans8r-qhan no sooner heard of them, than he sent for my honoured father, and desired his making those animals over to him on what price he chose to fix upon them. Hedáiet-aaly-qhan answered in these very words: "My Lord, neither my master is a merchant, nor is "your servant his shopkeeper. You are a mighty Lord and Com-"mander, and so is my Lord and Commander; moreover there "intervenes between you and him so much intercourse and ..ion, "that it would be injurious to think that two such illustrious "personages can become strangers to each other. Of course what-"ever belongs to him, belongs also to his friend; your Excellency, "therefore, may take whatever you please; but I, as his servant, "cannot give any thing, without an express order from him." To this speech no regard was paid; and Ab8l-mans8r-qhan having cast the eye of covetousness upon so small an object, as three or four elephants and three or four pieces of cannon, sent for them by his own people, and kept them in his camp. Such proceedings having been reported at M8rsh8d-abad, displeased Aaly-verdy-qhan so much, that he wrote him a letter in a proper style, where he desired him to forbear coming to M8rsh8d-abad, as it would be better for him to return to his own Government. He also sent ap a petition to the Emperor purporting, "that he did "not stand in need of such assisters, as by God's blessing, and "under His Majesty's auspices, his servant would shew what he "could perform; and that as no cordiality could ever take place "between such a succourer and himself, his faithful subject, he "hoped that Ab8l-mans8r-qhan would be ordered back to his "own Government." The Emperor, informed of the matter, wrote to Ab8l-mans8r-qhan, commanding his returning to his post; and

in giving the letter to that General's agent, he intimated his pleasure that his master should depart immediately on the receipt of it. But before this order could arrive from the capital, Ab8l-mans8r-qhan was already informed of its contents, as well as of the effect which Aaly-verdy-qhan's representation had made on the Emperor's mind. He had likewise received intelligence by the same channel that Baladji-räo was by the Emperor's own command putting himself in motion, and that he would soon be expected at Azim-abad in his march to Bengal, where he was directed to succour Aaly-verdy-qhan. Now as there subsisted much enmity between that General and Baladji-räo on account of the bloody defeat given to Baladji-räo's father by Saadet-qhan, and of the many Marhatta Commanders which had fallen in the victor's hands, and were still kept confined by his son-in law, Ab8l-mans8r-qhan; the latter who suspected every one of Baladji-räos motions, thought it best to be arrived betimes at A8d, his own capital. Quitting, therefore, Azim-abad without loss of time, he advanced to Monir, where he crossed the Ganga on a bridge of boats, which he threw on that river; from whence he by long marches proceeded to his own country; and it was from Monir he dismissed the Deputy Governor, who out of respect had accompanied him so far.

This visit of his to Ab8l-mans8r-qhan, although dictated by necessity, was represented by envy and detraction in a very bad light. It was varnished likewise with an imputation of such sinister purposes, as had never so much as entered into that wothy man's mind; and as on the other hand both Aaly-verdy-qhan and his nephew had already suspicions against M8rid-qhan's journey and errand, and they were much displeased at some vile actions and some very improper behaviour of Ab8l-mans8r-qhan's; the accusations against the Deputy sunk the deeper in their minds as being seemingly founded on facts uncontroverted. Both therefore were incensed against him, and the young Governor-General more than any other; but this, however, he kept concealed in his mind, reserving it for a proper opportunity, which he hoped would arise whenever his uncle should have defeated and expelled the Marhattas; at which time he would be freed from the necessity of foreign assistance. However, notwithstanding so much dissimulation he at once substituted Räy-Chintamundass,

The author's father is misrepresented.

his Divan, to Hedáiet-aaly-qhan in the office of Nàib or Deputy Governor of Azim-abad; but this Minister falling sick after his arrival at that city, where he died after a short illness, the city remained for some time without ruler or a man in power. It was at this critical moment that news came of Baladji-rão's approach with no less than forty of fifty thousand horse. And what added to the terror of the inhabitants was, that by this time it became known that all along his passage he had exacted contributions; and that whoever had paid with a good grace, had had his person, lands, and country, spared; but that whoever had pretended to stand upon his defence, had not failed of having his person plundered, his country ruined, and his tenants put to the sword.(21) Such was the fate which availed a nobleman called Ahmed-qhan, who was grandson to Dà8d-qhan, Coreishy, and held in fief the two districts of Incha and Gow in the province of Azim-abad, where he lived in Dà8d-nugur, a town which had been founded and peopled by his grandfather. This man thinking that the Marhatta General, intent on going to Aaly-verdy-qhan's assistance, would not lose any time in forming sieges, took shelter in Ghò8ss-gur, a fort which he had built and fortified himself, close to Dà8d-nugur, and where he retired with his family, troops, and all the merchants and moneyed men of the country, resolved to stand upon his defence, and to pay no contribution. Baladji-rão, informed of this, sent troops to chastise the man, and to destroy his fort. The troops advancing first against Dà8d-nugur, sacked and burned it to the ground; and then made use of the bricks and other materials to fill up the ditch of the Fort of Ghò8ss-gur, which was close to it, and which they besieged immediately. This fight having put an end to Ahmed-qhan's pride, and also to his presence of mind, he made his escape through one of the gates; and now convinced of his impotence, he availed himself of the mediation of some merchants within the fort, to make his peace with the Marhattas, and to ransom his life for fifty thousand rupees.

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(21) What are we to think of those Viceroys and those Generalissimoes sent by an Imperial order to succour a province of the Empire; and what are we to conclude from their treating everywhere that province as an enemy's country? That the Empire had lost all that respect formerly paid to it, and administration, its energy; and of course that a revolution was at hand, as in fact it soon took place.

Such violences and extortions soon came to the ears of the citizens of Azim-abad, who became distracted with fears and apprehensions. They assembled in great numbers about my honoured father's house, and the principal of them represented "that he was the only man of weight and authority in the city; and of course, the only one that could exert himself so effectually as to provide for the honour and safety of those multitudes of honest folks that lived within those walls." For all answer Hedáiet-aaly-qhan, who had already sent his family on the other side of the Ganga,(22) advised them all to secure their properties and families in the same manner; after which he promised to stand by them at all events. This advice having been complied with, that nobleman waited anxiously with all the inhabitants in expectation of what might come to be their fate. In this general consternation Heaven seemed to have suscited a Saviour for them. There happened to be in those very days, at Azim-abad, a very extraordinary man (to whom may God have granted letters of naturalisation in the kingdom of Paradise!) This man was Sĕyd-aalim-ollah-Tebateba, grandfather of me, the most inconsiderable of mankind, who chanced to arrive in that city at a time when nothing was to be heard of or seen, but uproar and consternation. In vain did his son, our honoured Hedáiet-aaly-qhan, supplicate His Highness to cross the Ganga with the others, and to take his abode on the other side. The venerable nobleman refused to listen to such an advice, both because it was derogatory to his personal dignity, and because it would betray a lack of confidence in the resources of Providence. But as in consequence of his skill in the interpretation of the word of God, he seemed to be taught and inspired by God himself, so as to have some fore-knowledge of his ineffable ways; he was far from taking fright, as others had done; and he incessantly exhorted them to tarry in the city, as no harm would befall any one of them. One day he mounted very early his horse, and against his custom, he went alone, and so far as to take a circuit of the whole extent of the walls; and

(22) This river is a sufficient barrier. It consists in the driest weather of three streams, divided by sands, but fifteen or twenty feet deep; and in the rains those streams unite, and form a sheet of water several miles broad upon a depth of six, seven, and ten fathoms; and the stream runs then at the rate of from seven to twelve miles per hour.

on his return, as if he had made some discovery, or had received some inspiration from above, he bid my father be of good cheer, exhorted him to encourage the inhabitants, and steadily assured them, that no one amongst them would feel anything of the storm which was drawing near. Thanks, infinite thanks be to God, that the event happened precisely as it had been foretold! Such was that admirable personage; and were we to mention everything we know of the dignity of his behaviour, and of the wisdom of his words, that mention would soon swell into a complete volume. But as the humblest and most inconsiderable of mankind, has ventured to write a piece of verses under the title of the *Priest's Humanity,* in which I am endeavouring to give a feeble and very unadequate idea of his extraordinary character, and of a few of his very singular sayings and actions, I flatter myself that the curious shall condescend to recur to that small performance. At present our business is to mention the singular manner in which an attentive Providence has vouchsafed to interpose a finger in this unexpected event. It happened by the emanation of Divine mercy, and the merits of His Majesty the Prince of Messengers, as well as those of his pure and immaculate offspring, that a gentleman, named Govind-dji-nàic, who was a distant relation of Baladji-rão's, chanced then to be occupied in mercantile matters, and in the banking business at Banares, from whence he had extended his concerns to Azim-abad and to the country adjoining; in both which capacities he had chanced to be several times employed by my honoured father in his times of power and prosperity. In this manner he had made no inconsiderable gains, and had obtained a variety of benefits that had produced an honourable well-being for him. This man who had never forgot the many favours he had received, and was thoroughly sensible of the truth of that adage, that *benefit is not to be requited but by benefit,* resolved to avail himself of his relationship, in order to procure some advantage to his ancient benefactor. Full of this idea, he made haste to quit Banares, and to repair to Baladji-rãos camp, where he exposed to that Generalissimo, his kinsman, how much he had been benefited by Hedáiet-aaly-qhan's patronage, and how much it was incumbent upon his gratitude to avail himself of the present opportunity to make some return. He ended his request by supplicating the

" Generalissimo to use that nobleman in such a manner, as that the " load of gratitude that rested so heavily on his kinsman's shoulder, " might become lighter at least, if not taken away altogether." The request pleased the Generalissimo; he praised the motives of his kinsman's eagerness, and he wrote immediately to Hedáiet-aaly-qhan a letter full of kindness and encomiums, in which he exhorted him to stay fearlessly in the city, and to tranquillise the minds of the inhabitants, as for his sake, he was resolved to offer no injury to any one of them. Not content with that, he accompanied his letter with several articles of the richest and most curious manufactures of Decan; and thanks be to God, he proved as good as his word; for it pleased His Divine mercy out of regard to the merits of my pure minded and immaculate bodied ancestors, to keep at a distance that hurricane of evils which was going to break upon the city of Azim-abad. Thanks be to the Divine mercy, and to the merits of His Messenger, that the venerable personage we have been mentioning with so much respect, having in his many peregrinations chanced to make a long sojourn at Azim-abad, every tongue became busy in publishing adequate encomiums on the purity of his morals, and the benignity of his behaviour and deportment. Nor can it be denied but that it is to the merits of that venerable personage, and to the opinion entertained by all ranks of the benefits derived from his presence, that the world must ascribe that constant regard and attention everywhere shewn to me the most inconsiderable of mankind, but his grandson, and to every one of his relations and descendants. It is to the influence of those merits of his, that I ascribe the many signal deliveries and providential escapes through which I have been more than once rescued from the most imminent dangers.

The city of Azim-abad rescued from impending devastation and plunders.

" It is before his death that the worthy man's merits must be known, and placed to his account;
" For none deserves to be deemed such, but he that carries such a character to the very grave."

After a digression which the reader shall set to the account of the importance of the personage, and the singularity of the event, we shall return to the thread of our history. Baladji-rão, sensible that an army of Marhattas would never remain under control at the sight of plunder, and anxious to approve himself

as good as his word, quitted Dáŏd-pŏr; and striking to the right, he continued his route by Ticarry and Gáya, behind Azim-abad, and at some distance from that city, through Manpŏr and Bahar, from whence he came again into the high road by Mongher and Baghalpŏr, two populous towns, the territory and inhabitants of which suffered exceedingly from the passage of his troops. Numbers had fled to the other side of the Ganga; but a lady of distinction, relict of Ghŏŏss-qhan, (a General of great character whom we have seen slain at the battle of Gheriah) being unable for want of means to cross the river with her numerous family; and having it not in her power to provide otherwise for her safety; resolved to stand her ground and to defend her honour to the the very last drop of her blood. This heroine called her relations and dependants together, exhorted them to perish rather than to behold their women defiled or even attempted; and finding them willing, she shut up the doors of her houses, barricaded her quarter, and arming her dependants with a small number of rusty musquets then at hand, she prepared to defend herself against that mighty host of foes. All the inhabitants had fled, or had submitted to defilement, and sack, and plunder; and it was only from that cluster of ruinous dwellings, that some opposition was exhibited, and a report of some firing was heard. The plunderers surprised at so unexpected an appearance, surrounded the refractory quarter, and were in doubt whether they should force it or not; for the firing went on, and some of their men were falling. But meanwhile intelligence of this strange event having reached the ears of the Marhatta General, it excited a sense of admiration mixed with curiosity. Upon enquiry about that strange event, he was informed "that the widow of a renowned General, "being through poverty unable to provide herself with lodgings "and subsistence on the other side of the water, had resolved to "bury herself under the ruins of her house, rather than to suffer "any defilement. That she had barricaded her quarter, and with a "handful of dependants, whom her resolution had roused, she "was defending it so well, that the plunderers, little accustomed "to find so much resistance, had not dared to attempt it, and "were only looking at it from afar. The intelligence pleased Baladji-rāo. He was astonished to find so much daringness in a woman; and not content with praising her resolution, he sent her

Singular resolution of a lady at Baghalpŏr, who defends her quarter and house against the Marhatta army.

a kind message, which he accompanied with a present of some curious stuffs of Decan, and some curious brocades; and to put her house and quarter out of all danger, he sent a detachment of his bodyguards to take charge of it, with orders not to stir from thence, until the whole army should be gone and far off. He added, that they would answer to him for any insult she might suffer. After giving this order he continued his route by the hilly country; and the guards having strictly executed their orders, took a respectful leave of the heroine, and rejoined their main. The Marhatta General continued his route through hills and woods, and after some days' march, he emerged in the plains of the Birbohom, which is a tract in the neighbourhood of M8rsh8d-abad.

Rhago-dji-bhosslah was on his side approaching that city. That Prince incited by Bha-sukur, his General, had set up another army, with which he had again invaded Bengal, near the capital of which he was now encamped, whilst Baladji-räo was on the other side; so that the unhappy country was in prey to two armies of freebooters at one and the same time, and seemed to be covered by an inundation. Baladji-räo being yet encamped below Baghal-p8r, Aaly-verdy-qhan gave him the meeting there at the head of a numerous army; and on hearing that the Generalissimo was just landed in his quarter, he went to make him a visit. It was on the bank of the Ganga. As soon as he was described, the Marhatta General advanced to meet him, and having embraced him according to the Hindostanee custom, he brought him by the hand to his tent, where he made him sit close to himself on the same Mesned; so that those mighty personages gave an image of the conjunction of those two celestial bodies, Mars and Jupiter. After the usual compliments, and the customary ceremonies and presents, they parted; and Aaly-verdy-qhan returned to his camp. This ambiguous visit was returned the next day, and the Viceroy of Bengal having advanced a great way to meet his guest, brought him to his tent of audience, where he made him sit on the same Mesned with himself; and Paan (Beetle), and essence of roses having been served, a number of trays were brought in, which contained a variety of the most curious and costly stuffs; and to these were joined a number of plates of gold, strewed with a variety of jewels and gems; after which came a chaplet of pearl and a lofty elephant. Some words were likewise exchanged about the

Ambiguous meeting of the Viceroy of Bengal with the Marhatta Generalissimo

necessity of quieting the country, and opposing Rhago-dji; after which Baladji-rão took his leave and returned to his camp. The next morning the Viceroy sent a message about the propriety of driving Rhago-dji out of Bengal. The other answered the proposal, by bringing forward the *chöut*, or annual tribute, which was these many years due by the province of Azim-abad; and he added some complaints about its not being paid this longwhile. It was Mustapha-qhan, and the Viceroy of Bahar, who were entrusted with the message and answer; and as necessity knows no laws, the total of the outstanding debt was cast up; and although it amounted to a mighty sum, payment was promised. The Viceroy took from thence occasion to propose that the two armies should march jointly against Rhago-dji; and at the same time he beat the General, as if intending to march directly. But this was forbidden by the Generalissimo, who sent a person of consequence to carry the message; and as it became expedient to comply with the injunction, the Viceroy in a few days paid down the whole of the outstanding debt, and took occasion to renew his request of marching against what he called the common enemy, that is, against Rhago-dji. This Marhatta Prince who now lay encamped between Catwa and Bardevan, was soon apprised of this union of concerns, true or apparent; and thinking himself an undermatch for such powerful adversaries, by one of which his troops had been so often conquered, he thought it expedient to march off, taking his route by the western tracts of Bengal. The Viceroy informed of this retreat, crossed the Bagwraty, and pursued vigorously. But after one or two days' march, he received a message from Baladji-rão, which requested "his not parting "with him, as he conceived that the Bengal army would not be "able to overtake the enemy." He added, "that if he persisted, "he would be obliged to take another road, in which case he "reckoned that in a few days he would soon overtake the flying "enemy, and give a good account of him." And really he marched off the next day, and having soon overtaken Rhago-dji, he gave him a defeat, and forced him to quit the plains, and to retire through the chains of western hills, from whence the latter expected to reach his own frontiers by following certain valleys. This retreat he effected, but it was at the expense of the greatest part of his baggage, which he left by the way. This flight of

the master having struck a panic in his Lieutenant, Bha-fukur, who was encamped at Midnip8r, he raised his camp immediately, and took to the mountains that border on Oressa, flying all the while in the utmost disorder and consternation. His distress afforded Baladji-rão a full opportunity to retire on his side. This Generalissimo, under pretence of executing the Imperial order, and succouring the Viceroy, had in reality put him under contribution as well as his whole country; and having now received the arrears which he pretended, and carried some other points, he retired to his dominions in Decan. And his camp and equipage were already far off, when his Vekil or agent, who had tarried behind to put the finishing hand to some affairs that had been entrusted to his care and to Mustapha-qhan, presumed so far on the prevalence of the Marhatta power, and the feebleness of the Empire, as to make use of improper expressions, and to talk in a high strain. This being more than could be borne by that General, who was naturally sudden and haughty, he threatened the agent with getting his clothes torn to shivers upon his back; and this order having been put in execution instantly, the agent retired covered with shame and disgrace, but with a quick resentment at the insult that had been offered to his person and character. He talked of breaking the conferences and returning to his master; but as such a step would have produced very heavy consequences the Viceroy sent for him, excused his General's improper behaviour on the natural hastiness of temper incident to a rough soldier, soothed his mind. and then made him a present of a rich Qhylaat, to which was added a horse, and some other articles that disarmed his resentment. By this time Baladji-rão was already at some days' journey; and the agent having been dismissed with high demonstrations of regard and honour, made haste to rejoin his master. When he was gone, the Viceroy sent for Mustapha-qhan. and with a deal of seriousness he informed him that his proceeding might have had very grave consequences, and was of a nature to excite Baladji-rão's resentment. "Pray, my Lord," answered the General, "is it so? Then in such "a case your Highness, who is my lord and master, might have "taken Rhagu to talk, and left the other to me; or else, your "Highness may give a banging to Baladji-rão, and turn Rhago to "me for a hearty flogging." All these events happened about

the end of Moharrem and the beginning of Sefer, in the year 1155 of the Hedjra. And now Baladji-rão being gone, and there being no probability of Rhago-dji's recovering so soon from his loss of men and money, the Viceroy satisfied with the success of the campaign, returned to his capital; from whence he soon dismissed his youngest nephew, who was Viceroy of the Bahar; and that nobleman departed in a few days.

A. D. 1740-41.

This interval of peace was followed by some Court intrigues at M8rsh8d-abad and by some commotions at Djehan-ghir-nagur-Dacca. A financier of eminence, called Goc8l-chund, who was a servant of Hossëin-c8ly-qhan's, by whofe influence with Nevazish-mahmed-qhan he had been promoted to the office of Collector-General, and Commissary of the province of Dacca, quitted his residence at once, and came to M8rsh8d-abad, with the design of accusing his benefactor and old master, who under the modest title of Deputy to that Prince, governed absolutely that province. An accusation of that importance by a man who of all necessity must have been possessed of the necessary proofs, did a great deal of harm to that nobleman, he was severely reprimanded, lost his office, and fell in disgrace. So that his appointment was bestowed on Yassin-qhan, Fodjdar ot the police in that city, which office devolved on Mir-Calender. Hossëin-c8ly-qhan finding himself without office, returned to M8rsh8d-abad, where he gave a close application to all the arts by which he might retrieve his character and his fortune. At last, by means of a fine person and a large sum of money properly placed, he insinuated himself so deeply in Gahassity-Bibi's(23) favour, that he soon recovered his former credit. The Princess took upon herself to get him reinstated; and she concerned herself so effectually with both her father and her husband, that the handsome nobleman's misdemeanours were forgiven, his office was restituted, he was taken

(23) This Gahassiti-Bibi was eldest daughter to Aaly-verdy-qhan, and consort to his eldest nephew, Nevazish-mahmed-qhan, which last was known for an impotent man, who addicted himselt to feminine joys; so that his consort was always ready to listen favourably to the petitions of any well-looking man, that offered some consolation. But she went much farther; and it is well known to all M8rsh8d-abad, that she used to send invitations and also satellites; and that a stout, handsome man was not always safe in the streets; and our author who is very tender of Aaly-verdy-qhan's family, which was his own, shall by and by say something to that full amount.

into favour again, and he received the investiture of his former employment in a Qhylaat that dazzled the eyes. Hossëin-c8ly-qhan finding himself vigorously supported, returned to his former station, stronger than ever; and he set Yassin-qhan afloat; but as the latter was known for a man of abilities, he was invited over by Ata-ollah-qhan, Fodjdar of Baghalp8r, who gave him service. Goc8l-chund was not so lucky. As soon as his old master was firmly established in his office, he took that perfidious servant to task, put him under the lash of the auditing office, and made use of so much chicanery in auditing his accounts, that the man was undone, and totally ruined; he lost every thing with his office, and the latter was given to Radja Bolba. Hossëin-c8ly-qhan having by this act of authority informed the public of the whole extent of his influence, appointed his own nephew, Hassen-eddin-qhan, for his deputy, and then returned to M8rsh8d-abad to keep close to his protectress. His credit henceforward knew no bounds, and his influence seemed of a nature to last for ever; when at last the wind shifted; fortune turned her back upon him; he fell headlong from the summit of power, and was murdered by Seradj-eddöulah's order and in his very presence: a cruelty for which the latter was punished in kind, as the murdered man's blood, like that of *Siavosh* of old, produced an infinity of troubles, that ended only by the ruin of Bengal, and the dissolution of Aaly-verdy-qhan's family and sovereignty.

We have mentioned that Zin-eddin-ahmed-qhan, the Governor-General of Bahar, had been dismissed to his station by his grandfather. As soon as he arrived on the frontiers of his Government, he thought proper to strike to the left, and to tarry some days in the district of Ticary. The real reason of such a proceeding was the dissatisfaction he had concieved at the conduct of Hedäiet-aaly-qhan, my illustrious father; and the pretence he alleged was the propriety of examining by himself those countries in which my father bore an unbounded sway. He was Governor of all that extensive tract of ground, which stretches as far as Chota-nagp8r;(24) and he commanded also over Seress and

(24) Nagp8r called the little, to distinguish it from that Nagp8r, capital of the Barar, where resided the Princes of the family of Bhossla, the most powerful of the Marhatta feudatories. The former is a small principality on the western outskirts of Bengal; that latter is at five hundred cosses south-west of Calcutta.

Cotumbah, two districts that had been leased out to our family from a great number of years; so that all the Zemindars and great land-holders of those countries were all attached to his person, as having been often befriended and assisted by his influence, and as being sensible of certain connections of long standing, which he had with the most powerful amongst them, but especially with Radja Sunder-sing, who had a personal attachment to him. It became therefore necessary to wean such powerful persons from their affections to him, and to attach them to his own person and Government. But he had also another motive; he wanted to put the finances of all those countries under the management of a Minister he had brought with him for that very purpose; and this was Radja Kyret-chund, whose father, Aalem-chund, had been Divan or Minister to the late Viceroy, Shudjah-qhan. All these views might have been summed up into one, namely, that of getting rid of my father's influence in those distant countries. Such a design could not remain concealed from my father, who immediately wrote to the Governor to request leave to repair to his court, that he might enjoy the happiness of standing amongst those that waited upon his person. He was answered by a request of not putting himself to so much unnecessary trouble, as the Governor would soon be at Azim-abad, where he would always be glad of his company. Hedáiet-aaly-qhan, on this answer, perceiving that ill offices had been done him, thought proper to remain in town. When, on a sudden, a report spread that the Marhattas were coming to Azim-abad again, and the report was soon confirmed. The Governor who had lost most of his troops in the campaigns of Oressa and Bengal, and who found himself now only at the head of a handful of men, did not think himself in safety in those parts, and he marched away immediately; so that the next day he was already in the neighbourhood of his capital. On this intelligence Hedáiet-aaly-qhan mounted, and with such a retinue as usually attended his person, he went out to meet him. The Governor was then at a spot called Metip8r's reservoir; he was on horseback; and hearing of his being so near, he stopped and sent his Minister forward to bring up his noble guest with more honour. Hedáiet-aaly-qhan on discovering the Governor, alighted, and having embraced him just as he was on horseback, he continued walking on foot with the Minister. The

Governor, on recollecting the two letters that had passed between them, felt some embarrassment, but yet recovering himself at once, he stooped very low from his horse, and embraced him in that posture. Hedáiet-aaly-qhan having tarried some moments to embrace his younger brother, Mehdi-nessar-qhan, who was Paymaster-General, and also to see some other noblemen, his acquaintances, mounted again; and mingling with the Governor's retinue, he entered the city with the crowd, accompanied him to his palace with the crowd, and went on into his own lodgings with the crowd. A few days after, explanations took place, mutual complaints were exhibited, excuses made, concessions proferred; and at last the Governor, who expected to draw many services from him hereafter, but who wished his resigning of himself the many offices he was invested with, one day took occasion to observe to him "that His Sublime Highness (meaning Aaly-verdy-qhan) had conceived some suspicions against his person, which amounted to so many orders to himself, his nephew. That it was therefore incumbent upon him to comply with the Viceroy's pleasure, and to surrender his offices for a time, in order to repair to M8rsh8d-abad, where he doubted not but he would soon find means to sooth his resentment, and time to recover his good graces." He added, "that he reckoned that himself would soon have it in his power to wipe off the stain which malevolence had put upon his friend's character, in which case a restitution of his offices would of course follow." Such a speech, although couched in guarded terms, had nothing but very alarming for Hedáiet-aaly-qhan; and that nobleman having now conceived fears for his character and for his honour, declined complying with the request, and being naturally haughty and obstinate, he remained immovable. The Governor confounded at his obstinacy, and at a loss how to manage with such a man, came to my mother's lodgings; and after many excuses for the liberty he had taken, and many protestations of his sincerity, he repeated the purport of what he had already said to her husband; and he protested that in speaking to him, as he had done, he had only complied with the Viceroy's positive injunctions. A few days after this visit, which produced nothing, Hedáiet-aaly-qhan, who had refused to resign, thought proper to quit the service; and he obtained leave to repair to the Imperial Court. He spent a few days only in putting his affairs in order; and

Hedâiet-aaly-qhan parts with Aaly-verdy-qhan's family.

being now prepared for his journey, he spied a fortunate hour, which happened to be the fifteenth of Redjeb, 1156, and having assembled his troops, with all those that would follow his fortunes, he beat the General; and contrary to every rule of decency and subordination, contrary to that respect which every master and lord has a right to expect from those in his service, he traversed the whole length of the city, with drums beating, and colours flying; after which he went to encamp at the reservoir and seat of Rày-Bale-kishen, agent to the Viceroy of Bengal. There he was joined by his younger brother, Mehdi-nessar-qhan, Paymaster-General of the forces, a nobleman for whom the Governor had the highest regard, and whom he conceived to be not only one of his sincerest friends, but also an officer of the highest merit, whose valour and frankness had merited the esteem and applause of the public. But the officer unmindful of the many ties that bound him to the Governor, and of the many benefits which he might expect from that intimacy, resigned his office; and unable to support his brother's disgrace, he resolved to share his ill fortune. In vain did the Governor refuse to accept his resignation; in vain did he represent to him the consequences of his divesting himself of all employment. In vain did he speak and intreat, and sent others to speak and intreat in his name; the officer continued resolved to follow his brother. At last the Governor went to his lodgings, and said that he came to bring him away by force to his palace. All that availed nothing; the officer quitted the city, and joined his brother. And although there was a report that the Zemindars of Bodjp8r, bad men to a proverb, through whose lands he was to pass, had dressed an ambuscade, with intention to surprise and stripe him, he took that very road, and set them at defiance; but after having escorted his brother so far, he returned to the city, and took up his residence in his own house, like a private man. Hedâiet-aaly-qhan having set out in the height of the rains, and pursued his journey through a miry country, arrived with much labour at Fâiz-abad, the residence of Ab8l-mans8r-qhan; and the next day he went to pay his respects to that Viceroy. The latter who knew how far he had contributed to that nobleman's disgrace, thought it incumbent upon him to show him a high regard, and to compliment him with a large pension; but the nobleman who

had other views, and who intended that very day to continue his journey, tarried only two or three hours more; and he departed for the Imperial Court, where he arrived after a troublesome journey, and where we shall leave him at present, reserving the remaining part of his history, as well as that of Ab8r-mans8r-qhan's, for the subsequent sections of our narrative in which we shall professedly treat of the reign of Mahmed-shah, and Ahmed-shah, as well as of the revolutions that took place in the capital of the Empire. At present it appears proper to bring together under one point of view, and in a single volume, whatever we know of the revolutions of Bengal and Azim-abad, as far down as the year 1194 of the Hedjra; and especially the history of Aaly-verdy-qhan, an illustrious house, which having risen in these very provinces to the summit of power, glory and riches, is now fallen and totally extinct. As soon as we shall have accomplished this task, which we have imposed on ourselves, we shall then with the assistance of the Omnipotent One, who is the rightfull succourer and the rightful bestower of favours, take up again in another section that part of our history of Hindostan, which belongs more particularly to the reigns of Mahmed-shah, of his son, Ahmed-shah, and of his grandson, Aalem-ghir the second; interspersing our narrative with occasional particulars of those illustrious or eminent men, who have figured on the theatres of Shah-djehan-abad, Lahor, and Ilah-abad; and as to the events that have happened in Decan throughout all that period of time, we shall occasionally mention just so much of them as is come to our certain knowledge, reserving it for our two last volumes; and may God grant that we prove as good as our word!

On the Governor's arrival at Azim-abad, the rumour of the approach of the Marhattas became stronger; and as it produced a general consternation, he thought that the only method that could be devised to quiet the minds of all the inhabitants, and to secure their persons and properties, would be to raise a wall round the city. There was already such a wall; but so neglected and decayed, and withal, so beset by houses, that it could hardly be distinguished from them. He therefore ordered that a deep ditch should be sunk round, and that the earth dug from it should be thrown behind and upon the old wall, so as both to raise and strengthen the same. But as this was not to be done

without ruining the houses already built on the side of the old wall or close to it, it did not fail to occasion much murmuring and much discontent among the owners, who could not see in that inconveniency and in the loss they underwent as individuals, the safety and welfare which they acquired upon the whole ; they could not forbear exhaling themselves in sobs and complaints. But the utility of the undertaking was so apparent, that no regard could be paid to their complaints; and in a little time the wall rising gradually from the ground, afforded an insurance of future safety. In process of time, whenever the country came to be overrun by Marhattas, (and it has been so several times) not only vast numbers of people used to retire within the walls, and to find their safety there ; but even the numerous houses and habitations which remained without, were effectually protected from plunder by the cannon of the rampart ; so that those very people that had murmured so openly, were the foremost to acknowledge the propriety of what was done, and to load their Governor with due praises. This work being at last finished, the Governor commenced to live easy in his palace, from whence to relax his mind, he used sometimes to come to our lodgings and to make a visit to the poor man's mother, to whom he always made some presents. As he had received from his uncle the whole Pergunnah or District of Tirroot in Djaghir to his ownself, that is, in appanage, and he was intent on bringing that country into cultivation, he resolved to cross the Ganga, and to see it by himself, intending to sojourn some time in the same ; and as he had a great attachment to Mehdi-nessar-qhan, the poor man's uncle, and he always expressed a concern at his resignation, he on the day of his departure, went to make him a visit, and he insisted on his coming with him immediately. From thence he proceeded on his journey, and took up his residence in the District of Benvar, which was inhabited by a race of ancient Radjas, settled this long series of years in that country, which he now put under the direction of his friend, Mehdi-nessar-qhan, in hopes that it would by his means become thoroughly peopled and cultivated. He likewise distributed some other parts of the country on the same intent, and with the same injunction to his other friends ; and this was done with so much discernment, that people soon perceived a difference in its population and revenues. As

he thought proper to make a long sojourn in that country, he sent for his consort, Amna-begum, who was daughter to Aaly-verdy-qhan, and for most of the ladies and women of his Seraglio; and he wrote likewise to the poor man's mother to request her attendance, as a great favour, adding that if she had no money to pay her charges, she might apply to his treasurer, such being the attachment he bore to that worthy lady, and the high opinion he had conceived of her personal merit; else, such warm attachment is seldom the result of parentage or relationship; nor is so much respect and regard paid to ties of blood in similar cases. As to the poor man himself and his younger brother, Aaly-naki-qhan-Bahadyr, we were both in Shah-djehan-abad, at that time with our illustrious progenitor, Säyd-hedáiet-aaly-qhan.

But as we have more than once spoke of Mustapha-qhan's person, and the boundless authority which he had acquired, it is needless we should enlarge on the heroical valour that distinguished his character, and the many important services he had rendered the State. Unfortunately for him, these very qualifications contributed to his ruin. They had raised his credit to such a height in Aaly-verdy-qhan's mind, and his influence all over the country had become so very extensive, that there was no man in the service who could go on a par with him. The Viceroy's gratitude became boundless likewise; he was loading him every day with immense presents, and accumulating the highest honours upon his head. At one time he presented him with twelve lacs of rupees; and he augmented his brigade to seven thousand effectual troopers; and that of his uncle, who governed the Oressa, was augmented to five thousand; and as a further favour, his post and brigade passed to that Governor's son, Abdol-resol-qhan, who on his father's demise, went in great pomp, and took possession of his Government. Mustapha-qhan himself, over and above his brevet of five thousand, and his brigade of seven thousand horse, his fringed Paleky, and his other honours and insignia, enjoyed so many emoluments besides, that he lived in great state. He had fifty elephants in his stables; and his influence in every affair of either Government or revenue, as well as in all military matters, was so great, that the very relations of Aaly-verdy-qhan, when they had a point to carry, used to apply to him for his interest, at the very time it was filling the Court with jealousy and detraction. Even Hadji-ahmed,

elder brother to Aaly-verdy-qhan, and father to three sons who had married the Viceroy's three daughters, and enjoyed the highest honours and dignities of the State—Hadji-ahmed took umbrage at the General's boundless influence. Finding himself eclipsed by his personal character, and overborne by his weight, he rather than endure it any more, resolved to live deprived of his brother's society, to exile himself from his home, and to leave a city to which he was accustomed so early as the times of Shudjah-qhan. He abandoned his own habitation, and went far off to live with his younger son, Zin-eddin-ahmed-qhan, Governor of Azim-abad. The subject of discontent proved to be the Government of H8gly, which the Hadji wanted for himself, and which Aaly-verdy-qhan bestowed on the Hadji's second son, Säyed-ahmed-qhan, who after the loss of his Government of Oressa, lived at Court like a private man, almost without income, as well as without office. Aaly-verdy-qhan thought the Hadji, his brother, sufficiently provided for, by the Sáir of M8rsh8d-abad, that is all the duties, customs and receipts, dfferent from the Land Tax. The old man unable to brook such a refusal, asked and obtained leave to go for his health to Azim-abad. It was about the year 1157.

About the same time, (the rainy season being already over), the Marhattas made their appearance again. Bha-sukur who had attached to himself Aly-caráol, a famous General of the Decan, to whom he had given the command of six or seven thousand horse, now thought of putting his talents to a trial; for he presented himself on the confines of Oreffa and Bengal at the head of twenty thousand horse. His intention was to retrieve his character, either by giving a defeat to Aaly-verdy-qhan, or by putting him under contribution. But the Viceroy, who tired with such a continual state of warfare, and with so many consecutive campaigns, felt himself sinking under a perpetual labour of body and mind, that had no end; and who over and above that consideration, had also contracted some infirmities, that weighed down and impeded his natural activity; had now resolved on getting rid of such an importune enemy by some stroke of policy. He therefore gave it out that he wanted to afford some release to his own body, and some rest to his troops; and at the same time, he held frequent consultations with Mustapha-qhan about the manner of destroying the invaders, and of entrapping the

Marhatta General and his principal officers in such a manner, as that the whole of them, officers and troops and all, should take a journey to the kingdoms of Nothingness. As Bha-sukur's power and vigilance, as well as the want of energy in the Mussulmans of Bengal, rendered such a scheme perilous, if not wholly impracticable; and Mustapha-qhan, on the other hand, declined the service, and seemed averse from performing his part; the Viceroy excited his cupidity by pointing out honours and rich presents to his mind; and he fired his ambition by promising him the government of the province of Azim-abad, if he could bring within his net, both Bha-sukur and his principal Commanders. Mustapha-qhan, who was a man of design and contrivance as well as of prowess and execution, and who to those advantages joined the talent of speaking as well as he acted, could not resist so many temptations. Resolved to perform the service expected from him, he commenced a negotiation with Bha-sukur; and as if his master, tired of war, wanted only peace and tranquillity, he proffered his services for bringing about an accommodation between the two parties. The first effect of those proffers was, to render the Marhatta General less attentive to war matters, and more inclined to come to an interview, which was the very thing aimed at; and as Bha-sukur on these overtures had shewed a pacific disposition, and had expressed an inclination to meet Mustapha-qhan, the latter was sent to him together with Radja Djanki-ram, Divan to Aaly-verdy-qhan, and of course a Minister of the highest trust and credit with his master, who imparted to him alone his real scheme: and this was to contrive some expedient by which Bha-sukur and his principal Commanders, under cover of an interview, might be dispatched to the deserts of non-existence. The two envoys having learned their lesson thoroughly, went to Catwa, where Bha-sukur was arrived lately; whilst the Viceroy to give more probability to his proposal, quitted M8rsh8d-abad, and went to Mancara, at about one day's journey to the south, where he encamped on the banks of the river Bagwraty. The two negotiators were then in conference with Bha-sukur; and they turned him so many ways, fascinated his understanding so effectually, and made use of such solemn promises, which they supported by the most sacred oaths, that the Marhatta General was prevailed upon to make a visit to

Aaly-verdy-qhan resolves to entrap the Marhatta commanders.

the Viceroy of Bengal, as a step necessary to his sealing the mutual agreement which was to be concluded. But as he harboured still some doubts, and he wished to sound the ford, he dispatched *Aaly-bhà-caráol, in appearance to pay his* respects to Aaly-verdy-qhan, but in reality to make his observations on what he would see at Court, and throughout the army; and as he reposed the greatest confidence in that Commander, he was resolved to trust to his report only, and then to make himself a visit to the Viceroy in company with all his Commanders. The two negotiators finding that the scheme they had laid down, had taken effect, carried Aaly-bhà with them, on returning to their master. Mustapha-qhan in particular, who was a proficient in that duplicity which seems essential to the character of an Afghan, spoke by the way so artfully, and he made such an impression on the heart of Aaly-bhà, as induced him to expect the most flattering reception. These sentiments were seconded by Aaly-verdy-qhan himself, who in his speech and manners was at all times the most winning of men; and he worked so effectually upon that officer's mind, by his gracious deportment, and his bewitching way of expressing himself, that he made an entire conquest of his heart. Rich presents perfected what sweet words had commenced; and finding now that the man was persuaded, he sent him back to his master, in company with Mustapha-qhan; and both these officers so effectually beset Bha-sukur, and so strongly exhorted him to shake off the suspicions he had harboured in his mind, that the man became a convert, as was already his envoy. Whilst the negotiation was going on, and ingredients were throwing in the river to disguise the colour of its water, Aaly-verdy-qhan did not cease to cultivate the Marhatta's good disposition by plying him incessantly with everything curious, costly, or delicious, either in stuffs or in fruits, whether of the growth of Bengal, or imported from abroad; and all that was done in so conciliating and elegant a manner, that it entirely erădicated the aversion which the other had conceived against his person, and totally subdued and rooted the mistrust he had harboured in his mind. In one word, the Marhatta's mind was entirely changed; he became fond of Aaly-verdy-qhan, and his heart was so thoroughly conquered, that there is no doubt, but that he would have gone over to him and attached himself to his service, had he not been already at the head of so much power,

and had not his thoughts been totally engrossed by his expedition. Radja Djanki-ram, as being himself an Hind8 as well as the Marhatta, passed whole days in his company, and by that very reason proved greatly instrumental in this affair. At last after many reciprocal oaths had been exchanged, it was agreed that Bha-sukur with all his general officers should make a visit to the Viceroy of Bengal, in the plain of Mancarah. The latter was then encamped at Amani-gundj, as was Bha-sukur at Catwa, which was ten cosses farther: Mancarah having been agreed to by both parties as being at a middle distance from the two camps. So soon as the day of interview became known, a magnificent tent of large dimensions was pitched there in the open plain; and a quantity of ground was enclosed by Canats, or high walls of cloth, to form before it a yard of a vast compass. On the morning of the interview the Viceroy advanced with his whole army; and leaving his troops at a distance, he went into the tent, and took his seat on the Mesned that had been placed for him there. He had with him some persons of distinction, and a few trusty officers, such as his own nephew, Säyd-ahmed-qhan, Ata-ollah-qhan, and Mir-cazem-qhan; and not a soul besides Djanki-ram, and Mustapha-qhan, and Mirza-hekim-beg-qhan, knew anything of the secret. So that an infinity of persons of distinction from all ranks had flocked to the plain from the city, to see the spectacle of such an interview, and by their peaceful looks were of very great resource for making the deception. A moment after the two negotiators, who were the managers of the interview, and who, as pledges, had obliged themselves by the most sacred oaths, went forward to bring the Marhatta General; and meanwhile the Commanders and principal officers of the Bengal army, all armed and mounted, took their post behind the tent, but at a reasonable distance; every one with his men ready at all points. Some others likewise, whether as men of distinction, or as officers of character, took post about the pillars of the tent, whilst many more stood behind the Viceroy, ready to execute any commands they might receive. It was at this time only that he thought it proper to inform both his nephew, and Ata-ollah-qhan, of the design, as it became high time to put them upon their own guard; and this delicate commission was given to Mirza-hekim-beg in these very words: *Mirza, has Säyd-ahmed-qhan and Ata-ollah-qhan looked at the tent? No!*

Then I wish you to carry them thither, that I may hear what they think of it. It is a most magnificent one. The real meaning of the order having been fully comprehended, the Mirza carried the two noblemen into the tent, where in a few words he informed them of what was going to happen, and exhorted them to be ready and upon their guards. A moment after they all came out again, and said to the Viceroy that the tent was *perfectly beautiful, and fit for such a General*; by which expression, the Viceroy understood that they approved of the contrivance, and would perform their part in it. All this while the Viceroy was sitting in state, and waiting for Bha-sukur, and receiving every moment information of his approaching. But whilst that General was advancing to the gate of the tent, a small number of persons of distinction, both out of curiosity and to do him honour, approached it at the same time; and even the Viceroy's driver brought his elephant within the yard of it, and took post behind his master, but close to his head. At this moment about fifty officers that preceded Bha-sukur, having alighted, came within the tent, all armed; and this precaution of theirs was coloured by the pretence of their being intended to swear to the performance of the articles of agreement, which they would do upon their sabres.(25) Amongst these were two-and-twenty Commanders of eminence and character; the others were amongst those persons called *Amnics* in India, who on the others advancing, advanced likewise, but stopped within the tent-yard. It was at this moment that Bha-sukur, alighting from his mare, came within the tent, holding Mustapha-qhan's hand by the right, and Djanki-ram's by the left. A cohort of his officers which were close upon his back, now spread on both sides of him, all armed and all with their hands upon the hilt of their sabres; and another body shut up his rear, every one of them with a look, ferocious, and a threatening aspect. This was the moment which the two negotiators seized to disengage themselves. They both quitted the General's hand, and excused themselves on being obliged to go away for a few minutes. By this time he had advanced within three-quarts of the length of the yard; when the Viceroy asked in an audible voice which of those eminent officers was the Valorous Bha-sukur-pandet?

(25) Such is the military custom in India; elsewhere, for instance in Turkey, soldiers swear upon their sabres, and also upon bread and salt.

And having been answered by Mirza-hekim-beg, who pointed to him with the finger, as did many others who had been stationed there for that purpose, the question was repeated. Three times did the Viceroy ask the question, and three times was it answered by pointing with the finger; and now Bha-sukur drawing near, the Viceroy commanded his people to *fall upon those free-booters.* But as none of the by-standers had been prepared for the intended scene, they all stood aghast with surprise, and motionless with amazement. However, this was not the case with Mir-cazem-qhan, who having asked what were his commands, was answered with a repetition of the order in a firm tone of voice. Instantly that Commander drew. Ber-qhordar-beg and some others drew likewise, and all ran straight before them; whilst five or six officers of Mutapha-qhan's, all as stout and as brave as himself, chancing to come in, drew likewise on seeing sabres drawn, and all together rushed on the Marhattas. Mir-cazem-qhan, being the foremost of all, closed with Bha-sukur, and at one stroke felled him to the ground. This seemed a signal for the engagement. The Marhattas, although unprepared, drew on their side instantly, and engaged the Mussulmen, but with so much vigour, that the action became at once furious, bloody, and doubtful. Heads and arms were flying about, and numbers falling every moment; so that the multitude of persons of distinction that had come as spectators, seeing blood running in streams, forgot in a moment their characters of professed bravoes, and retreated from that scene of confusion and slaughter. At this very moment the tent-walls having been suddenly let down, Mutapha-qhan, who just had time to cast a glance at the engagement, put spurs to his horse, and ran to put himself at the head of his brigade, with which he fell like lightning upon the Marhatta army, then ready drawn up; sending word to his master, at the same time, to mount immediately and to run to his assistance. The latter, whilst a furious engagement was taking place at twenty yards from him, where every one intent upon the adversary before him, minded no one else, was standing upon his Mesned with his bucler on his arm, and his sabre, drawn; nor had he any more than a few men about his person at that moment. These intreated him to get upon his elephant, and this was what he intended himself; but one of his slippers could not be found. *I must have my other*

The Marhatta General slain with most of the Commanders in an interview.

slipper, said the Viceroy, *before I can lay my feet upon the bare ground. And pray,* screamed out a voice, *is this a time to look out for a slipper? No, indeed,* replied the Viceroy, *it is not; but were I now to go without my slippers, you would not fail to-morrow morning to say, that Aaly-verdy was in such a hurry to get out of the fray, that he left his slippers behind.* At last the slipper was found out, and he mounted his elephant. By this time the Marhattas to a man were all dispatched. When on his elephant, he looked round, and asked where was Mustapha-qhan, he was told that he was fallen upon the Marhatta army in expectation of being supported by His Highness in person. Still he would not move, but asked for the ravager's head, that he might be satisfied of his being dead; he was repeatedly told he was; and the music played already by his order; but still he would not move until he could see the head. At last it was brought him, and having tarried a little more to ascertain its indenticity, he then ordered his elephant forwards, and marched briskly to come up with the enemy. He went on without stopping, until he reached Catwa, where the Marhatta grand army had been encamped. But not one Marhatta could be found there. The reason was, that that they had no officer of rank among them, as the general officers, on seeing Bha-sukur resolved to go to the interview, had made it a point to accompany him to a man. So that they had all been dispatched to a man, save one, however, whose name was Rhago-cáicvar, who unmoved by Mustapha-qhan's insinuations, and by Bha-sukur and Aaly-bhà-cáraol's intreaties and example, had remained without the tent at the head of his men, promising to pay a visit to the Viceroy the next day, as soon as Bha-sukur's visit should be over. This man on the first noise he heard within the tent, spurred his horse, went to the camp, and taking up with him every part of Bha-sukur's baggage, he fled with his troops, and could not be overtaken; and although he was attacked repeatedly by all the Zemindars and all the peasants in his way, and he lost a number of men in his retreat; yet it must be acknowledged, that it is to the presence of mind of Cáicvar, that a vast number of Marhattas were indebted for the good luck of having emerged from that whirlpool of slaughter and destruction, and for having reached the benign shore of salvation. It was in this manner, that the mighty army of Bha-sukur's was in one day

The Marhattas slaughtered everywhere relinquish Bengal.

annihilated; and what escaped the edge of the sword, fled in the utmost confusion out of the confines of Bengal and Oressa, and at last reached their own country in the most wretched condition. Aaly-verdy-qhan after this expedition returned to his capital, not only without losing a single man, but also with such an addition to his character, as raised him both in the minds of his troops and of his subjects, who admired their being so suddenly delivered from those merciless ravagers; nor were the troops less pleased with their unexpected success. And as an acknowledgment for their alertness in executing his commands, he made them a present of ten lacks of rupees. After this, he sent an account of the affair to the capital, and supplicated the Emperor to raise Mutapha-qhan to the dignity of Djüng, and to bestow additional honours on every one of those who had exerted themselves so strenuously in the engagement of the tent; for instance, on Mir-djaafer-qhan, who on the very onset received a large wound, and yet continued fighting; on Fakir-ollah-beg-qhan; on Häider-aaly-qhan, and on some others. The Emperor on hearing the supplication, complied with its requests, bestowed on Mustapha-qhan the surname of Babr-djung, or Tiger in Battle, with a variety of honours and insignia; and the tittle of Bahadyr or Valiant, on every one of the persons mentioned to him. To Aaly-verdy-qhan in particular, he bestowed the surname of Shudjah-el-mulk, or the Valiant of the Kingdom, and sent him a suit of clothes from his own wardrobe, with a sabre, a poniard, a horse, and a variety of jewels.

This last expedition had rid Aaly-verdy-qhan of a foreign enemy, but it raised a domestic one; for by this time Mustapha-qhan's power and influence had risen to such a heighth, that they exceeded those of a subject, or even those of an equal. He pretended to no less than to a superiority; and his nation having poured in vast numbers into Bengal, and filled every part of Aaly-verdy-qhan's armies and household, he was always surrounded by such a number of them, that no one dared to dispute his will, or even to offend any one that bore the name of Afghan; so great were their numbers, and so close their union. It is observable, that these people in consquence of their numbers and their little sense and understanding, as well as their way of life in the caverns of their mountainous country, very much resembled the savage

beasts. They are like them swift-footed, exceedingly courageous, and attracted by little, and highly covetous. Unmoved by the rights of gratitude, and unaffected by benefits received, they pay little attention to their benefactors, and even to the rights of friendship, and full as little to the duties of a community of bread and salt.(26) They turn about at once for a small subject, and from cold lifeless friends, they become at once rancorous foes and obstinate enemies. Naturally of a temper little inclined to mind benefits conferred and favours received, they easily forget the rights of a benefactor, and as easily conceive the design of killing him, nay of making away with their nearest relations; and all that, for a small reward, and on a slight subject. Unpolished and coarse-behaved, and nearly incapable of any civilization, they are stangers to the softer and more generous sentiments of humanity (in which forgiveness and beneficence cut so conspicuous a figure) and become furious and ungovernable in their revenges. The death of an Afghan, be it for any reason whatsoever, becomes with them a crime not to be expiated by any atonement or any lapse of time, although the dead man's relations should have already admitted of a compromise; nor do the seeds of revenge ever cease to vegetate and shoot up in their breasts. Mustapha-qhan himself was an individual of such a praiseworthy nation; and although by no means so void of sense, as his brethren, yet his cupidity, enflamed by his courage, made him cast a wishful eye upon that pomp and that wealth of Bengal, which endlessly blazed in review before his eyes; for his pride was equal to his covetousness. He marched always with a retinue of Afghans equal to Aaly-verdy-qhan's cortege; and from being his servant he aspired to be his equal, and at last attempted to become his

Strange character of the Afghan nation.

(26) The duties of a community of bread and salt, being so much taken notice of in the Arabian books from whence the Indians have received their religion, with an infinity of words, expressions, and as also tenets; and the Turks or Tartars, or rather Tatars, from whence the conquerers of Hindostan derive their pedigree, being nations that lay a great stress on having eaten bread and salt with a man; the author to all appearance spoke by hearsay and from theory on these two articles: for it is notorious to any one that has been much conversant with Indians of either religion, that there is no nation on the face of the earth, so cold and lifeless on whatever concerns gratitude; nor does their language afford a single word to denote that delicate sensation. They have indeed compound words, but these are of foreign origin; and it becomes highly probable, that whilst the word itself was travelling to India, the idea and sensation remained behind.

superior. In a word, he conceived the scheme of killing his master for opposing his pretensions. His ambition and fierceness being kindled by opposition, he insisted on the performance of some promises made him in the moment of necessity, and to serve a turn; and he particularly challenged the government-general of Azim-abad, as his right; although the actual incumbent was no less a personage than his master's nephew and son-in-law. On the other hand, the Viceroy thought it hard, that a general promise made for a small service in a moment of need, should be insisted upon as obligatory, when that moment was over; he wanted to shut up the man's mouth by loading him with distinctions, to regain his rancorous, stubborn heart by softening it with sweet words, and to sooth his resentment by expressions full of regard. Some months were even gained in endeavouring by a variety of presents and a profusion of kindnesses, to smother the fancies and whims that were continually shooting up in that covetous mind. But can the sight of a fountain assuage the thirsty man's raging fire, and can the allurement of a soft tale, and all the persuasion of sleep, pacify the heart that pants for enjoyment? The General, after having been fed some months with to-days and to-morrows, at last lost all patience, and spoke openly; he tore the veil that hung still, and renounced past friendship and past obligations. Little by little the coldness encreased; and at the end of Moharrem, in the year 1158, he had already ceased to appear at Court. The reason of that cessation is thus expressed by Y8suf-aaly-qhan, in those curious memoirs he has left us of the transactions of his own time.

Mustapha-qhan becomes too assuming and at length pretends to a superiority.

The general opinion was, that Aaly-verdy-qhan, in appearance, was endeavouring to soften the General's resentment, and to pacify his mind, but that in reality, he was contriving under-hand to put an end to his presumption, and to guard against his mischievous designs, being highly shocked at his excessive power, and provoked by his pretensions; at least so thought the Afghans. One day the General preparing to go to Court, sent forward according to his custom, Dil-shah and Hekin-shah, his two principal officers, who went in, paid their obeisance, and seated themselves. Y8suf-aaly-qhan was that day at Court himself, and in the presence; and he affirms, that it being noon-time, there was no one in the hall of audience, save the usual attendants. It

happened that, a little after those two men had been seated, an eunuch of the presence came in haste, and said that the Navvab-begum (meaning the Prince's consort) was seized with a violent evacuation and vomiting (27). The Viceroy, getting up immediately, went into the inner apartments, from whence he sent those two officers word, desiring them to be seated, until he might come out. But as messengers had already announced that Mustapha-qhan was on the way, this message gave umbrage to these two men; so that without minding its purport, they got into one of the rooms attaining the hall of audience, and rummaged it thoroughly, having imagined that it contained a number of armed men concealed, who were to fall suddenly on the General, and that it was for this reason the message about the Begum had been sent out, the intent of which, they conceived, was to put it in his power to be out of harm's way. Full of this idea, they went away, and meeting their master who was going to alight, they communicated their fears to him. The General was struck with the report. Since he had put on an air of independence, he mistrusted every one of Aaly-verdy-qhan's proceedings, and lent a willing ear to a groundless, and frivolous report. Immediately he returned home. The Viceroy, informed of this, sent his son-in-law, Nevazish-mahmed-qhan, to reproach him for his credulity, and to bring him back by whatever means. The nobleman having overtaken Mustapha-qhan, attempted by a variety of reasons and entreaties to dissipate his suspicions, and to pacify his mind, but all to no purpose. The General returned home, where he assembled his brigade which amounted to nine thousand horse, besides some thousand musqueteers; and he then sent a message to the Viceroy, by which he renounced his service, and asked the arrears due to his men. The latter sent again his son-in-law to pacify him, especially as Nevazish-mahmed-qhan's promises and words, bearing a great character for sincerity and fidelity, had a great authority with all the troops. But this message also availed nothing; and matters went so far, that he sent another message to the Viceroy full of reproaches, and asked as his due the Government of Azim-abad. Aaly-verdy-qhan, struck by this behaviour, was holding consultations; but both himself

(27) This sudden distemper, which carries people in two or three days, and even in a few hours, is common in Bengal, and is called by the Arabic word *Hèis*.

as well as his sons-in-law with their families and friends were equally confounded, and incapable to take a party, as the General's valour and daringness were notorious these many years past, and his force numerous and attached personally to him. All was confusion and fear in the city of M8rsh8d-abad. At last preparations were made on both sides for action, and the city became a theatre of war; and the troops attached to the Viceroy running to their arms, filled the streets from the palace gate down to Mustapha-qhan's quarters. These were the brigades commanded by his two sons-in-law, Nevazish-mahmed-qhan and Säid-ahmed-qhan, with those of Mir-djaafer-qhan, of Haïder-aaly-qhan, of Fakyr-ollah-beg-qhan, of N8r-8llah-beg-qhan, and of the Afghan Umer-qhan, with his sons. The corps less numerous came also to offer their services, as well as the brigades of Musqueteers commanded by Fateh-Rào-bacshy-cheidun and some other Gentoos; they all took post round the palace, and kept watch day and night, always armed, and always ready. Shimshir-qhan and Serdar-qhan, who in their hearts were attached to their countrymen, and in appearance to their master, continued to come to Court, and kept fair with both parties. The Viceroy who had his views, thought proper to behave kindly to them, although by this time he had lost all confidence in his Afghan troops. But although resolved to trust them no more, nevertheless he was endeavouring to gain the hearts of these two Afghan Commanders; for Mustapha-qhan's obstinacy was known to him, as well as the schemes he had conceived; and the excesses of enmity to which his resentment would carry him, were known beforehand; and on both those accounts, he thought that the best expedient that could be devised now, was to come to an agreement with that General. His heart would even relent now and then, whenever he reflected on his numerous services, his heroical valour, and his determined devotion to his interests; and he was loath to part with so ancient, so devoted, and so valuable a servant, whose desertion became a real loss for his own power, which would infallibly feel the consequences of it. But yet, with all these wise reflections, he neither knew how to keep a friend, nor how to humble and ruin an enemy. It was too late now; nor was this last party without its many inconveniencies; and to fight Mustapha-qhan, supported as he was by so many brave troops of his own nation,

and all commanded by officers of his own family, seemed to be a matter of much difficulty. He one day thought of repeating his expedient of old, *i.e.*, of going to him with only Seradj-ed-döulah, and of regaining his heart by that token of confidence. He had even sent for his Paleky, and was going to set out; but he was vigorously opposed by his two sons-in-law, and by the most distinguished of his well-wishers, such as Mir-djaafer-qhan, Haïder-aaly-qhan and Fakyr-ollah-beg-qhan, and some others, who all joined together in intreating him to forbear so dangerous an experiment. They observed "That this was not a time to try what "impression he could make upon that Afghan's heart. That "matters had gone too far, for any one to expect that such de-"monstrations of confidence and love would answer any purpose. "That the man aimed at no less than at dispossessing his master, "and at raising his own fortune upon his benefactor's ruin and "death. *Put us to death first,*" added they, "*for we will not suffer* "*you to risk your person in your enemy's quarter.*" These entreaties and reasonings staggered the Viceroy, and he thought proper to stay at home. Whilst they were yet speaking, a man of consequence deserted the General, and presented himself before the Viceroy. This was no other than the Afghan Rehem-qhan, an officer who had always served the General as his standard-bearer, and was reputed his zealous companion. This officer, whether impelled by destiny, or gained over by the Viceroy's winning deportment, changed sides. On the other hand, the General lost also two other Commanders, upon whose national partiality he had reckoned. These were Shimshir-qhan, and Serdar-qhan, two officers of character, who refused to join him, and to follow his fortunes: having to all appearance conceived that his expulsion from Bengal, would at all events promote their own views, by withdrawing a large globe that eclipsed them totally. These defections seemed to have altered the nature of the war. For whether these desertions, by making an impression on the General's mind, rendered him cautious of committing his fortune to the chance of war in an attack on the city of M8r-sh8d-abad, or whether the impulse of unavoidable destiny made him alter his mind, it is certain that he turned his views towards Azim-abad, thinking it easier to drive the nephew out of that city, than to fight the uncle in the middle of his capital. He therefore

resolved to quit M8rsh8d-abad ; and this resolution, so soon as it became known, was deemed by the Viceroy a Providential interposition in his favour. The General before his departure sent his agent to Court with a paper, containing an account of the arrears due to him, both for his own person and for his brigade; and although it wanted the formality of a review, and the certificate of the Commissary as well as a certificate of the indentity of horses called *Dagh-tessehya*,(28) and the account was made up just as he had been pleased; nevertheless the Viceroy, without referring it to the usual offices for examination, ordered the full amount to be paid immediately; and it amounted to no less than full seventeen lacs of rupees, which sum, the Viceroy said, he reckoned to be a piece of charity, and an offering made for the success of his affairs. As soon as the General had his money, he sent for the head cart-man of the city, and with threats obliged him to furnish his troops with the number of carts and pack-oxen he wanted; after which he leisurely loaded his baggage and that of his brigade, set on fire his barracks, and marched out of the city in military array and with a deal of pomp; and having advanced some cosses beyond it, he encamped. The next day he marched a full stage. As soon as the news of this departure arrived in the city, and it became certain that he was gone, the inhabitants, who knew that any engagement within their walls could produce nothing but their ruin, thought themselves recalled to life, and they looked upon his departure as a fortunate event. A few days after, the Viceroy thought proper to promote Rehem-qhan, and to add many favours to this promotion. He also advanced both Shimshir-qhan and Serdar-qhan; and by treating them with particular demonstrations of kindness, he weaned them from those rests of national attachment which they still bore to the General, as their countryman. By a stroke of refined policy, he passed over the ingratitude of two near relations of theirs, namely, Dil-shir-qhan and Alef-qhan, who had quitted his service to embrace that of the General's. He only ceased to mention their names; and if at any time their infamous behaviour was mentioned in his presence, he abstained from reproaches and epithets, and attributed what he called their imprudence, to their youth and to their ignorance

(28) The *Tessehya* is made by impressing a red-hot iron upon the horse's thigh with the first letter of the name of the Corps to which it belongs.

of the world. Mustapha-qhan, meanwhile, being arrived at Radj-mahl, took from the stores, kept there, such elephants, and such pieces of cannon as he thought proper, with a certain quantity of ammunition; and from that moment he acted openly as an enemy. And it being now become public, that he had parted with Aaly-verdy-qhan, on account of the latter's failing in his promise about the Government of Azim-abad, the General's nephew, Abdol-res8l-qhan, whom we have seen appointed Governor of the Oressa, thought proper on the receipt of a letter from his uncle, who made his defection a family quarrel, to quit his post without hesitation. So that taking his Brigade with him, he went and joined him, after having appointed one Da8d-qhan, an Afghan, to govern the country in his absence.

It may be worth observation that the young man's father, Abdol-nebi-qhan, was of the Shyah sect,(29) and had served Aazem-shah, son to Aoreng-zib. He was a man of a noble descent, and valuable for a number of estimable qualifications. A great friend of his was Mir-abdol-aziz, who was of one of the principal Sëid families settled at Samana in the territory of Lahor, as well as one of those who had been left in Oressa at the head of their brigades for the support of Government. This officer told me, that Abdol-nebi-qhan, entangled by the ties which attached him to Mustapha-qhan, whose countryman he was, but whose pretensions he did not approve, being one day alone with him he had disclosed his heart in these very words: "My friend Sëid, "you perhaps know not that this boy (meaning Mustapha-qhan,) "pretends to play the ungrateful, and has wrapped about his "head a number of whimseys and strange schemes. I am myself "in a strange perplexity on that head, like a horse urged alter-"nately by two opposed spurs. If I join the boy, I shall incur the "name of an ungrateful fellow, and of a traitor and deserter, an "ugly name which has never been borne by any one of my family; "and if I stick to Aaly-verdy-qhan, I shall not escape the re-"proaches of my nation, and the hatred of my own clan. They

(29) All the Afghans are Sunnies, and moreover fanatical Sunnies. It is remarked of them that, whilst they were masters of Ispahan, capital of Persia, their soldiers, and even their officers, made it a practice every Friday, afternoon-prayers at the Cathedral, to sally forth with drawn sabres, and to kill as many Shyahs as they meet.

"shall say, look at this man; in hopes of much money, and "much preferment in Aaly-verdy-qhan's service, he has had the "meanness to part with the man that had recommended him to a "regiment, and has proved the author of his present welfare. "Better then, my friend, better by all means, that God Almighty, "by recalling me from this world, vouchsafe to deliver me from "a dilemma, the consequences of which cannot but redound to my "shame." This worthy man had a particular devotion for a venerable personage buried in the city of Catec; and he used every day to repair thither and to make the above request with a loud voice. At last his prayer was heard. Sometime before Mustapha-qhan's final defection, he felt a slight indisposition, and in three or four days, he was taken to the mansions of eternal mercy. He was buried on that very spot, the object of his devotions. It was on a Thursday; and his monument is resorted to and visited on that day by multitudes of people.

To return to our narrative. Mustapha-qhan having renounced Aaly-verdy-qhan's service, and openly professed an enmity to his person, his desertion was followed by that of Abdol-res8l-qhan, his nephew, who quitted his charge and went to join him. This young man was reputed to be the best archer in his troops, and one of the most zealous followers of his uncle's fortunes. His desertion having left the Oressa without a ruler, the Viceroy conferred that office on Radja D8l8bram, whom he had appointed Agent-General to the late Governor, and who was still at Catec. He procured for him at the same time the rank of three thousand horse, and the honour of the kettle-drum, with a fringed Paleky; and after having bestowed upon him a brigade of three thousand horse he sent him the patents of his new office. This arrangement having been brought to bear, he turned his views towards Azim-abad, where commanded his nephew and son-in-law, Zin-eddin-ahmed-qhan, the most beloved of his relations, and who in reality was the candle that enlightened the old age of his uncle, and the taper that blazed out for the glory of his family and race. Fearing, therefore, for that Prince's precious life, he sent him a secret letter by a trusty man, who took a different road from that held by Mustapha-qhan. The letter contained an order to his nephew to come to him by the northern shore of Ganga, and to approach Bengal by the P8raniah side, as he intended to join

Mustapha-qhan turns his arms against Azim-abad.

him on that side of the water, and to consult with him about what was to be done. The order was calculated to prevent in the young man, a temptation to fight Mustapha-qhan, for whose wide mouth, he apprehended, he might prove but one easy morsel. The Governor of Azim-abad was then in the District of Tirhoot, where he received intelligence of what passed at M8rsh8d-abad; so that as soon as news came that Mustapha had revolted, and was coming to Azim-abad, (a piece of news since confirmed by the Viceroy's secret letter) he concluded that matters were past remedy; and he held consultations with his best friends, to whom he explained the nature of his situation. Every one gave his opinion, as his abilities or his genius prompted him; but the greatest number were for his obeying punctually the orders of his uncle. They argued on the impropriety of opposing Mustapha-qhan against all the rules of common sense, "a General who was at the head of no less "than twelve thousand, and probably fourteen or fifteen thousand "horse, all old soldiers, tried in numbers of engagements; and "who was himself known, not only for a man of extraordinary "prowess, but also of military talents, and these too, strengthened "by a number of difficult campaigns, and augmented by a con-"tinual experience of extraordinary events. That he had acquir-"ed that military character, by fighting only with the sabre and "arrows, his method being to fall to without needing or even "minding any artillery or firearms; but that his national soldiers "were armed with long heavy musquets, of which the troopers "themselves made use of advantageously, by jumping down from "their horses upon an emergency; besides all which national ad-"vantages, he had now an artillery of fifty pieces of cannon, with "every necessary for its service, and above one hundred and fifty "elephants, whether of his own or belonging to his officers. "Others added, that every one of his soldiers was mounted on "horses, the least of which was worth four or five hundred rupees, "with their saddles and arms encrusted with silver and gold; and "that himself wore a cuirass of four pieces of steel encrusted in "gold, and of so exquisite a workmanship as hardly had its equal "in India. That, in short, his army was furnished with everything "necessary, and proved so well appointed, that few Generals "could flatter themselves with having one equal to it; whereas "their Governor could hardly muster about three thousand horse,

"and had no more than five or six thousand foot, some of whom, "too, were at a distance from him on a variety of services." These were the sentiments of the majority of the council; but some who were naturally brave, as well as jealous of their honour, argued in a different manner; and such was Medhy-nessar-qhan, my uncle, who for bravery and conduct bore a high character. This last observed, "That the affairs of life and death were uner-"ringly directed by the decrees of an unavoidable Fate; that to "beat the enemy and gain a victory, did not depend on numbers, "but only on God's pleasure, as it was announced in the glorious "*Coran* itself, where it was said, *That often small numbers have* "*prevailed upon large ones by God's permission*; that in this "emergency, to avoid the sight of the enemy, although even in "compliance with their Sovereign's positive orders, would not "bear a good construction in the world, and at any rate would "not bear the examination of their friends and relations; and that "it was such a party, as would in the sequel produce dishonour and "real loss." This officer after having spoke so much with some warmth, made a pause, and then added "That this was his private "opinion; but as to the rest, he would readily submit to the "opinion of his more clear-sighted superiors, and would be com-"manded by their pleasure."

This latter advice having been approved by the Governor, who was himself extremely brave, and had a nice sense of honour and a great deal of discernment, he moved immediately from Tirhoot, and by incessant marches, he arrived at Azim-abad; from whence without alighting at his palace, he went and encamped at Djaafer-qhan's garden, at the eastern extremity of the city. There he was met by Abdul-aaly-qhan, and by the principal noblemen of Azim-abad, such as Akydet-mend-qhan, brother to Emir-qhan, and some others, who were also the principal persons of the province, and had made haste to pay him their respects. The young Governor, having set open the door of modesty and civility, received them with an air of equality and brotherly attention (neither of which were in his style, nor in his usual humour); and by this well-timed familiarity and these unusual marks of regard, he so gained upon their hearts, that they all resolved to follow his fortunes. After so good a beginning, he applied himself to the business of assembling his forces, and of raising new ones; and as

Fàiz-aaly-qhan had the title of Paymaster, both Mehdy-nessar-qhân and Abdol-aaly-qhan were appointed to confer with the chiefs of the forces and with disbanded officers, for new levies. Orders were given at the same time to a number of persons of note, to raise forces. Such were Ahmed-qhan-coréishy, grandson to Da8d-qhan-péni, Shah-djehan-yar, Sheh-ahmed-eddin, and Sheh-amrollah, as well as Kerem-qhan, Gholam-aaly-qhan, and Qhadum-hassen-qhan; and the same commands were issued to Mahta-djesvent and Radja Kyret-chund, and Radja Ram-naräin, as well as to the other Gentoo Commanders. They were directed at first to pick and choose the best mounted and the best armed, after which they might inlist every able-bodied man that should present. The Zemindars of the province likewise were sent for, and those that had connections with the Governor, or were attached to his person, were ordered to attend with their troops. These were Radja Sunder-sing, Namdar-qhan of Narhut and Semài, and Serdar-qhan, as well as Camcar-qhan, and some others, as powerful as Sunder-sing himself. Similar orders were sent to Beshin-sing, Zemindar of Seress Cotumbah, to Pahluvan-sing, and Surtur-sing, his brother, Zemindars of the country of Saharseram and Cheinp8r, and to Buhrut-sing, Zemindar of Arvul. All these came, and offered their services, and desired to share whatever fate might befall their Governor; and the crowds that presented continually were so great, that for a month together the business of inlisting went on day and night; so that a horse that had already been marked, that is, had already been in the service, was sure of being inlisted. In that short space of time, there appeared to be borne upon the registers no less than fourteen thousand horse, over and above the infantry, which taking together the old troops and the new ones, may have amounted to as much more; but their arms did not meet with approbation; and it was concluded that new levies indifferently armed, would never bear the brunt of Mustapha-qhan's soldiers, who were all resolute veterans, and all well mounted and well armed, unless indeed when placed behind an intrenchment. A vast number, therefore, of pioneers and labourers was sent for from all parts of the province, and an intrenchment was soon thrown up, that encompassed all the grounds between the tower of Djaafer-qhan's garden and the dyke or wall raised for the security of the suburbs against the waters of a neighbouring

The Governor is resolved to stand his ground.

lake. A deep ditch was added to the intrenchment, and the earth dug from it proving somewhat humid, served to form a very good rampart, without needing any mortar or brickwork. Towers were also raised at proper distances, and cannon placed ; and every one of them with part of the intervening curtain, was entrusted to an officer at the head of his corps. The command of the army was divided into several brigades, and every one of them put under the orders of a Commander that could be depended upon. The first was Abdol-aaly-qhan, the poor man's uncle ; the second, Ahmed-qhan-coréishy ; the third, Radja Kyret-chund, son to the Prime Minister, Rày-rayàn-aalem-chund ; the fourth, Radja-ram-naráin ; the fifth, Qhadum-hussëin-qhan : and the sixth, Nassyr-aaly-qhan. All these were placed with their brigades at the foot of the intrenchment or rampart, which they watched day and night. The markets, sutlers, and the other camp-followers were ordered to attend behind the tents of each brigade with every necessary ready at hand. Each Commander had his tents pitched at the head of his troops, with his standard planted before his tent, and his insignia and colours pitched on the rampart ; and every one was ready to give a good reception to the enemy. As for me, the most inconsiderable of mankind, who was stationed with my younger brother, Naki-aaly-qhan, I had, five months ago, quitted Shah-djehan-abad by my father's consent (on whom be mercy for ever !) It was in the month of Zilcaad, in the year 1157 ; and I had come to Azim-abad, to marry in a family which had long ago agreed to the alliance. So that in the month of Moharrem, in the year 1158, I espoused the daughter of Abdol-aaly-qhan, my own grand-uncle ; after which, on the 14th of the next month, I took up my post in the Governor's intrenchments, and joined my own destiny to that of my uncle's, who was the principal Commander ; whilst my younger brother, Naky-aaly-qhan, chose to serve under the orders of his paternal-uncle, Mehdy-nessar-qhan, on whom he was ordered to attend with about a hundred horse, which he had brought with him. As to me, the least of men, although I was without command, and without pay, I chose out of a point of honour to serve that campaign, intending thereby to shew my gratitude for the favours received from the Governor.

All these preparatives being made, it was observed likewise that he placed artillery and troops upon the towers and ramparts

of the city, with orders not to admit any soldier from the camp. But he had besides a secondary intention in this precaution, which was to provide against any sudden attack from Mustapha-qhan's troops, as such an event would have put in imminent danger both the properties and families of those in the intrenchment. This precaution was also calculated to secure the properties and families of a numerous body of citizens, who had so much murmured against the wall then rising by the Governor's order, and who now acknowledged the benefit they received from it. All these precautions being taken, the Governor resolvéd to sound Mustapha-qhan's heart, and to ascertain how far he intended to carry hostilities with him; although there was no need indeed of any further enquiry, as he had declared himself openly and amply enough already. Three persons were pitched upon to wait upon him as envoys that had brought a proper message. The first of these was Hadji-aalem, the Cashmirian, who went since by the name of Hadji-mahmed-qhan. The second was Tadj-eddin, the divine, a native of A8d, who had been recommended by Emir-qhan, Viceroy of Ilah-abad, to the inspection of the College and Mausoleum of Séif-qhan, a building on the water side westward of the castle of Azim-abad, and a charming spot, so remarkable for its coolness, retirement, salubrity, and umbrage, that it became a general resort for the best company; it was in that delightful spot he enjoyed a large pension. The third person, which I do not exactly remember, I believe to have been the late Aga Azimáig, who had been the eye and the lamp of the family of Mahmed-qhan, once Devan or intendant of the province of Cab8l. These three venerable personages were sent to Mustapha-qhan with the following message: "*If by your departure from M8rsh8d-abad you have intirely renounced the service of His Sublime Highness, and you intend absolutely to forget us, and to quit this country, we, out of regard to past friendship and to past times, request that our friends and guests do please to alight at our houses, and to tarry at least two or thee days in our habitations, that we may once more enjoy each other's company, and have likewise time to accommodate our guests with such carriages, tents, and necessaries as they may want for their future journey; the more so, as this will likewise put it in our power to say farewell to each other. But if the discontent you have conceived against His*

And yet sends a deputation to Mustapha-qhan.

Artful and ingenious message of the Governor of Azim-abad to Mustapha.

Sublime Highness is of a nature to admit of a healing hand, and your heart tells you that my mediation might be instrumental in removing the cause of your displeasure, and in taking out the shafts that have wounded two hearts once united by the warmest attachment ; I would be happy to offer my services for so desirable an object. But if on the other hand, it should come out that your Excellency has obtained from the presence the Imperial Patent for the Government of this province, please to let us see it, that we may peaceably quit this country, and deliver it to your Excellency without any fighting and without dispute." The envoys found Mustapha-qhan encamped eastward of the town of Mongyhr, and after having delivered their message, they were immediately dismissed with this answer :—"*Gentlemen, my intention is, neither to renew my connections with the majestuous in war,*(30) *nor to quit this country as a traveller. My intention is to wrest it out of your hands; and as you seem so solicitous about patents, and about the right of taking possession of this province, I inform you, that I have in my hands, for such a proceeding, the very same patent which your uncle produced when he wrested Bengal from Ser-efraz-qhan.*" Here he paused, and then added this verse :—

"*We must see what is the Almighty's pleasure in this affair.*"

After delivering himself in that strain, he put this question to the Moluvy or Doctor of Divinity : *Mr. Moluvy, suppose that you are surrounded on one side by unconverted Infidels, and on the other by blaspheming Shismaticks;*(31) *and suppose I happen to have enough power to destroy either these or those; which are we, in your opinion, to put to the sabre first?* The Moluvy who comprehended his aim, but thought proper to dissemble, answered with modesty, "*That if the Infidels be in arms and in opposition, it is lawful to fall upon them; but that it was not lawful to kill the Mussulmen, although they should be sectaries*

(30) Aaly-verdy-qhan, whose principal name was *Mehabet-djung.*

(31) The Sunnies, of which sect were the Afghans, acknowledge four men to be the first lawful Qhalifs, or successors to Mohammed, *to wit,* Ab8-beir, Omar, Osman, and Aaly. The Shyahs or Shismaticks, on the contrary, such as the Persians and Aaly-verdy-qhan's family, acknowledge only the fourth ; and by rejecting the three others whom they load with imprecations and abuse, they offend the Sunnies, whom they render implacable, and who stigmatise them with the epithet *Rafazies* or *blasphemers.*

and blasphemers. Indeed to point out to them the right way, and to reclaim them from their errors, is amongst the most meritorious actions which man can perform. Mustapha-qhan replied: *Say you so Doctor? Then we differ greatly; for according to the doctrines of our own teachers, blasphemers are worse than uninformed Infidels, and they must be served first; after which the others may be minded in their turn.* The conversation having taken such a turn, the Móluvy said not a word more, and he took his leave immediately. The envoys, on being returned home, reported word for word what they heard; and the Governor, who was already disposed for an engagement, now became eager for it. A report was then current that Mustapha-qhan, in the pride of his heart, had distributed amongst his friends and soldiers, the houses of the inhabitants of the city, and especially those of the Governor's friends. The report added, that each particular house was already allotted to each particular man; and that after the victory, each house would be made over to its new owner, with the furniture, riches, women and children it contained, in full property. But God did not approve the iniquitous scheme; and as it did not fail to make the deepest impression on my mind, which from that moment became a prey to sorrow and anxiety, I resolved to look out for my destiny in the book of Hafyz of Shiraz, whose verses may be said to be so many unerring oracles of futurity, and the intelligible tongue of the invisible one;(32) and on opening that book, with the proper rites, the first verses that occurred at the head of the page were these:

"Do thou leave that matter to thy God! and make thyself easy;
"For if thine enemy shall not have pity on thee, thy God will."

And thanks be due to God, Almighty, that this oracle came to be verified literally.

Mustapha-qhan, on his arrival at Monghyr, had ordered his nephew, Abdol-r8ss8l-qhan, to insult the fort with his brigade, a ruinous fortification, which although quite neglected, had some renown. The Governor and his little garrison put themselves

(32) The poesies of Hafyz are consulted on futurity all over Persia and India, just as were the *Sortes Virgilianæ*, two hundred years after Augustus. But, however, the Coran is the chief book of divination amongst all Mussulmen; and amongst the Shyahs in particular, the Coran, and also their Rosario; and this is done with a variety of rites and ceremonies.

upon their defence; but as that fortification did not seem to deserve much ceremony in that officer's opinion, he alighted, and putting himself at the head of his men, he mounted to the assault. In an instant the besiegers got upon the wall, and seized the fort; but such was their leader's destiny that, as he was standing below the second gate, and exhorting his men to be quick, he was killed outright by a stone that fell upon him on its being loosened by one of the garrison who stood above. The place was not such an acquisition as could compensate the loss of so valiant an officer; and Mustapha-qhan severely felt that heavy blow, although for fear of discouraging his people, he thought proper to dissemble; for Abdol-r8ss8l-qhan was his right hand-man and an officer of tried valour and conduct. After having tarried three days there, and complied with the custom of ordering the music to play for this success, he took away some pieces of cannon with some ammunition from the fort, and departed for Azim-abad. His approach redoubled the vigilance of the people within the intrenchment; and the Governor, in particular, gave himself no rest day and night in visiting every part of it. He ordered Mehdy-nessar-qhan to see that the six Commanders, mentioned above, made their rounds in person by day(33) as well as by night. He was himself everywhere, and giving his orders occasionally. On a Thursday, about sunrising, as every one was at his post, and upon his guard, Mustapha-qhan made his appearance; and having examined the intrenchment, he went into some groves of mangoe trees that were close by; and from thence he divided his army in two brigades, one of which he gave in command to B8lend-qhan the Rohilla, whilst he kept the other to himself. This disposition being made, he came out of the groves, and ordered B8lend-qhan to wheel round, and to penetrate into the intrenchment by that part that closed with the city wall; by which manœuvre he would fall on the enemy's rear. He followed himself, and he attacked the intrenchment in front, but at the other extremity of the same, where commanded Radja Sunder-sing, Radja Kyret-chund, and the other Gentoo officers. B8lend-qhan having advanced by the horse-market, and a part of Djaafer-qhan's

The Afghans attack and carry the intrenchments round Azim-abad.

(33) This has a reference to the climate of India where, for the greatest parts of the year, people are spent and faint in the heat of the day, especially betwixt the forenoon and afternoon, but brisk and lively, and always up almost the whole night.

garden, turned the intrenchment, and fell upon Nassyr-aaly-qhan, and his son, Sëyd-aaly, as well as upon Mirza Ramazani, son-in-law to Murtezevi-qhan, all of whom were stationed at that part. On the first onset, Nassyr-aaly-qhan was wounded with a sabre, and fell dead ; and he was instantly followed by Sëyd-aaly, and Mirza-Ramazani ; and Naher-qhan-mevati being wounded, fled for his life ; and thus B8lend-qhan got within the intrenchment. Those that defended it, took fright and fled ; and his Afghans finding tents and shops, full of effects, fell a plundering without minding anything else. Meanwhile, Mustapha-qhan having on his side turned the intrenchment, attacked and carried it at once, making a great slaughter of its defenders. Ghazi-qhan the Bab8z8ian, and Sunder-sing's son-in-law, with their troops, were there put to the sword ; everything was in confusion instantly. Sunder-sing with a few persons who stood by him, mixed with the six or seven thousand Afghan horse that thronged in, and was lost amongst them ; nor did Mustapha-qhan mind him any more, but went forwards, where his people making a slight discharge of arrows, Zulficar-qhan-mevati, and Kyret-chund, the Gentoo, who chanced to be stationed there, were both wounded, and fled with as many of their people as could escape the sabre. On sight of this, the brigades and Commanders appointed to defend that part of the intrenchment, lost courage, and fled on all sides ; and there remained before the Governor, only an empty space of ground, over which Mustapha-qhan was advancing with a thick body of men, on one side, whilst the Governor was advancing on his elephant, or the other. He looked neither confounded, nor dismayed, although he had by this time no more than two hundred horse, and one hundred and fifty musqueteers about his person. Cam-car-qhan and Zen-mest-qhan, were amongst those two hundred horse, as were about eight more from several corps, and mostly from Mir bedr-el Dehi's, an officer usually called Séyedet-aaly-qhan ; there were some few men of note more. Mehdy-nessar-qhan, with Naky-aaly-qhan and Mir-ecram, and five or six others more, were upon the intrenchment, and speaking to Sheh-hamid-eddin, the Lucnovian, when that sudden revolution happened. This man was at the head of seven hundred men, as well as Sheh-amrollah, another Commander of seven hundred men more ; and he exhorted them both to march

to their master's assistance; but no one would move. So that with the five or six men that stuck to him he ran forwards, and closed with the Governor's elephant. By this time Mustapha-qhan being near, was seen making signs with both hands to his people to surround him. He was also heard to cry out: This is *Hàibet Djung*; *take care to bring him alive.* Hekim-shah being the foremost of the enemies, jumped from his horse, and was making to him with two or three more, when he was encountered by three or four, of the six that were with Mehdy-nessar-qhan; and they engaged sharply. The Governor by this time was advancing with a firm countenance, and shooting arrows incessantly; at the same time he dispatched a man to Abdol-aaly-qhan, to order him to come immediately to his assistance with his whole brigade. This officer, as well as two or three other Commanders more of that part of the intrenchment, knew nothing of the works having been carried with slaughter and destruction; and he answered that it was improper in people upon an intrenchment, to mount a horse; that he was at his post with his brigade; and that if the enemy should break in, he would not fail to do his duty. Whilst he was speaking, another man came with this message: *Whenever my business shall be effectually done, and myself shall be amongst the slain, of what use can your coming be to me then?* On hearing these words, he mounted immediately, and with a small number of men that followed him, he went towards the Governor. I was one of that small number, and a few horsemen more; and as we were advancing, we discovered Mustapha-qhan retreating, his people in confusion flying out of the intrenchment, and Zin-eddin-qhan standing on the parapet, and making a great fire of musquetry and rockets upon a body of Rohillas, who with their Commander mounted on an elephant, were in confusion, and flying on all sides. Abdol-aaly-qhan on sight of this, guessed what must have happened; and he said aloud: *Our master has fought such a battle, and we, his soldiers, have been idle this while!* Having said these few words, he with the the few that stood by him, ran towards a spot out of the reach of the fire of the intrenchment, where Mustapha-qhan with those about him, was making a stand, and rallying his people with the hand and voice. But the Governor perceiving Abdol-aaly-qhan's precipitation from the parapet, sent him an absolute command to

come to him immediately; and the messenger asked him what he meant by exposing himself and the few brave men that stood by him to a certain death, with no prospect of advantage at all. "Come to me," says your master, "assemble your dispersed "people, and see what the Lord of victory shall perform for us "to-day." Abdol-aaly-qhan's friends had been already intreating him to forbear; but he was so ashamed to have done nothing, and so angry and passionate, that instead of listening to what they said, he put his horse on a gallop; when at that very moment he was overtaken by the messenger, and brought back. By this time the sun was in the meridian; and the heat had become so insufferable, that Mustapha-qhan who felt the consequences of it, having considered that numbers of his people were wounded, numbers of his bravest friends killed, the rest disheartened, and fainting with heat, did not think proper to renew the attack; but retired at a slow pace to his camp, which was upon the little P8n-p8n at less than a cosse distance from the enemy. Arrived there, he ordered cannon to be planted in the mango-groves, and an incessant fire to be made on the intrenchment.

It was only after this retreat that we learned what had happened before our coming up, and how Mustapha-qhan had been defeated. That General having broke in the intrenchment at once, and filled every part of it with confusion and terror, thought that all was over; when the Governor, who found himself almost alone, resolved not to survive his shame, and advanced towards him, with intention to sell his life at a dear rate. He was incessantly shooting arrows from his elephant; and his guards, armed with heavy musquets, were firing as they advanced; as did some few men on horseback that followed some Radjahs. and at last engaged the enemy. Mustapha-qhan, on observing the Governor, pointed to his people who he was, and he ordered that he should be brought alive. Whilst he was yet speaking Hekim-shah, who was one of the bravest and the most zealous of his friends, having drawn after him three or four brave men more, engaged three or four of the six that followed Mehdy-nessar-qhan, but soon fell dead of his wounds, as did Dil-shah, another brave who had come to hand-blows. Mustapha-qhan was near now; and the two Generals seemed eager to engage each other, when his elephant-man being wounded with a musquet-ball, fell down sprawling in

his blood; and the animal having no driver, turned to the left and right, and seemed so much frightened and out of its senses, that Mustapha-qhan, afraid lest the animal should carry him away and snatch the victory out of his hands, jumped down and advanced on foot, sabre in hand, expecting that others would follow his example, and soon form a circle round his person with which he might surround the Governor. His ill destiny would it so, that his people mistaking his intention, fancied that he had fallen down for the same reason which had brought down his driver; and they fell into confusion immediately, after which most of them fled out of the intrenchment; and their General after having said a few words upon such a reverse of fortune, reluctantly followed his people on foot; nor was he thought of, or recollected, but when he was out of the intrenchment; then only did his people think of him, and they brought him a horse. As by this time his people were now in confusion, dispersed, and incapable to hear any command, he went a little farther, and ordered the music to strike up in sign of victory, in hopes of enticing his troops round his person; but they were incapable of hearing him, and their General, finding all his efforts vain, followed the runaways. The Governor seeing the enemy out of the intrenchment, rallied as many of his people as he could, and passed the ramainder of the day and the whole night on horseback, ready to receive the enemy. It was at that time, that it became known that Radja Sunder-sing's brigade, after having opposed the enemy as well as they could, had been broke at last, and overthrown; and that Mustapha-qhan, without minding him any more, had gone on, and put to flight Radja Kyret-chund with his brigade; whilst B8lend-qhan having also broke into the intrenchment, was plundering the tents, and filling every part with terror and confusion. Sunder-sing, I say, who saw such a state of things, and not a standard standing, not a single pair of colours displayed, concluded that the Governor had been killed, and that all was over; and he fled with as many of his men, as had escaped the sabre. His example was followed by Radja Beshen-sing, by Mahammed-djemal, and by some other Commanders of small note, who all turned their backs, and fled. Some took shelter within the city walls, and many more in Djaafer-qhan's garden and in the groves adjoining, as well as on the water side; and thus one full half of the

intrenchment remained without a man to defend it. Nor did there remain even a trace of the army-market, and of the tents, colours and standards that had been standing there in the morning. The whole became an empty waste, as far as the eye could reach. The other troops stationed at that part of the intrenchment that joined the city westward, seeing such a state of things, left that station, and turned towards the eastern part, where Mustapha-qhan was then, and where they thought the greatest efforts would be made. The Governor, who was everywhere, and gave his orders everywhere, passed the day in a small incommodious tent pitched at a small distance from Abdol-aaly-qhan's, and the night in that Commander's tent, where he used to take some rest; whilst that Commander, with myself the last of men, and Mehdyr-nessar-qhan, and Naky-aaly-qhan with some guards, watched over his person. Once the Afghans approached by night near the intrenchment, and threw some rockets in it, to try how people were upon their guards, for they intended a surprise. But this stratagem was defeated by the alertness of Mehdy-nessar-qhan, who ran everywhere, and gave order that the troops should not move from their stations, but should fight in their posts, without minding anything else. This order tranquillised the troops; and the confusion which was already rising, subsided at once. The next day the enemy cannonaded so vigorously, that a great number of men and horses were maimed by their balls. Those that were at some distance within the intrenchment, were losing every moment a horse or a limb; but those that were close at the foot of it, suffered nothing. For five days together, the cannonade went on at the same rate. The seventh, which was a Wednesday of the month Sefer, the spies gave notice that to-morrow Mustapha-qhan would decamp, and continue his march. This advice having engaged the Governor to assemble his council, he asked them what they thought of the intelligence. The wisest amongst them were of opinion "that Mustapha-qhan was not a man to depart without "trying another engagement; that meanwhile the troops ought "to be ordered to get ready to receive the enemy; and that "every preparative ought to be made; after which they might "wait what fate would produce for them; but that by all means the "vanquished troops must be kept behind the intrenchment, "whereas those that had stood their ground, and fought the enemy,

Good conduct of the Governor's.

" ought to be brought out of it, to take him in flank." Accordingly, Abdol-aaly-qhan, and Ahmed-qhan-coréishy, and Sheh-djehan-yar with Qhadum-hussëin-qhan, and some others, were put at the head of so many brigades, that were to march out; and Djesvent-nagur, and Namder-qhan, Radja of Mehin, with his three brothers, and their regiments, together with the bodyguards, and Mehdy-nessar-qhan, were ordered to attend the Governor everywhere; but those that had felt the weight of the Afghan sabre, like Radja Kyret-chund, and Zulficar-qhan, and some others, were ordered to remain within the intrenchment. At day-break, the Governor made his morning prayer, recommended himself to God Almighty's safe-guard, and mounted, followed by Abdol-aaly-qhan, who had about fifteen hundred horse with him. The Governor himself had a thousand more, as well as a thousand musqueteers preceded by a few rocket men and two or three swivels. A little after, Mustapha-qhan's cavalry appeared out of the mango-groves on the south of the intrenchment, whilst his artillery was advancing westward. This being observed by Mehdy-nessar-qhan, he came up and desired Abdol-aaly-qhan to attend to that manœuvre " as it be-" came necessary to prevent the enemy's taking possession of the " mound that retained the waters of the lake. Otherwise," added he " if they succeed in taking post thereon, it will be impossible " to shew one's self in the plain below, because they would fire " from behind a cover, and we from an open plain." This advice being approved by Abdol-aaly-qhan, he from that moment inclined to the left; and the Governor went on with the highroad, but inclining towards the right, at about a gunshot from the former. Whilst Abdol-aaly-qhan was advancing with his brigade, in which I was myself, the enemy had already crossed the plain, turned the mound, and taken possession of that strong post, from whence they immediately commenced firing with their cannon; at the same time M8rteza-qhan, son to Mustapha-qhan, alighted from his horse with a large number of men which he stationed at the right and left of the post, to support the cannon; and that General himself having closed with the extremity of the dyke, shut up the empty space betwixt that extremity and the highroad, and stopped his elephant over against that of the Governor's, who was advancing on that road. The empty space between the father and son was immediately filled up by a number

of brave Afghans, who ranged themselves straight and cut as formidable an appearance as Alexander's wall(34); from whence with their long musquets, they commenced a terrible fire, the distance between them and us being not above an arrowshot. In a little time most of those at my right and left were wounded and slain, or had their horses sprawling on the ground. Amongst these proved to be one of Abdol-aaly-qhan's best friends, who having lost his horse, came to request my assistance. I ordered therefore the elephant to kneel, and took the man behind my häodah; but whilst the elephant was rising, a musquet-ball came, and struck the man again, and I thought it had gone through his body; but by good luck, it had been slackened by the folds of his girdle, and by the thickness of his belt. At that moment another ball came which wounded me in the arm; it burned and tore off the flesh, but spared the bone. The driver of Abdol-aaly-qhan's elephant received two musquet-balls at the same time, and tumbled down, but did not die. Abdol-aaly-qhan desired Rahman-qhan, who sat behind him, to supply the driver's place, and took the driver behind, whom he placed where Rahman-qhan had been. The engagement became hot now, and people fell down every moment. This being disliked by one of Abdol-aaly-qhan's officers, whose name was, I believe, Mirza-fate-ollah, as brave a man as ever fought in a battle, he selected a small number of musqueteers, and although wounded himself in the foot, and hardly able to move, he brought them before Abdol-aaly-qhan's elephant, and was encouraging and directing their fire; but that made by the enemy proved so hot, that our people, unable to stand it, commenced lagging and skulking behind. So that there remained on the field of battle only about three hundred horse, with some infantry under the command of Abdol-aaly-qhan, Ahmed-qhan-coréishy, Shah-djehan-yar and Qhadum-hussëin-qhan. At this sight Abdol-aaly-qhan sent to the Governor to inform him that matters went ill with them, and that unless they were supported,

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(34) Although Quinte-curce is too fond of his hero, to say a word of it, it appears by all the Oriental historians that Alexander built such a wall betwixt the shores of the Caspian Sea, and the mountains, and shut that space, of two leagues in length, against the Turks or Scythians. This wall exists to this day, and is called *Derbend, opening shut up*; nor does tradition itself attribute the foundation of it to any but to *Ascandar Makedon*.

they would not be able to advance. That he hoped he would come himself to his assistance, as his appearance alone would encourage his people to renew their attack; that otherwise whatever was to befall them, would happen, but then the battle would be as good as lost. The Governor on this message wanted to advance, but was overruled by Hadji-ahmed, his father; so that finding no assistance came to us, we recommended ourselves to God, like people that could not expect to return from that engagement. At this very time Mustapha-qhan on his elephant made his appearance from behind the mound; and we all concluded that the Afghans were coming to an attack: when Fate-ollah-qhan with his musqueteers joined us, and commenced firing; and at the first fire he brought down Mustapha-qhan's driver, as well as his standard-bearer. Both standard-bearer and standard rolled together down, and I know not why, but at this sight, I cried out: *We have beaten them. So I hope in God; and I accept the omen,* answered Abdol-aaly-qhan, with three ohter Commanders that were with him. At these words they plucked up fresh courage, pushed their elephants forwards, got upon the mound, and finding M8rteza-qhan there with his Afghans, they engaged them briskly. From thence we could descry the Governor, who having got rid of his father, was advancing in haste, preceded by a large body of men, who with their rockets, wall-pieces, and long musquets, were doing a great deal of execution, whilst marching. This added spurs to the courage of all of us, who were engaged with the Afghans, and fighting with the sabre body to body; in which way the business of wounding and killing went on so briskly, that I saw in a moment about forty or fifty of the bravest Afghans wounded and slain. At this very moment, a rising zephyr of victory was spreading over the Governor's standard; and in fact that zephyr proved to be the wind itself, which being westerly, shifted at once to the east, and blew all that smoke and dust in the enemy's face. At this critical moment, a musquet-ball entered Mustapha-qhan's eye, and went out at his ear; and that General fell on his face in such a manner, that his people took him for dead, lost courage, and fell into confusion, and at last fled on all sides. M8rteza-qhan seeing his father's elephant returning towards the Afghan camp, guessed the reason of such a retreat; and losing courage, he quitted the field likewise. It must be observed that as Mustapha-qhan had

always looked with a left invidious eye both on the Prince of the faithful, (on whom be peace and grace for ever!) (35) and on those that loved him, he now received his punition in his right eye, and was punished as he deserved. The Governor having first prostrated himself on the ground with Abdol-aaly-qhan and some other commanders, in acknowledgment of this victory, ordered the enemy to be pursued slowly; and at the same time he commanded the music to play in token of victory. The troops had orders to march in order, as the enemy had rallied by this time, and was retreating with a steady pace, without the least appearance of dismay or confusion. But as they had their wives and families with them, and a deal of baggage besides, whenever the carts or sumpter-beasts were stopped by any impediment, two or three thousand of them would stop at the same time with a deal of composure, without ever offering to advance a foot, until every thing was set to right again, and then only they recommenced their march, but with an undaunted countenance, that did not look like that of vanquished foes. This countenance of theirs having made impression on the Governor, he recommended to his men, only to follow the enemy, without betraying too much eagerness. And thus they were advancing slowly, and at the rate of one cosse in five hours' time, stopping each time when the enemy stopped, and playing their music; and they continued in this manner, until the enemy's dust could be no more descried. In the evening, news came that Mustapha-qhan's troops had encamped at the reservoir called Mety-p8r, about which spot the General having given some signs of life, they descended him from his elephant, and put him into his paleky; in which he recovered his senses so far, as to ask how matters went, and being told, he expressed a regret at those repeated reverses of fortune. As soon as the enemy was seen encamped, the Governor returned to his tent, where he received the congratulations and nuzurs of his officers, on whom he bestowed encomiums according to their respective ranks and merits; so that every one was satisfied. As to me, he

(35) The Prince of the Faithful, for the author, is Aaly, and those who love him are the Shyahs, who never fail to ascribe sentiments of enmity and aversion to every one of those who do not choose to join them in vomiting abuse and curses against the three Emperors that preceded Aaly; whereas the Sunnies respect him highly, and as much as any of the three others.

embraced me heartily, and loaded me with caresses and compliments, probably because I was the oldest among them. The army passed the night under arms. In the morning intelligence was received that Mustapha-qhan had marched on; upon which the Governor marched immediately, and encamped at the very place which the enemy had left. The next day the Afghans marched to Nobetp8r, still followed by us, who kept them company from stage to stage, until they came to Muhabbet-aaly-p8r.

It was at this place that letters came from Aaly-verdy-qhan, announcing his being arrived at Azim-abad, where however he could make but a short stay, "as Mustapha-qhan had exhorted "Rhago-dji-bhoslah to make an irruption into Bengal, a country "in which, said he, he apprehended they would prove too hard "both for the uncle and nephew. It is then important, added "the letter, that you do put a finishing hand to Mustapha-qhan, "as you have cemmenced him; and that I should depart for M8r-"sh8d-abad to provide against the Marhattas, in such a manner "as to render a junction of those two enemies impossible." On receipt of this letter, the Governor left the command of his army to Abdol-aaly-qhan, with Mehdy-nessar-qhan under his orders; and taking that General's Paleky, with an additional number of chairmen, he marched all night, and at day-break, he found himself near his uncle's encampment. A little after, he paid his respects, and followed him for a few days; after which he borrowed Seradj-ed-dôulah from him, and returned to his army. But hardly was he departed, when on the second day Aaly-verdy-qhan altered his mind; and thinking it best to get rid first of the enemy nearest at hand, he turned westward and joined his nephew; and both continued pursuing the enemy, as far as Zemeniah, a town on the shore of the Ganga, over against Ghazy-p8r, which latter is of Ab8l-mans8r-qhan's Government, and inhabited as well as Zemeniah, by Afghans. The town was set on fire and plundered; and intelligence coming that Mustapha-qhan had retired to Chunar-gnur, a famous fortress in those parts, the uncle and nephew put an end to their pursuit, and returned towards Azim-abad, from whence the former continued his route to Bengal, to be there in time against the incursions of the Marhattas.

Aaly-verdy-qhan marches to succour his nephew.

This retreat afforded Mustapha-qhan leisure to repair his artillery and his arms, to cure his wounded, and to assemble

recruits and auxiliaries from all parts. The Governor did the same on his side in Azim-abad, and employed his time in recruiting his army, gaining the hearts of his soldiery, quieting the minds of the husbandmen, cherishing the farmer, and making every military preparation for the ensuing campaign.

As to Aaly-verdy-qhan he made only a stay of a few days at Djaafer-qhan's garden, to finish some affairs of urgent necessity, and from thence he departed for Bengal. He had sometime before dispatched Munaam-qhan, a gentleman of eloquence and abilities, as his Ambassador to Rhago-dji-bhoslah; and having now left with his nephew a Commander of importance, called Rehem-qhan, with his whole brigade, he pursued his route. Rhago-dji was already on his march, and he had entered the plains of Bardevan, when Munaam-qhan overtook him, and proposed to compromise matters by an agreement; but as the Marhatta Prince imagined that the proposal arose from mere necessity, he asked no less than three Corors of rupees for his forbearance. Aaly-verdy-qhan, who was only endeavouring to gain time, spun out the negotiation by a variety of delays and artifices for two months and-a-half together, in which time Rhago-dji did not move. And matters went on slowly, until news arrived of the defeat and death of Mustapha-qhan; and this event having put it in Aaly-verdy-qhan's power to reject Rhago-dji's unreasonable demands, the negotiation was broke off, and he immediately put himself at the head of his army. But we reserve a detail of this campaign and negotiation for the following sheets, in which we shall mention the total defeat and death of Mustapha-qhan.

By this time the dry season drew to an end, and the rainy one was going to set in, when the Governor hearing of Mustapha-qhan's preparatives, quitted the city and advanced to meet him, resolved to make an end of that obstinate enemy. This General had in his sojourn at Chunar-ghur made so good use of the money he was possessed of, that he had assembled about his person a great number of Rohillas, with whom he set out for the province of Azim-abad, foreseeing that the rains would be soon at hand, and that Rhago-dji would not be so early in those parts. His intention was to take up his quarters in the Sercar or District of Shah-abad, where he knew that the Zemindars of the country, and especially Bab8-advant-sing, and the Zemindar of

Djugdis-p8r, were dissatisfied with the Government; but he also intended to fight; convinced that if he came to gain a considerable advantage everything would follow victory; and if he should chance to be killed, he would be rid of all his troubles, for by this time his money drew to an end. But he knew that should the Governor, on account of his apprehensions from the Marhattas, delay his departure from his Capital, the river Sohon would swell by the next rains, and would become an effectual bar to his advancing towards the Afghans: by which event himself (Mustapha-qhan) would be at full leisure to come to an understanding with the Zemindars of the Shah-abad, and would be enabled to quarter his army there, and to collect all the revenues of that district. He concluded therefore that, recruited by such good quarters, and supplied with money, he would have it in his power to wait for Rhago-dji; or should that General be already about M8rsh8d-abad, this would afford to himself time enough to repair thither, and to effect a junction; after which he reckoned that a good account might be given of Aaly-verdy-qhan. He knew likewise that good recruits might be found in the Marhatta camp, for his own troops, and was resolved to take his chance, happen what it would.

All these projects were overset by the Governor, who guessed at every one of them by the mere keenness of his genius, and resolved to be beforehand with his enemy. He set out immediately with an army of fourteen thousand horse, having with him two new officers of distinction, namely, Sheh-din-mahmed, a relation of Ser-b8lend-qhan's (the same whom Séif-qhan, Governor of P8raniah had sent to his uncle's assistance), and Rehem-qhan the Rohillah, another officer whom Aaly-verdy-qhan had left with his whole brigade, as a man of courage and conduct. The Governor, after a few days' march, forded the Sohon; and the second day, he reached the plain which is near Djugdis-p8r, where he encamped in an open ground that had a little river in front; and as the enemy was now very near, the Azim-abad army passed that whole day under arms, and at night part of it only was awake. The Governor himself passed the greatest part of the night in putting up prayers to the Supreme Judge of disputes; and at day-break, having finished his morning prayer, he mounted his elephant, and ranged his army in battle array. His father, Hadji-ahmed, insisted on their making use of the same method

that had succeeded so well lately, *to wit*, entrenching themselves, and fighting the enemy from behind a rampart. But this advice was vigorously opposed by Mehdy-nessar-qhan, and some other Commanders of approved valour and conduct, who argued in this manner: "The first time," said they, "we were beaten, and the "enemy was our conqueror; but now the scales are turned; he "has been beaten, and we are his conquerors. If we follow the "advice of retrenching ourselves, we give him the very advant-"age he is desirous to have. The rainy season is at hand, and "we shall in consequence of such a dilatory warfare be soon "obliged to return to the city; whereas he shall remain on the "other side of the Sohon, and protected by this mighty river, "he shall enjoy the revenues of one full half of the province "(and we doubt very much whether the other half is so rich); but "this is not all. At the end of the rains you shall find your enemy "stronger than ever by his junction with the Marhattas." This advice being that which the Governor approved in his heart, he ordered Abdol-aaly-qhan, who commanded his vanguard or first line to march slowly, as if to look out for a place to entrench himself, but with injunctions to fall immediately upon the enemy the moment he should see him deluded into some security, so as to keep him engaged until he should come up himself. This order was executed with no less ability than it had been conceived. We had hardly advanced at some distance, when we perceived Mustapha-qhan dividing his army in two parts, one of which he led himself to action, whilst he gave the other to B8lend-qhan; and this last officer was advancing, when a ball of a cannon coming from behind us, struck the elephant he mounted, and brought him down. Immediately a fluctuation was perceived in his corps; which being perceived by Mustapha-qhan he advanced himself with his division, and all fell sabre in hand, like a storm of lightning and hail upon Dá8d-qhan, who was advancing and firing with the field-pieces under his command. In an instant the Afghans put to flight the troops that attended him; but that officer disdaining to fly, stood his ground with seventeen men that did not quit him, and he fell in the field of braves, leaving an honourable name behind. On sight of Dá8d-qhan's fate, the troops which were advancing to his assistance, stopped short, and fled to a man; and Mustapha-qhan having trampled this flying body under

The Afghans victorious a third time, are worsted again, and Mustapha-qhan is slain.

his foot, turned upon Qhadum-h8ssein-qhan, on his left; and a sharp engagement ensued between them, in which Qhadum-hussëin-qhan fell dead with fifty or sixty of the bravest that fought by his side. Abdol-aaly-qhan observing that the army was intimidated by so much slaughter, resolved to make a stand with a small body that had not quitted him; and as the artillery impeded the ground, and the oxen linked together, hindered his passing, he ordered the ropes that held them to be cut asunder; after which he went forwards, and was joined by Mehdy-nessar-qhan, with five ~~or six~~ gentlemen more, amongst whom was Naky-aaly-qhan, my brother, who had been forsaken by his people. These six heroes swore they would share our fate; and a moment after, Sheh-djehan-yar and Radja Sunder Sing, who were behind with a dozen of troopers, joined us. This body was soon reinforced by Rehem-qhan the Rohilla, who made his appearance from the right with fifteen and sixteen men armed with spears. Abdol-aaly-qhan then finding himself so luckily reinforced, advanced towards Mustapha-qhan, as did the latter towards him. At this critical moment, and whilst we were advancing, a musket-ball, coming from I know not what quarter, hitted Mustapha-qhan in the heart, and went through and through his body; but by this time our small troop had exerted themselves so bravely that the ground was strewed with his dead and wounded. The rest seeing their General slain, and such a slaughter about his elephant, did not think it proper to contend any more, and fled every one as his mind prompted him; even his son that brave intrepid soldier, hearing of his father's death, turned about and fled. The Governor arriving at this time, ordered Hashem-aaly-qhan, his gentleman usher, to get up on the elephant, and to bring down Mustapha-qhan's head; and this having been done, it was immediately fixed on a spear, and sent through the ranks; after which it was sent to the Emperor (Mahmed-shah). But his body was sent to Azim-abad, with orders to commit it to the earth, after having carried it through the market and through the principal streets. The order was going to be executed; but the inhumation was opposed by Mir-mahmed-mergeshy, one of the most illustrious Séyds, born at Sh8ster, in Iran,(36) a personage

(36) This Sh8ster is called S8es in registers, and is the Susa of the Greeks, one of the ancient Capitals of the Persian Empire.

remarkable for his piety and virtue, who had once undertaken to bring about a pacification between the two parties. This gentleman affirmed that he had seen in a dream the *Prince of Saints, Aaly M8rteza,*(37) *giving him orders to strike that inimical Afghan with a sabre; and as he did not obey instantly, His Majesty had taken the sabre himself, and smitten him twice-and-a-half upon his own loins.* The holy man hearing that the Afghan's body had been severed from his head, and would be committed to the earth, after having been rolled through the city, fastened to an elephant's foot, said that he was *sorry for it; for according to his dream, his body was first to be cut in two, and then only buried.* These words having been reported to the Governor, he ordered the body to be cut in two, and one part to be hung at the western gate, and the other at the eastern; and this order having been executed, after a deal of time his members became offensive, and having been let down, each part was buried where it had been hanging. M8rteza-qhan, who whilst others were yet fighting, had quitted the field with numbers that followed him, probably had remembered the Poet's saying:

"Better to live merry with a living friend, than to be weeping over the body of a dead one."

He thought so himself, and made the best of his way out of that scene of slaughter, after which he took shelter in the mountains; but Yassa-qhan, brother to Mustapha-qhan's consort, was taken prisoner, and after a few days' confinement, was dismissed with a present of wearing apparel, and some money to bear his expenses to his home. Dilshir-qhan, son to Shimshir-qhan's sister, and younger brother to Moradshir-qhan, having received three wounds, one of which was by a musket-ball which traversed his body at the navel, had fallen senseless on the ground, and he was reputed dead, when the Governor passing that way, recollected that he had been his play-fellow in his childhood; and observing signs of life in him, he ordered him to be placed on his Paleky and carried to his tent, where able Chirurgeons were ordered to attend him, but to no purpose; the wounds proving past remedy, he expired the third day. Aalef-qhan, son-in-law

(37) Aaly's title is *M8rteza* or the pleasing and agreeable, he being with Mahomet the only living man mentioned in the Coran. Mahomet's title is Mustapha, i. e. the select.

Sérdar-qhan was one of those who fled with M8rteza-qhan, and saved his life. The Governor, after having returned his humble acknowledgments to God Almighty for so signal a victory, alighted in Mustapha-qhan's tent, where he received the respects and nuzurs of his Commanders and officers. At night he turned to Abdol-aaly-qhan my uncle's tent, where he took pleasure in expatiating with many encomiums upon his heroical valour, and the eminent share he had had in the victory; and as Mustapha-qhan's elephant, standard, and kettle-drum had been seized by Abdol-aaly-qhan, after the battle, the Governor having ordered the music to play, requested him to keep the whole; and in the letters of congratulation to the Viceroy, his grandfather, he requested his interest at Court, to the end that the above insignia might be confirmed to his friend. The Viceroy hearing of the signal success, obtained by his nephew's alertness and bravery, and informed of the eminent share which Abdol-aaly-qhan, his relation, had in it, sent to each of them an elephant, a rich Qhylaat, a poniard, and a sabre with a hilt of gold enriched with jewels. The two heroes hearing of these tokens of approbation, went out of the city to Djaafer-qhan's garden to receive the presents with the usual demonstrations of respect on such occasions; and having their Qhylaats on, they made a profound bow towards Bengal, and then mounted together to make their entry into the city of Azim-abad, with a great deal of pomp and magnificence. In a couple of months after, a kettle-drum and standard came from the Emperor for the brave Abdol-aaly-qhan.

END OF THE FIFTH SECTION, AND OF THE FIRST VOLUME.